KIERKEGAARD'S JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

VOLUME 1

Journals AA–DD

Edited by
Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas,
Bruce H. Kirmmse, George Pattison, Vanessa Rumble,
and K. Brian Söderquist

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Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Introduction to the English Language Edition

Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks is based on *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* (hereafter, *SKS*) [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings] (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–), which is a Danish scholarly, annotated edition of everything written by Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55). When completed *SKS* will comprise fifty-five volumes. *SKS* divides the entirety of Kierkegaard's output into four categories: 1) works published by Kierkegaard during his lifetime (e.g., such well-known titles as *Either/Or*, *Fear and Trembling*, and *The Sickness unto Death*); 2) works that lay ready—or substantially ready—for publication at the time of Kierkegaard's death, but which he did not publish in his lifetime (e.g., titles such as *The Book on Adler*, *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*, and *Judge for Yourself!*); 3) journals, notebooks, excerpts, and loose papers, collectively entitled Kierkegaard's "journals and notebooks"; and 4) letters and biographical documents. Clearly, Kierkegaard was not only a prolific author, he was also a prolific *writer*, and his literary activity found expression not only in his published works but also in the mass of writings that were not published in his lifetime. It is these writings, the third category listed above, collectively entitled *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* (hereafter, *KJN*) that constitute the material of the present English language edition.

I. Danish Editions of Kierkegaard's Posthumous Writings

In November 1855, shortly after Kierkegaard's death, his nephew Henrik Lund visited his apartment accompanied by a clerk named Nørregaard from the Copenhagen Probate Court. What Lund and Nørregaard encountered when they entered Kierkegaard's apartment was "a great quantity of paper, mostly manuscripts, located in various places."[1] Lund viewed himself not merely as a relative

1 Flemming Christian Nielsen, *Alt blev godt betalt. Auktionen over Søren Kierkegaards indbo* [Everything Fetched a Good Price: The Auction of Søren Kierkegaard's Personal Effects] (Viborg: Holkenfeldt, 2000), p. 7.

but also as a disciple of his famous and controversial uncle, and he initially believed that he had been called to sort through and catalogue the mass of Kierkegaardian papers, with an eye to their eventual publication. Lund proceeded systematically, probably beginning as early as the end of November 1855, and during December of that year and the first half of January 1856 he worked his way through the great trove of papers and manuscripts. As the work progressed, Lund noted where each pile, case, box, roll, folder, and notebook lay when Kierkegaard had died, e.g., "in the desk," "in the lower desk drawer," "in the left-hand case," or "in the second chest of drawers, 'B,' top drawer, to the left."[1] And he took careful note of which pages, scraps, and slips of paper were found together with which others. Although Lund eventually tired of the task and left the job of publication to others, he is the one who has provided the earliest account of Kierkegaard's papers, and he compiled a valuable and quite detailed—though never completed—inventory of Kierkegaard's posthumous writings, entitling it "Catalogue of the Manuscripts of S. Kierkegaard, Recorded after His Death."

After a rather vagabond existence, these papers eventually found their way to the residence of Kierkegaard's elder brother, Peter Christian, bishop of Aalborg in Jutland, Denmark, and in February 1865 they were entrusted to Hans Peter Barfod, a former newspaper editor to whom the bishop had assigned the task of "examining, registering, etc. Søren's papers."[2] Much of what confronted Barfod (and before him, Lund) in the welter of papers was of course drafts and other materials related to works that Kierkegaard had published during his lifetime and to works that lay ready or almost ready for publication at the time of his death (that is, the above-mentioned materials that constitute categories 1 and 2 of *SKS*), plus letters and other biographical documents (category 4 of *SKS*). But there was also another group of materials, an enormous quantity of writing that did not fit into the other categories, an amorphous mass of journals, notebooks, and loose sheets, pages, and scraps of paper (category 3 of *SKS*).

Faced with this daunting pile of paper, but armed with Lund's above-mentioned "Catalogue," Barfod plunged into the papers to construct his own inventory, and in November 1865, ten years

1 Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, and Johnny Kondrup, *Written Images*, trans. Bruce H. Kirmmse (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 11.

2 Carl Weltzer, *Peter og Søren Kierkegaard* [Peter and Søren Kierkegaard] (Copenhagen: Gad, 1936), p. 311.

after Kierkegaard's death, Barfod completed his own "Catalogue of the Papers Found after the Death of Søren Aabye Kierkegaard." Barfod's "Catalogue" had 472 numbered items, and up through number 382 its enumeration was identical to that of Lund's "Catalogue," which itself appeared in Barfod's as number 473. Two years later, in the autumn of 1867, after much hesitation, Bishop P. C. Kierkegaard gave Barfod "a free hand to deal with Søren Kierkegaard's literary remains"[1] and indicated his intention that they be published.

Barfod set to work preparing the material for publication. Though not a trained philologist, Barfod (who has been much maligned for reasons that will become evident) was merely acting in accordance with the standard practice of his day when he wrote his own corrections, notes, and printer's instructions on the pages of Kierkegaard's journals, after which he sent them off to the printer. Sometimes he cut manuscript pages into several pieces, rearranged the order of the entries, and apparently glued them onto larger sheets of paper before sending them to the printer. Some of the original manuscripts themselves were lost—thrown away by the printer or by Barfod. Thus, some archival materials have been damaged, and others—including, for example, *Journal AA*, which contained the famous line about "a truth for which to live and die"—have been almost completely lost, so that the only source we have for these entries are the versions in Barfod's published edition, or in a number of cases, merely the fragmentary headwords listed in Barfod's "Catalogue." Of the ten journals *AA* through *KK* from the period 1833–46, only the final one, *KK*, is completely intact today. For all the remaining volumes—some entirely dismantled, some still in their original bindings—varying numbers of pages have been lost. As has been noted, Barfod was not particularly culpable, for he shared the view of his times, according to which literary remains had served their purpose after they had been examined and their contents published.

Barfod's principal responsibility was to serve Bishop P. C. Kierkegaard as secretary and treasurer of the Aalborg diocese, and he was thus unable to work full-time on Søren Kierkegaard's posthumous papers. Therefore, even though Barfod received permission to publish portions of Kierkegaard's papers in 1867, the first volume of his *Af Søren Kierkegaards efterladte Papirer* (hereafter, *EP*)

1 Søren Kierkegaard, *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers], ed. H. P. Barfod, vol. I (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1869), p. ix.

[From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers] did not appear until December 1869. This first volume—in fact a double volume (*EP* I–II) covering the period 1833–44—was generally accorded a rather chilly reception by reviewers, not so much because of Barfod's editorial practices but because the publication of the papers was seen as an indiscretion or even as a violation of the rights both of the deceased and of those still living. The next volume (*EP* III), covering the period 1844–46, did not appear until more than two and one-half years later, in mid- and late 1872 (the volume appeared in two installments), and it also was the subject of scathing reviews. Another five years would pass before Barfod managed to publish the volume covering 1847 (*EP* IV, published in 1877). By this time Barfod had become increasingly occupied with his diocesan duties for Bishop Kierkegaard, and it was thus a stroke of good fortune when, in the summer of 1878, he chanced to meet Hermann Gottsched, a German educator who had become extremely interested in Kierkegaard, to the point of beginning to teach himself Danish. The very next year, 1879, Gottsched moved to Aalborg and began a collaboration with Barfod, who soon became Gottsched's assistant, while Gottsched became the official editor of Kierkegaard's papers. The remaining volumes of *EP* now appeared in rapid succession: *EP* V (covering 1848), *EP* VI (covering 1849), and *EP* VII (covering 1850), all came out in 1880; *EP* VIII (covering 1851–53) and *EP* IX (covering 1854–55) both came out in 1881. And at about the same time that Gottsched took over the task, the critical climate changed, so that the publication of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers was now seen as a valuable contribution. Still, Barfod and Gottsched's edition was admittedly only a *selection* of those materials which the editors believed to be most relevant for an intellectual biography of Kierkegaard.

The Barfod-Gottsched nine-volume set of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers was thus far from a complete edition, and furthermore the philological principles on which it was based were in general quite heavy-handed. Within less than three decades these shortcomings called forth a new and much more comprehensive edition (eleven volumes in twenty tomes), *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* (hereafter, *Papirer* or *Pap*.) [The Papers of Søren Kierkegaard], edited by P. A. Heiberg with assistance from V. Kuhr and E. Torsting, which appeared over a period of almost forty years, from 1909 to 1948. (The *Papirer* were reissued, now with two additional volumes, by Niels Thulstrup from 1968 through 1970, and a three-volume index appeared from 1975 through 1978.) This edition was far more complete than Barfod and Gottsched's, but it imposed

upon the welter of Kierkegaardian materials two principles that modern scholarship regards as utterly untenable. First of all, even though a great deal of the material defies such ordering, Heiberg's edition forcibly sequenced the materials into an *absolute chronology*, interrupting the continuity of individual journal volumes by removing pages and rearranging their sequence and by inserting undated entries from various loose papers at points the editors deemed chronologically appropriate. And secondly, Heiberg's *Papirer* forced the material into *categorical compartments*, even though the materials, as they actually came into being (as well as the order in which they were found upon Kierkegaard's death), were often quite mixed. Thus, in the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer*, "Group A" consists of material that Heiberg and his colleagues deemed to be of the "diary" type; "Group B" is composed of material related to works subsequently published, ranging from the early stages of a work, to various drafts, and finally to fair copies; and "Group C," a category the editors created out of whole cloth, consists of material deemed by Heiberg and his colleagues to be notes, remarks, and lengthy excerpts connected to Kierkegaard's studies, to lectures he attended, his reading, etc. The result is that the scholar using Heiberg's edition of the *Papirer* is confronted with an artificial sense of order, both chronological and categorical.

In order to remedy the defects of earlier editions, the Danish National Research Foundation, an agency of the Danish government, established the Søren Kierkegaard Research Center at the University of Copenhagen in 1994, and by 1997 the first volumes of *SKS* began to appear. In contrast to earlier editions, this new edition is governed by modern philological principles regarding the establishment of a scholarly text from handwritten materials. The new edition thus attempts to preserve the *archival integrity* of the original materials, organizing them in a manner that respects the order in which Kierkegaard himself kept the documents. Where the individual journals and notebooks themselves display chronological sequence, as they commonly do (though often not without inconsistencies and subsequent alterations and emendations attributable to Kierkegaard himself), the archival principle underlying *SKS* of course permits that chronology to remain visible. Similarly, when Kierkegaard himself organized his materials into various categories—for example, journals, notebooks, and loose papers—those categories remain visible in *SKS*. But *SKS* imposes no artificial timeline or categorical compartmentalization upon the materials.

II. Previous English Language Editions of Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers

Several English language editions of selections from Kierkegaard's posthumous papers have been published. The first to appear was Alexander Dru's single volume of selections, *The Journals of Søren Kierkegaard* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938). Dru's work was based on the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer*, which had not yet been completed at the time Dru published his selection. Accordingly, in 1965 Ronald Gregor Smith published a much smaller volume of selections, *Søren Kierkegaard, The Last Years: Journals 1853–1855* (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1965), which concentrated on what was then believed to be the final volume of the *Papirer*—volume XI, which appeared in three tomes. (In fact, as already noted, volume XI was subsequently accompanied by two additional volumes of text and three index volumes.) The Dru and Smith volumes were organized almost entirely in accordance with the chronological order that their editor-translators had inherited from the Heiberg *Papirer*.

Shortly after the appearance of Smith's volume, Howard and Edna Hong began publishing their six volumes of selections (plus one index volume), *Søren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1967–78). Though far more comprehensive than its predecessors, the Hongs' edition was likewise a selection, and like its predecessors it, too, was based on the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer*. Unlike Dru and Smith, however, the Hongs' edition was primarily organized *topically*, with four of the six text volumes devoted to Kierkegaard's views on various subjects, arranged alphabetically from "Abstract" to "Zachaeus." The final two volumes of the Hong edition are devoted to what the Hongs judged to be *autobiographical* passages from Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, arranged in a chronological order taken from the *Papirer*.

The most recent volume of selections from Kierkegaard's posthumous papers is Alastair Hannay's *Søren Kierkegaard, Papers and Journals: A Selection* (London: Penguin, 1996). This, too, is based on the *Papirer*, and the organization is strictly chronological, with the chronology supplied, as in the other cases, by Heiberg's edition.

III. Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Thus, whatever their other merits or weaknesses may have been, previous English language selections of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, compelled as they were to rely upon the Heiberg edition, were of course constrained by the limitations of that edition. Based as it is on the new Danish edition of *SKS*, the present English language edition of *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* employs the *SKS* principle of organization by archival unit: journals, notebooks, and loose papers.

The materials constituting the present edition of *KJN* consist of the documents mentioned above as the third category of materials included in *SKS* as volumes 17 through 27. The eleven volumes of *KJN* contain the translated text of these eleven *SKS* volumes, plus most of the explanatory notes contained in the eleven *SKS* commentary volumes which accompany *SKS* 17–27. Specifically, the textual materials constituting *KJN* consist of the following documents:

a) a set of ten journals to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them "AA" through "KK" (as "I" and "J" are identical in the classical Roman alphabet, there is no journal entitled "I I");

b) fifteen notebooks, designated "1" through "15" by the editors of *SKS*, sequenced according to the dates on which Kierkegaard first made use of them; Kierkegaard himself assigned titles to four of these notebooks, and the editors retain these titles in parentheses;

c) a series of thirty-six quarto-sized, bound journal volumes to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them journals "NB," "NB^2," "NB^3," through "NB^{36}"; and

d) a great variety of materials—a large number of individual folio sheets, pages, slips, and scraps of paper—which the editors of *KJN*, following the editors of *SKS*, entitle "loose papers."

As has been noted, there is a good deal of chronological back-and-forth in Kierkegaard's posthumous papers. Kierkegaard often made use of several of the first twenty-four documents—the ten journals

designated "AA" through "KK" and notebooks "1" through "14"—simultaneously, and there is thus much temporal overlap among the journals and notebooks. (Indeed, it was only after they had been in use for some time, probably in mid- or late 1842, that Kierkegaard assigned the designations "AA" through "KK" to the journal volumes bearing those labels.) Nonetheless, the above-mentioned archival units do fall into several broad temporal categories, and these twenty-four journals and notebooks can be collectively assigned to the period 1833–46. Notebook 15, however, which is entirely devoted to Kierkegaard's relationship to Regine Olsen, his onetime fiancée, stems from 1849. The journals entitled "NB" through "NB[36]" were assigned their numbered titles in chronological order by Kierkegaard himself and stem from the period 1846–55, though here, too, these journals contain additions and emendations, some of which stem from later periods, disrupting the general chronological sequence of the journals. The final group of materials, the "loose papers," spans the entire period 1833–55.

KJN follows the editors of *SKS* in the choice of a two-column format, which best reflects Kierkegaard's practice when keeping his journals and notebooks. Like many of his contemporaries, Kierkegaard's usual custom with his journals and notebooks was to crease the pages lengthwise (vertically) so that each page had an inner column for the main text and a somewhat narrower outer column for subsequent reflections and additions. In this way, further reflections could be—and very often were—added later, sometimes much later, often on several subsequent occasions, e.g., when Kierkegaard read or thought of something that reminded him of something he had written earlier.

As has been noted above, a certain degree of chronological organization is present in the documents themselves, but a strictly chronological presentation of all the material is neither possible nor, perhaps, desirable. A strict and comprehensive chronological organization of the material is impossible, for while we can often detect the *sequence* in which Kierkegaard altered and emended an original passage in a notebook or journal, it is frequently not possible to ascertain *when* these alterations and emendations took place—though in his earlier entries Kierkegaard often dated his marginal additions. Furthermore, there are also cases in which the very sequence of such changes cannot be determined with certainty. Finally, even if it could be established, a rigorously chronological sequencing of all the material would not necessarily be desirable, because such a serial presentation would render it more difficult to see the manner in which Kierkegaard could return to a passage on multiple

subsequent occasions, adding to, deleting, and altering what he had originally written. (It is hoped that upon completion of all eleven volumes of *KJN* it will be possible to produce an electronic edition of the entire series; this would make it possible for readers to organize and search through the materials in a variety of ways.)

IV. The Format and Organization of the Present Edition

1. *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* (*KJN*) and *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* (*SKS*)

As already noted, *KJN* is a translation of Kierkegaard's journals, notebooks, and loose papers, using the text as established by the editors of *SKS*. The great majority of the materials included in the present volumes is taken from Kierkegaard's surviving manuscripts, but as noted in the first part of the present Introduction, some manuscripts were lost in the production of the first published selection of Kierkegaard's papers (Barfod's *EP*). Thus, particularly in the early volumes of *KJN*, our only source for a number of Kierkegaard's journal entries is the version originally published in *EP*. When this is the case, *KJN* indicates that the source is the published version from *EP* by employing justified right-hand margins, while most of the text of *KJN*, taken as it is from the surviving manuscripts, employs a ragged right-hand margin. In addition there are a number of cases, typically involving short or fragmentary entries or lines, in which the only surviving source is Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's manuscripts, while in still other cases material in the original manuscripts deleted by Kierkegaard has been deciphered and restored by the editors of *SKS*; both these sorts of material are reproduced in *KJN* without text-critical commentary. Scholars interested in these source details are referred to the text-critical apparatus of *SKS*. In addition, there are some cases in which Kierkegaard's original manuscript cannot be read meaningfully, and the editors of *SKS* suggest a proposed reading of the passage in question. *KJN* has adopted all such proposed readings without comment.

In some cases Kierkegaard's spelling is erroneous or inconsistent or there is missing punctuation. On rare occasions the editors of *SKS* have corrected errors of this sort silently, while in other cases missing punctuation has been supplied (but placed within special brackets to indicate that this is the work of the editors of *SKS*), and in still other cases Kierkegaard's errors of spelling or

punctuation have been allowed to stand because they are indicative of the hasty and informal style that often characterizes his unpublished materials. Where they do not cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have followed the editors of *SKS* in allowing a number of Kierkegaard's spelling errors (e.g., of proper names) and punctuation lapses to remain. On the other hand, where the retention of Kierkegaard's errors might cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have absorbed without annotation the corrections made by the editors of *SKS* (both the silent and the bracketed corrections), and have occasionally corrected instances of erroneous spelling and missing punctuation that have been permitted to remain in *SKS*. Here—as in the above-mentioned cases involving materials which have their source in Barfod's "Catalogue" or in text deleted by Kierkegaard and restored by the editors of *SKS*—scholars who require access to the entire text-critical apparatus of *SKS* should consult that edition.

2. Two-Column Format in the Main Text

As already noted, a two-column format is employed where necessary in order to emphasize the polydimensionality of the original documentary materials; thus, for example, providing a spatial representation of a draft's character as a draft with multiple alterations.

3. Typographical Conventions in the Main Text

a) In Kierkegaard's time, both "gothic" and "latin" handwriting were in common use among educated people. Generally, when writing Danish and German (which of course accounts for the bulk of his journals and notebooks) Kierkegaard used a gothic hand, while when writing Latin or French (which he did much less frequently than Danish or German) Kierkegaard used a latin hand. Following the editors of *SKS*, the editors of *KJN* have sought to preserve this feature by using ordinary roman type to represent Kierkegaard's gothic hand, and a sans serif typeface to represent Kierkegaard's latin hand. Greek and Hebrew will appear in their respective alphabets.

b) As in *SKS*, italics and boldface are used to indicate Kierkegaard's degrees of emphasis. *Italics* indicate underlining by Kierkegaard. **Boldface** indicates double underlining by Kierkegaard. ***Boldface italics*** indicate double underlining plus a third, wavy underlining by Kierkegaard.

4. Margins in the Main Text

a) The *SKS* pagination of the journals appears in the margins of the present edition. This permits the reader to refer to *SKS*, which contains the entire apparatus of text-critical markers and notes concerning the manuscripts, including indications of Kierkegaard's own pagination of his journals and notebooks.

b) Two separate line numbering systems are included in the inner and outer margins in order to facilitate specific line references to each of the two columns.

c) The entry numbers in the margins are not Kierkegaard's own but have been added by the editors of *SKS* in order to facilitate reference to specific entries. Each journal or notebook has its own entry numbering in arabic numerals, e.g., "AA:1," "DD:8," etc., which refer to the first entry in *Journal AA*, the eighth entry in *Journal DD*, etc.

Kierkegaard's marginal additions to journal or notebook entries are indicated with lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "AA:23.b," which refers to Kierkegaard's second marginal addition to the twenty-third entry in *Journal AA*. If a marginal addition itself has a marginal addition, this is also indicated by another layer of lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "DD:11.a.a," which refers to the first marginal note to the first marginal note to the eleventh entry in *Journal DD*.

Where the letter preceding Kierkegaard's marginal note has been set in *italics* and is enclosed in square brackets, this means that Kierkegaard did not leave a reference symbol indicating exactly where his marginal note pertains. In these cases, the editors of *KJN*, following the usage of the editors of *SKS*, have situated Kierkegaard's marginal additions approximately where they are found on the pages of Kierkegaard's own journal manuscripts, which, as noted, employed a two-column format.

Loose papers are numbered sequentially "Paper 1," "Paper 2," "Paper 3," etc. The second entry on a given paper would be "Paper 4:2," and if it has a marginal note associated with it, the designation of that note is in the format "Paper 4:2.a," etc. If more specific reference than this is necessary, the system of *KJN* volume number, page number, and line number on the appropriate line counter is employed, e.g., "*KJN* 1, 56:11," referring to a passage in the first volume of *KJN*, page 56, line 11 on the line counter for the inner column. If a marginal note (thus, a note in the outer column of the page) is referred to in this manner, the reference is in the format "*KJN* 9, 56*m*:3," referring to a marginal note found in vol-

ume 9 of *KJN*, page 56, line 3 on the marginal or outer column line counter.

5. Footnotes in the Main Text

a) Kierkegaard's own footnotes are indicated by arabic numerals and are numbered consecutively within a journal entry, with the numbering beginning at "1" for each new journal entry. Kierkegaard's footnotes appear at the bottom of the text column or at the end of the entry to which they pertain, whichever comes first, but always *above* the solid horizontal line.

b) Translator's footnotes appear *below* the solid horizontal line.

6. Foreign Language in the Main Text

Foreign (non-Danish) words, expressions, and quotations that appear in Kierkegaard's text are left in the original language. Where the translator has deemed it advisable, shorter passages in foreign languages are accompanied by a translator's footnote, below the solid horizontal line, that provides an English translation of the foreign word or passage. All other foreign language passages are given in full translation in the explanatory notes at the back of each volume.

7. Photographs of Original Manuscripts

Selected photographs of original manuscript material are included in the main text.

8. Orthography of Classical Names

The orthographical standard for all ancient Greek and Roman names and place names is *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

9. Material Included at the Back of Each Volume

a) A brief "Critical Account of the Text" gives a description of the physical appearance, provenance, and whatever chronological information is known concerning a document. If the document is related to others—for example, in the cases where Kierkegaard is known to have used one of the journals in the *AA–KK* group in tandem with one or more of notebooks 1–14, which stem from the same period—this is also indicated.

b) Each journal or notebook is accompanied by "Explanatory Notes." In some cases, notes included in *SKS* have been shortened

or omitted in *KJN*. In a number of cases, notes which do not appear in *SKS* have been added to *KJN;* typically, these serve to explain geographical or historical references which are obvious to Danes but are not likely to be known by non-Danes. Notes are keyed by page and entry number to specific lemmata; that is, to key words or phrases from the main text that appear in **boldface** at the beginning of each note. The *running heads* on each page of notes indicate the journal or notebook and entry number(s) to which the notes on that page refer, while the numbers *to the left* of each column of notes indicate the page and line number in the main text where the lemma under discussion is found. When the text of a note mentions a lemma explained in another note for the same journal or notebook, an arrow (→) accompanied by a large and a small number—e.g., → 110,22—serves as a cross-reference, indicating the page and line number (in this case, page 110, line 22) where that lemma occurs in the main text. Each journal or notebook is treated as a separate unit with respect to explanatory notes; thus the notes for a given journal or notebook contain no cross-references to notes for other journals or notebooks. (The explanatory notes for notebooks 9 and 10 will constitute an exception to this rule because those two notebooks are so closely connected that they should perhaps be considered a single document.) The notes are confined to clarifying historical, biographical, geographical, and similar information not readily available in a standard English language desk reference volume. Notes do not engage in critical interpretation or in discussions of the scholarly literature. As noted under 6 above, foreign language passages not translated in a translator's footnote in the main text are translated in the notes at the end of the volume. There are no markers in the main text denoting the existence of an explanatory note pertaining to a particular word or passage.

c) Maps of nineteenth-century Copenhagen, Denmark, etc., are provided where appropriate.

d) Calendars of the years covered in the volume, indicating days of the week, holidays, etc., are provided.

e) Illustrations referred to in Kierkegaard's text are reproduced, as are selected photographs of original manuscript material.

f) A concordance to the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer* is provided in order to facilitate using the present edition in conjunction with works, including previous translations of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, which refer to the *Papirer*.

10. Abbreviations

a) Abbreviations used in the main text

In the main text an attempt has been made to preserve something of the feel of the original documents, in which Kierkegaard made liberal use of a great many abbreviations, shortening words in accordance with the common usage of his times. Naturally, many of these abbreviations cannot be duplicated in English, but where it has seemed appropriate a number of commonly used (or easily decipherable) English abbreviations have been employed in order to provide a sense of Kierkegaard's "journal style."

b) Abbreviations used in "Critical Accounts of the Texts" and in "Explanatory Notes"

ASKB	*The Auctioneer's Sales Record of the Library of Søren Kierkegaard,* ed. H. P. Rohde (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1967)
B&A	*Breve og Aktstykker vedrørende Søren Kierkegaard* [Letters and Documents Concerning Søren Kierkegaard], vols. 1–2, ed. Niels Thulstrup (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953–54)
B-cat.	H. P. Barfod, "Fortegnelse over de efter *Søren Aabye Kierkegaard* forefundne Papirer" [Catalogue of the Papers Found After the Death of Søren Aabye Kierkegaard]
Bl.art.	*S. Kierkegaard's Bladartikler, med Bilag samlede efter Forfatterens Død, udgivne som Supplement til hans øvrige Skrifter* [S. Kierkegaard's Newspaper Articles, with an Appendix Collected after the Author's Death, Published as a Supplement to His Other Works], ed. Rasmus Nielsen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1857)
d.	died in the year
EP	*Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers], vols. 1–9, ed. H. P. Barfod and H. Gottsched (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1869–81)
Jub.	G.W.F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke* [Complete Works]. *Jubiläumsausgabe*, vols. 1–26, ed. Hermann Glockner (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1928–41)

KA The Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen

KJN *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*, vols. 1–11, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas, Bruce H. Kirmmse, George Pattison, Vanessa Rumble, and K. Brian Söderquist (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007–)

KW *Kierkegaard's Writings*, vols. 1–26, ed. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978–2000)

Occasionally, the Explanatory Notes will employ different English translations of the titles of Kierkegaard's works than those used in *KW*. For example, Kierkegaard's *En literair Anmeldelse*, which is translated *Two Ages* in *KW*, may appear in the Explanatory Notes as *A Literary Review*. All such departures from the English titles as they appear in *KW* will be explained in the Explanatory Notes in which they appear. Generally, however, the English titles used in *KW* will be used; these titles have been assigned standard abbreviations as follows:

AN "Armed Neutrality" in *KW* 22
BA *The Book on Adler* in *KW 24*
C *The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress* in *KW 17*
CA *The Concept of Anxiety* in *KW 8*
CD *Christian Discourses* in *KW 17*
CI *The Concept of Irony* in *KW 2*
COR *The "Corsair" Affair; Articles Related to the Writings* in *KW 13*
CUP *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* in *KW 12*
EO, 1 *Either/Or, Part 1* in *KW 3*
EO, 2 *Either/Or, Part 2* in *KW 4*
EPW *Early Polemical Writings: From the Papers of One Still Living; Articles from Student Days; The Battle Between the Old and the New Soap-Cellars* in *KW 1*
EUD *Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses* in *KW 15*
FPOSL *From the Papers of One Still Living* in *KW 1*
FSE *For Self-Examination* in *KW 21*

FT	*Fear and Trembling* in *KW 6*
JC	"Johannes Climacus or De omnibus dubitandum est" in *KW 7*
JFY	*Judge for Yourself!* in *KW 21*
LD	*Letters and Documents* in *KW 25*
NA	"Newspaper Articles, 1854–1855" in *KW 23*
NSBL	"Notes on Schelling's Berlin Lectures" in *KW 2*
OMWA	*On My Work as an Author* in *KW 22*
P	*Prefaces* in *KW 9*
PC	*Practice in Christianity* in *KW 20*
PF	*Philosophical Fragments* in *KW 7*
PV	*The Point of View for My Work as an Author* in *KW 22*
R	*Repetition* in *KW 6*
SLW	*Stages on Life's Way* in *KW 11*
SUD	*The Sickness unto Death* in *KW 19*
TA	*Two Ages: The Age of Revolution and the Present Age, A Literary Review* in *KW 14*
TDIO	*Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* in *KW 10*
TM	*"The Moment" and Late Writings: Articles from "Fædrelandet"; "The Moment"; This Must Be Said, So Let It Be Said; Christ's Judgement on Official Christianity; The Changelessness of God* in *KW 23*
UDVS	*Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits* in *KW 15*
WA	*Without Authority: The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air; Two Minor Ethical-Religious Essays; Three Discourses at the Communion on Fridays; An Upbuilding Discourse; Two Discourses at the Communion on Fridays* in *KW 18*
WL	*Works of Love* in *KW 16*
WS	"Writing Sampler" in *KW 9*

NKS	Ny Kongelige Samling [New Royal Collection], a special collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen
NRSV	*Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha* (see part c below)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament

Pap. *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* [The Papers of Søren Kierkegaard], 2nd ed., vols. 1–16 in 25 tomes, ed. P. A. Heiberg, V. Kuhr, and E. Torsting (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909–78)

SKS *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings], 28 text volumes and 27 commentary volumes, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, Jette Knudsen, Johnny Kondrup, and Alastair McKinnon (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–)

The 28 text volumes of *SKS* are referred to as *SKS* 1 through *SKS* 28. The 27 commentary volumes which accompany the text volumes are referred to as *SKS* K1 through *SKS* K28. (The reason there are 27 rather than 28 commentary volumes is that a single commentary volume, *SKS* K2–3, accompanies the two text volumes *SKS* 2 and *SKS* 3, which together comprise the massive two-volume work *Enten-Eller* [Either/Or].)

SV1 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 1st ed., vols. 1–14, ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1901–6)

SV2 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 2nd ed., vols. 1–15, ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1920–36)

c) *The Bible*. All biblical quotations are from the following English translations:

Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) (Standard for references to the authorized Danish translation of the New Testament from 1819 and used for many other biblical references.)

The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) (Often used for references to the authorized Danish translation of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha from 1740 and occasionally used for other biblical references.)

Occasionally, in order to help the reader understand the text of journal entry, the translators of *KJN* may make minor modifications to one of the above Bible translations.

Books of the Bible are abbreviated in accordance with the abbreviations used in the *NRSV*:

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Ex	Exodus	Song	Song of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus	Isa	Isaiah
Num	Numbers	Jer	Jeremiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Lam	Lamentations
Josh	Joshua	Ezek	Ezekiel
Judg	Judges	Dan	Daniel
Ruth	Ruth	Hos	Hosea
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Joel	Joel
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Am	Amos
1 Kings	1 Kings	Ob	Obadiah
2 Kings	2 Kings	Jon	Jonah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Mic	Micah
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Nah	Nahum
Ezra	Ezra	Hab	Habakkuk
Neh	Nehemiah	Zeph	Zephaniah
Esth	Esther	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah
Ps	Psalms	Mal	Malachi
Prov	Proverbs		

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

Tob	Tobit	Song of Thr	Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Jews
Jdt	Judith		
Add Esth	Additions to Esther		
Wis	Wisdom	Sus	Susanna
Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)	Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Bar	Baruch	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
1 Esd	1 Esdras	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
2 Esd	2 Esdras	3 Macc	3 Maccabees
Let Jer	Letter of Jeremiah	4 Macc	4 Maccabees
		Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh

New Testament

Mt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	Titus	Titus
Jn	John	Philem	Philemon
Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Heb	Hebrews
Rom	Romans	Jas	James
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	2 Pet	2 Peter
Gal	Galatians	1 Jn	1 John
Eph	Ephesians	2 Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3 Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians		

11. Symbols

[ ] enclose the *KJN* editors' supplements to the *SKS* text; also enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations or footnotes for which Kierkegaard did not leave a symbol, but whose placement is beyond doubt

[ ] enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations which Kierkegaard himself did not clearly assign to a specific locus in a specific main entry

(...) indicates omission of irrelevant text from material quoted in the explanatory notes

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Bruce H. Kirmmse, General Editor,
for the Editorial Board of *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*

JOURNAL AA

JOURNAL AA

Translated by
Alastair Hannay

Edited by
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Text established by
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Gilleleje

During my stay here at *Gilleleje* I've visited Esrom, Fredensborg, Frederiksværk, Tisvilde. The last town is best known for *Helen's Spring* (cf. Thiele, *Danish Folktales*, I, pp. 29ff.), to which the whole district goes on pilgrimage at Midsummer. When you come just outside the village your attention is immediately drawn to a quite tall, three-sided column with an inscription to the effect that shifting sands here once caused great devastation, its dunes burying a whole village, Tibirke, but also that it was checked by the tireless efforts of our excellent government. Looking down from this high point into the valley where the town of *Tisvilde* lies, and informed of the nature of the terrain both by the inscription on the column and by the lush buckwheat growing on both sides, *there* nature, friendly and smiling, meets our eye. The small but very neat houses lie each surrounded by fresh verdure (unlike larger cities which when we approach them impress on us the clear outline of the whole mass of buildings, these are, if I may so put it, like individuals extending a friendly hand to one another in a smiling totality), for the whole expanse where the sand did its worst is now planted with pine trees—so one is almost tempted to believe it's all a fiction, a strange fiction: that in this very region where health is sought so many have found their graves. At dusk the whole thing looks like a legend made visible, a kind of story of Job in which above all *Tibirke Church* plays the main part. Alone on a great sand hill, it stands like a gravestone over the hapless village, yet also as an example of a church built on a rock over which storm and sand cannot prevail. But because the church held its own, a forest sprang up where there had been shifting sand.—On now entering the village one is most unpleasantly put off, instead of peaceful rural tranquillity mixed perhaps with a little melancholy in view of the circumstances, to find boisterous noise, tents and tables where, curi-
8 ously, almost all the vendors are Germans, as if to say that only foreigners could carry on like this here, that only a foreign tongue could profane the place in this way. One leaves the village and comes to the field on which *St. Helen's grave* lies. There it stands, calm, plain, surrounded by a fence of granite boulders; the gate leading into the

slightly elevated grave stands open. But here, too, to disturb every impression of solemnity, a tent has found its place just opposite, where there is reveling and carousing and where a few people have stationed themselves to mock those who come to inspect it. A remarkable kind of discourse is being carried on here. Being from the district, these people have imbibed with their mothers' milk a considerable awe for this grave and the cures to which it is supposed to have contributed.[1] They couldn't totally deny these, but they were now out to convince themselves and others that they could rise above such things, and choose to do so by way of making a mockery of it all. In curious contrast to all this are the comments and ways of a man who functions as a kind of inspector and has a key to the wooden shed were the springs are (there are in fact three, which is why locally they talk of going to the springs and not the spring) from which he earns some money. He tells that he has been there 20 years now and has seen many cured. One soon notices, however, that he doesn't put particular trust in it all either, but speaks well of the place because of his own interests. Just as I had no need on my arrival to fear becoming an object of derision—they'd expect a man dressed in modern clothes, wearing spectacles, and smoking a cigar to have the same superior enlightenment on these matters as they themselves rather than to have come there with pious intentions, which latter was not precisely the case either—so too the keeper of the key was put in an awkward situation, fearing that his own interests might clash with the impression his remarks would make upon me. He therefore snatched at what I noticed to be a common expedient: those concerned had been healed by the use of such means "under Providence." It is quite typical of people like that, however, to arrive at this conclusion, for when they cannot themselves explain the healing through these means, they push it away onto something more remote, just to be rid of it, but make the matter curious by doing so. It is indeed curious, after all, that God's assistance should have fastened on *this* path. Consistency with their intellectual point of view would require them either to deny the whole thing and insist upon incontrovertibly factual evidence or, if they were very modest, postpone the explanation until further notice.

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On one's entering the burial site, the whole inspires a certain mood

[1]) The cure they use consists in sleeping at the grave every Midsummer night three years in a row, and taking some earth from the grave, for which a special spoon was provided. Also one must not forget the poor, for whom an alms box is set up in the town.

of melancholy evoked by the strange mystery of the place, by the dark side that superstition always brings with it,[2] escaping the eye of the observer yet intimating a whole system or nexus. One sees oneself surrounded by locks of hair, rags, crutches. It is as though one hearkened to the cries of the suffering, their prayers to heaven; one hears some person's despairing lament at being unable to fall asleep (there seems something altogether beautiful in its being made a condition that one *sleep* in this holy place, as though to mark the quiet, God-devoted calm), and all this at midnight on a burial mound where they are surrounded by nothing but small wooden plaques in the form of mementoes placed on the graves, bearing testimony to the happily overcome sufferings of the healed. And now day is breaking, the morning twilight with its strangely living mutability and clammy dampness fades; the sun in its majesty shines on the landscape and perhaps hears the hymns of joy of the healed.—Of the placards mentioned, some give briefly and plainly the name and birthplace of the healed and their thanks to God—for example: "Johanne Anders's daughter, 1834, suffered much from headaches, miracle 23 June 1834"; "Sidse Anders's daughter, solo gloria."—Some are much longer and more detailed; some haven't written their names in full; some have written in the first person, others have told of the person concerned—for example, "Such and such a girl was cured here," etc. Altogether, it is quite noticeable that most are women. In the middle of the site is the grave proper; on top of it lies a stone, or rather a piece of stone; its inscription was illegible.

The springs are a short distance away, just above the beach, in a planked house. At this point the terrain slopes down quite steeply. Chr. W. Schrøder has composed a commemorative account of Crown Prince Frederick's visit here.[3]—Down on the beach lies the rock upon which Helen is supposed to have been transported; they say it becomes visible at low tide. Legend has it that when they were going to carry her body to the graveyard they were unable to come

[2]) Thus it is also interesting to read, for instance, at Nordmandsdal in Fredensborg, all the names on the columns; one can piece together from each of them a whole history.

[3]) "Anno 1774, 18th June. The honor and favor accorded Helen's Spring by being graciously viewed by Crown Prince Frederick who, while in the district, was shown the great work for which his great forefathers will be eternally praised. The spring indeed pleased him, but what impressed him the more was that the district was now saved from

further than the place where her burial mound lies, and that on that same occasion three springs gushed forth from the earth.

On July 5 I visited *Gurre* Castle, where excavation of the ruins is now in progress. The castle itself (cf. Thiele, *Danish Folktales*, I, pp. 90 ff. Another at Vordingborg? built by Valdemar Atterdag, destroyed in the Feud of the Counts? "Let God keep his paradise if I may keep Gurre Castle"; his wild hunt in the air on the white horse; the black hen with the black chicks) had a beautiful location, surrounded on all sides by forest. A very large stretch still exists, and the area suggests that at one time there was more. Then there's Lake Gurre, quite long and proportionately not all that wide, with a thick beech forest on one side and on the other a forest of smaller, more stunted trees. The lake itself is in many places overgrown with rushes. When this landscape is viewed in the afternoon light and the sun is still high enough to give the necessary sharp contours to the friendly landscape, like a melodious voice accented sharply enough not to lisp, our entire surroundings seem to whisper to us, "It's good to be here." It is the kind of familiar, intimate impression which a lake surrounded by forest (large enough to separate and unite at the same time) can produce but the sea cannot. Also especially characteristic of this area are the rushes that billow along the shore. While the sough of the trees lets us hear King Valdemar's hunt, the sound of the horns and the baying of the hounds, the rushes seem to breathe applause—the blonde maidens admiring the knights' swift riding and noble bearing. How different in this respect the view at Lake *Søborg*! Here too the mighty reeds bend to the wind, but their rustling proclaims struggle and power. And then there's the sea, which like a mighty spirit is always in motion, and even in its greatest calm gives intimations of violent mental suffering. Over the region around Lake Gurre there dwells a calm sadness; it lives, so to speak, more in the past. This is also why it is becoming overgrown. The sea by contrast encroaches on land—they stand facing each other like two hostile powers. The coastline is barren and sandy, the land rises as if to resist

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shifting sand. What cannot the kingdom expect in time from him who in his youthful years wants to see for himself what can be done to the benefit and interest of his state, his people, and country—Most humbly erected in unforgettable memory by the present Sand Dune Inspector.

Chr. Wilhelm Schröder."

with might. The sea is at its height when the storm chimes in with its bass, when its distinctive deep roar vies with heaven's thunder and everything is lit by lightning. Lake Gurre is at its most beautiful when a soft breeze ruffles its blue surface and birdsong accompanies the whistling of the reeds; the only accompaniment to the sea is the hoarse shriek of the solitary seagull. The former (the sea) is like a Mozart recitative, the latter like a melody by Weber.—

3 From here the road went to *Hellebæk*. The last few miles go through the lovely forest which offers views of a special kind. The forest itself is fairly large and wild, and only the wheel track (not a road) reminds us that we still have any connection with the human world. Here and there a deer leaps up that has been hiding in the bushes from the rays of the noonday sun. The birds rise up screeching into the sky. The rather hilly countryside now forms a multitude of little lakes in the forest. Due as much to the fact that the land slopes down toward them as to the darkness shed by the leaves, the impression forced upon one is that they are very deep. In contrast to this dark mirrored surface, a single flower now rises forth, growing on the surface, a nymphaea alba (white water lily), swimming about with its big broad green leaf. It has bobbed up, white and pure, innocent, from the depths of the sea. Not far from Hellebæk lies Odin's Hill, where Schimmelmann lies buried. This view has been more than sufficiently praised and discussed, whereby much of the impression regrettably vanishes. If only people could tire of running about so busily pointing out romantic settings (for example K . . . at Fredensborg). From there the road went to Esrom and thence to Gilleleje.

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4 On July 8 I made an excursion to *Esrom*. Walking along the lake from Esrom to Nøddebo one traverses one of the loveliest roads I have followed for a long time. On the left is Sølyst, built almost on the lake itself, and further along Fredensborg. On the right is a forest all the way, alternately beech and spruce. Here and there are delightful plantations of three-year and four-year-old spruce. A thunderstorm overtook me along the way. I was already looking forward to seeing such a storm come up over Lake Esrom and Grib Forest like this, but only rain came of it. It was interesting, however, to see the preliminaries to such a drama. I have seen the sea on such an occasion turn blue-gray in sharp ripples, and I have watched how the gusts of wind that announced the imminent arrival of the storm swirl the grass and

sand along the coast up into the air, but never before have I seen how such a scene looks when not only the grass but a whole forest is set in motion by these gusts of wind (these trumpet calls that announce the judgment). However, since it proved to be nothing but rain I decided it was best to look somewhere for shelter. And such a place came into view. Although I searched a long time for a driveway, I found none. I waved to a figure that appeared at the window, but she was presumably disinclined to inconvenience herself by going out in such rain, and opening the window would be as out of the question here as with any farmer. I had consequently to hold my carriage under some trees leaning over the road to give me a kind of shelter. Clad now in my huge cloak, I entered the parlor and found myself in the company of three persons about to have an afternoon meal. The furniture included of course the big long table at which our farmers like to eat, and also a towering Himmelseng in the literal sense of the word, for I imagine that to go to bed one would have to climb up to the loft and fall into it—a fall of some distance according to country custom. The next room, the door to which stood open, was a storeroom for linen, canvas, toweling, etc., in disordered piles, easily prompting the thought that one was in the presence of a little band of thieves, an idea that seemed consistent with the place's location (Lake Esrom on one side and Grib Forest on the other and no house within a mile or so) and the appearance of the people. Let us now look at them a bit. At the far end of the said long table sat the man, with his sandwich and bottle of aquavit before him. He listened quite impassively to my tale of woe, just taking an occasional sip from his glass, something the volume of his nose seemed to indicate he had done quite frequently. Yet the frequent indulgence had by no means diminished the pleasure, and I am certain that he still drank his schnapps with the relish of one who has just resigned from a temperance society. The woman was not very tall, with a broad face and an ugly upturned nose and a sly pair of eyes, and who, regarding their way of making a living (custom bleaching), assured me that one had to earn one's morsel in some way. In addition there was a little round-shouldered girl, the same person who had appeared at the window and whom I had taken for a child.

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Soon the rain stopped and I hurried on. But these were only the preliminaries and once I entered Grib Forest, it really began to get going, the lightning and thunder starting in earnest. Soon we were drenched in rain and in that respect had no need to hurry; but the

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small lad (Rudolph) who was with me was quite frightened. There I sat, in pouring rain, soaked to the skin in the middle of Grib Forest, in thunder and lightning, with a boy beside me who trembled at the lightning. At full trot we finally reached a house where we took shelter. Wretched and dilapidated. The people poor. The woman housewifely. Sat and spun. The husband sniffling. The first thing I noticed upon entering was a sort of door to a closet, made of an old board on which was painted a girl in plain rural costume and the following inscription: "I have food from my fields, I have clothes from my sheep; I take here what victuals the house has for my keep." I asked them for a little bread for my horse, which they were rather reluctant to give as they had only half a loaf. But they were open to persuasion, and when I paid them quite well, the woman answered that she could not take *that* much, but on my remarking that I could spare it and she needed it, she agreed to accept.

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6 July 29. When walking from the inn over Blackbridge (so-called because at one time the Black Death was supposedly checked here) to the open ground along the beach, about a mile north, one comes to the highest point around here—*Gilbjerg*. This has always been one of my favorite spots. Often, as I stood here on a quiet evening, the sea 14 intoning its song with deep but calm solemnity, my eye catching not a single sail on the vast surface, and only the sea framed the sky and the sky the sea, while on the other hand the busy hum of life grew silent and the birds sang their vespers, then the few dear departed ones rose from the grave before me, or rather, it seemed as though they were not dead. I felt so much at ease in their midst, I rested in their embrace, and I felt as though I were outside my body and floated about with them in a higher ether—until the seagull's harsh screech reminded me that I stood alone and it all vanished before my eyes, and with a heavy heart I turned back to mingle with the world's throng—yet without forgetting such blessed moments.—I have often stood there and pondered my past life and the different surroundings that have exerted power over me. And before my contemplative gaze, vanished the pettiness that so often causes offence in life, the many misunderstandings that so often separate persons of different temperament, who, if they understood one another properly, would be tied together with indissoluble bonds. When the whole, seen thus in perspective, presented only the larger, bolder outlines and I didn't lose myself in detail as one so often does, but saw the whole in its

totality, I gained the strength to grasp things differently, to admit how often I myself had made mistakes, and to forgive the mistakes of others.—As I stood there, without depression or despondency making me see myself as an enclitic of those by whom I am usually surrounded, or without pride making me the constitutive principle in a small circle—as I stood there alone and forsaken and the power of the sea and the battle of the elements reminded me of my nothingness, while the sure flight of the birds reminded me on the other hand of Christ's words, "Not a sparrow will fall to the earth without your heavenly Father's will," I felt at one and the same time how great and how insignificant I am. Those two great forces, pride and humility, amicably combined. Fortunate the man for whom *this* is possible every moment of his life, in whose breast these two factors have not merely reached an agreement but stretched out their hands to each other and celebrated a wedding—a marriage neither of convenience nor of unequals, but a truly quiet wedding performed in the innermost recesses of a person's heart, in the holy of holies, where few witnesses are present but everything happens before the eyes alone of *Him* who was the only one to attend the first wedding in the Garden of Eden and who blessed the pair—a marriage, too, that will not be barren but will have blessed fruits visible also in the world to the eye of the experienced observer. For these fruits are like cryptogamia in the plant world; they escape the attention of the masses and only a solitary researcher discovers them and rejoices in his find. His life will flow on calmly and quietly, and he will drain neither the intoxicating chalice of pride nor the bitter cup of despair. He has found what that great philosopher—who by his calculations was able to destroy the enemy's instruments of assault—desired but did not find: that Archimedean point from which he could lift the whole world, that point which precisely for that reason must lie outside the world, that point outside the constraints of time and space.

From this spot I have seen the sea ruffled by a soft breeze, seen it play with the pebbles; from here I have seen its surface transformed into a massive snowstorm and heard the bass voice of the gale begin to sing falsetto; here it is as though I had seen the world's emergence and destruction—a sight that truly enjoins silence. But to what purpose that word which is so often profaned? How often do we not encounter those sentimental blondes who, like nymphs in white gowns, behold such things with armed eyes,[1] and then burst out in

[1]) Something Gynther said of them on another occasion is also true: "People who come with eyes armed but also with hearts armored."

"silent admiration"? How different from the wholesome, exuberant, unaffected girl who watches such things with innocence in her eye and upon her brow. And *she* remains silent. But like the Virgin Mary of old, she hides it deep in her soul.

To learn true humility (I am using this expression to refer to the state of mind under discussion), it is well for a person to withdraw from the turmoil of the world (we see also that Christ withdrew when the people wanted to proclaim him king, as well as when he had to walk the thorny path), for in life either the depressing or the inspiring impression is too dominant for true equilibrium to come about. Here, of course, individuality is very decisive, for just as nearly every philosopher believes he has found the truth and nearly every poet believes he has reached Mount Parnassus, so we find on the other hand many people who link their existence entirely to another, as the parasite to a plant, live in him, die in him (for example the Frenchman in relation to Napoleon). But in the midst of nature where man, free from life's often suffocating air, breathes more freely, here the soul opens itself willingly to every noble impression. Here man steps forth as nature's master, but he also feels that in nature something higher is manifested, something he must
16 bow before. He feels a need to surrender to this power that rules it all. (Naturally I will not speak of those who see nothing higher in nature than mass—people who really think of the sky as a cheese-cover and men as maggots living inside.) Here he feels himself at once great and small, and does so without appealing to the Fichtean remark (in his *Die Bestimmung des Menschen*) about a grain of sand constituting the world, a statement very close to madness.

7 *Hillerød* 25 July 1835

After a considerable march through the forest, where I became acquainted with several of the kind of little lakes I am so fond of, I came to *Hestehaven* and *Lake Carl*. Here one of the most beautiful prospects I have ever seen came into view. The countryside is somewhat open and slopes down steeply to the lake but, with the beech forest growing on either side, it is not naked. A growth of rushes forms the background and the lake itself the foreground; a fairly large stretch is clear but an even larger portion is overgrown with the big green leaves of the water lily, under which the fish seemingly try to hide but now and then peek out and flounder about on the surface in order to bathe in sunshine. On the opposite side the land rises, a large beech forest, and the morning light makes the particu-

lar lighted areas form a marvelous contrast to the shaded. And the church bells call to prayer, but not in the man-made temple. If the birds do not need to be reminded to praise God, then should not men be moved to prayer without church, in the true house of God, where heaven's arch forms the church ceiling, where the roar of the storm and the gentle zephyr take the place of the organ's bass and treble, where the warbling of the birds forms the congregation's hymns of joy, not as in the stone church where the pastor's voice is repeated in an echo from the roof-vault, but where everything resolves itself in an endless antiphony—?

—On July 27 and 28, together with the cousin of Pastor Lyngbye,[1] **8** I went on a trip to *Sweden*, to Mølleleje. Visited Baron von Gyldenstjerne at Krabberup Manor and saw his fish collection; climbed the highest points, Östra Högkull and Vestra Högkull, drove through a considerable beech forest (small lakes), up to Kullan itself, to the 17 lighthouse; made a little botanical excursion on Kullan, and Pastor Lyngbye was good enough to give me a few plants collected there—dried and wrapped in paper.

[1]) N. B. "Young Inger she swings on Askelund's peak,"—
"Wind, waft gently!"

On August 4 I visited Pastor Lyngbye in his parsonage and took a **9** little trip with him on Lake *Søborg*. This once enormous lake is now well on its way to disappearing. With much difficulty we worked our way through the outlet to the lake; the water is very shallow and so silted that like a whale with herring we pushed mud a good way ahead of us. But if we abstract from this, the surrounding nature was very interesting; the immense fathom-high rushes and lush vegetation of all varieties of lake plants really let us fancy ourselves in a quite different climate. Then eventually we came out on the lake itself. Here, too, the water is scarcely a foot deep and overgrown with pondweed, some of which Lyngbye collected for the sake of the mollusks. A huge clamor of wild ducks, sea gulls, cranes etc., and the floating islands made a most pleasant impression.

I also inspected the ruins of the castle but there was nothing new to see (Becker covers just about everything in his description of Danish castles).—The three rows of pews clearly show this to be no ordinary country church. On the wall up by the altar is a list of the

pastors since the Reformation, and there was really something awe-inspiring in the thought of these men—they were court chaplains—who according to this information often had stayed thirty or forty years (yes, one even forty-eight years) in the same call, with the same congregation.—In the graveyard Lyngbye had found a tombstone which is now to be sent to Copenhagen to be put up at the Round Tower, and on it was written "Ave Maria" in twined runic letters. He thought it could be an epitaph for Queen Helvig, who as we know lived here.

10 As a fishing village and the northernmost point in Zealand, and therefore somewhat isolated from the surrounding countryside, *Gilleleje* has its own peculiarity, shown by among other things the inhabitants' "corner meetings," and by the "meal," as it is called, shared by all the men after every catch, a party to which every man gives his shilling. In addition almost all of them are related to each other and it is like one big family. So when, during my stay, a boat on its run to the island of Hessel was somewhat overdue in rather stormy weather, there was general anxiety in the village and they rushed frequently up to Gilbjerget to see whether the boat had come into sight.—

11 Among the farmers here in the district I have met one who really stood out—Jens Andersen of Fjellenstrup. He was well read not only in the Bible but also in historical works—for example, Saxo, Snorri, and the Icelandic sagas published by the Old Norse Society (he had borrowed them from the pastor); discussed them very intelligently—yes, I could almost say with unction—but he has unfortunately the defect of drinking, and I won't deny that his speech then was even disgusting, just because he carried on the same as when sober.

[interrupted here]

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12 *Copenhagen*, 1 June 1835

You know with what great excitement I listened to you at that time, how enthusiastic I was about your description of your stay in Brazil, and not so much, again, in the mass of detailed observations you made, enriching yourself and your scholarship, as in the im-

pression your first sortie in those natural wonders made upon you, your paradisaical happiness and joy. Such things must always appeal to any man of warmth and feeling, even if he believes he finds his contentment, his influence, in an entirely different sphere, and especially so to the young who as yet only dream of their destiny. Our early youth is like a flower in the light of dawn, cupping a lovely dewdrop in which all surroundings are reflected with a melancholy harmony. But soon the sun rises above the horizon and the dewdrop evaporates, life's dreams vanish with it, and then the question (to resort again to a floral metaphor) is whether like the oleander one is able on one's own account to produce a drop that can stand as the fruit of one's life. This requires above all that one stand on the soil to which one really belongs, but that is not always so easy to find. There are in this respect fortunate temperaments so decisively inclined in a particular direction that they faithfully follow the path once assigned to them, undeterred for a moment by the 19 thought that perhaps they should really be treading another. There are others who let themselves be so completely directed by their surroundings that they never become clear about what they are really after. Just as the former has its internal, so has the latter its external categorical imperative. But how few there are in the former class, and to the latter I do not wish to belong. Larger is the number of those who get to test the real meaning of this Hegelian dialectic. Incidentally, it is altogether proper that wine ferments before becoming clear, but the particular stages in this process are nevertheless often unpleasant, though of course looked at as a whole it has its own pleasant side, inasmuch as in the context of universal doubt it does nevertheless have its relative results. This has special importance for the person who, through it, becomes clear about what he is destined for, not only because of the peace of mind that follows upon the preceding storm, but also because one then *has life* in an entirely different sense from before. It is this Faustian element, which to a degree asserts itself in any intellectual development, that has always made me think that the idea of *Faust* should be accorded world significance. Just as our forefathers had a goddess of longing so, in my opinion, is Faust the personification of doubt. More than that he should not be; and it is surely as much a sin against the idea when Goethe lets Faust be converted as it is when Merimée allows Don Juan to convert. It is not an objection to my view that Faust, at the moment he appealed to the Devil, nevertheless took a positive step, for here is where, so it seems to me, some of what is most profound in the Faust legend lies. He gave himself to the Devil for

the express purpose of becoming enlightened, which formerly he was not. And it was just because he gave himself to the Devil that his doubt increased (just as a sick man falling into the hands of a quack is likely to get even worse). For although Mephistopheles admittedly let him look through his spectacles into the hidden secrets of man and of the world, Faust was unable to refrain from harboring doubts about him; intellectually he could never enlighten him about the deepest things. His guiding idea of course prevented him from ever turning to God, for the moment he did so he would have to say to himself that here there was truly enlightenment. But at the same moment he would have denied his character as a doubter.

But doubt of this kind can arise in other spheres too. Even if a man has come to terms with himself on several such main issues, there are still other important questions in life. Naturally every man wants to be effective in the world according to his aptitudes, but that again means in a definite direction, namely that best suited to his individuality. But which direction is that? Here I stand before a big question mark. Here I stand like Hercules, but not where the road divides—no, here there are far more roads to take and it is thus much more difficult to choose the right one. It is perhaps precisely a misfortune of my life that I am interested in far too much and not decisively in any one thing; my interests are not all subordinated to one but stand on an equal footing.

I will try to show how matters seem to me.

1. *The natural sciences*. If I look first at this whole tendency (including in this classification all those who aim to make intelligible and interpret Nature's runic inscriptions: from the one who calculates the motion of the stars and stops them as it were in order to inspect them more closely, to the one who describes the physiology of a particular animal; from one who from the heights of the mountains surveys the surface of the earth, to the one who descends to the depths of the abyss; from the one who pursues the development of the human body through its countless nuances, to those who study intestinal worms), along this road, as on any other (though mainly this one), I have of course seen examples of people who have made a name for themselves in the literature by their enormous industriousness as collectors. They know a great number of details and have discovered many new ones, but nothing more. They have merely provided a substratum for others to apply their thought to and work up. These people are thus satisfied with their details, and yet to me they are like the rich farmer in the gospel: there's a great deal

they have collected in the barn, but science can say to them, "Tomorrow I will require your life," insofar as science decides what meaning each particular finding is to have within the whole. Insofar as there was a kind of unconscious life in such a man's knowledge, to that extent the sciences could be said to require his life. To the degree this was not so, his activity would be like that of the man who contributes to the upkeep of the earth by the decomposition of his dead body. This is not, of course, true in other cases, with the kind of investigators into nature who through their speculation have found, or tried to find, that Archimedean point which is nowhere in the world and from which they have surveyed the whole 21 and seen the details in their proper light. And as far as they are concerned, I won't deny they have made an extremely salutary impression upon me. The peace, harmony, and joy one finds in them is seldom found elsewhere. We have here in town 3 worthy representatives: an Ørsted, whose face to me has always resembled a Chladni figure that nature has touched in the right way; a Schouw, who offers a study for an artist who would paint Adam giving names to all the animals; and finally, a Horneman who, intimate with every plant, stands as a patriarch in nature. In this respect I also remember with joy the impression *you* made on me, you who stood as representative of a great nature that also should have its vote in parliament. I have been and still am enthusiastic about the natural sciences, but I do not think I will make them my main study. For me, it is life in virtue of reason and freedom that has interested me most, and it has always been my desire to clarify and solve the riddle of life. The 40 years in the wilderness before I could reach the promised land of natural science strike me as too costly, all the more so since I believe that nature can also be observed from a side that does not involve insight into the secrets of science: whether I view the whole world in a single flower, or listen to the many hints that nature offers about human life, or admire those bold freehand drawings in the firmament, or am for instance reminded by the sounds of nature in Ceylon of those tones in the spiritual world, or by the departure of the migratory birds of the deeper longings in man's breast.

2. *Theology*. This seems what I have got the best hold on, but here too great difficulties occur. Here, in Christianity itself, there are such great contradictions that an open view is greatly hindered, to say the least. As you know, I grew up so to speak in orthodoxy, but as soon as I began to think for myself the huge colossus gradually began to totter. I call it a huge colossus advisedly, for taken as a

whole it actually possesses great consistency and through the many centuries the separate parts have fused together so tightly that it is difficult to get the better of it. Now, I could very well accept it on particular points, but then these would be like the seedlings often found in rock fissures. On the other hand, I could also certainly see what was wrong with many particular points, but I was obliged to leave the main foundation in dubio for a time. The moment *that* changed, the whole thing naturally looked quite different, and thus my attention was drawn to another phenomenon: rationalism, which on the whole makes a rather mediocre showing. As long as reason consistently keeps to itself and, by giving an account of the relation between God and the world, comes again to look at man in his deepest and most inward relation to God, and in this respect, from its own viewpoint too, considers Christianity to be what for many centuries has satisfied man's deepest needs, there is nothing to object to in it. But then neither is it rationalism anymore, for rationalism then gets its special coloring from Christianity and thus stands in a completely different sphere, and does not construct a system but a Noah's Ark (to use an expression employed by Prof. Heiberg on another occasion) in which the clean and unclean animals lie down side by side. It creates just about the same impression as our town militia of yore compared to the Potsdam Guard. That is why it essentially tries to attach itself to Christianity, bases its expositions on Scripture, and sends out chapter-and-verse by the legion in advance of every single point, but the exposition itself is not penetrated by it. They conduct themselves like Cambyses, who in his campaign against Egypt sent the sacred hens and cats ahead, but just like the Roman consul they are also prepared to throw the sacred hens overboard if they will not eat. The error lies thus in the fact that when they find themselves in agreement with Scripture, they use it as the foundation, but otherwise not, and thus they rest on two incongruous positions.

Nonnulla desunt.

—As far as little irritations are concerned, I will remark only that I am embarked on studies for the theological degree, an occupation that does not interest me in the least and which therefore is not going particularly quickly. I have always preferred free, perhaps therefore also rather indefinite, studies to the offerings at private dining clubs where one knows beforehand who the guests will be and what food will be served each day of the week. Since it is, however, a requirement, and one is hardly permitted entry to the scholarly commons without first being branded, and regarding it in

view of my present state of mind as beneficial to myself, in the knowledge that by doing this I can also make my father very happy (he thinks that the real Canaan lies on the other side of the theological degree, but also, like Moses of old, ascends Mount Tabor and declares that I will never get in—yet I hope that this time the prophecy will not be fulfilled), then I had better knuckle down. How lucky 23 you are to have found in Brazil an enormous field for your investigation, where every step brings some new remarkable phenomenon, where the screaming of the rest of the learned republic does not disturb your peace. To me the scholarly world of theology is like Strandveien on Sunday afternoon in the Deer Park season[1]—they rush past one another, yell and shout, laugh and make fools of one another, drive their horses to death, tip over and are run over, and when they finally reach Bakken covered in dust and out of breath—yes, then they look at one another—and go home.

As for your return, it would be childish of me to hasten it, just as childish as when Achilles's mother tried to hide him in order to avoid the quick, honorable death—Live well!

[In the margin is added]

How often confusing is the observation of life when it presents itself to us in all its richness, when we are startled by such differences in ability and aptitude as exist between the one who has identified so profoundly with the Deity that, like John of old, he can be said to rest on the Deity's breast, and the one who in bestial crudity misunderstands, and wants to misunderstand, every deeper emotion in human life; between the one who looks with Lynceus's glance into the course of history and almost dares to hush its songs, and the one for whom even the simplest thing seems difficult;—or we notice the inequality in station and position and at one moment feel with envious eye the lack of what has been granted to others, at another with a grateful sadness see how much is given to us that to others is denied;—and now a cold philosophy would explain to us the whole by a pre-existence and not see it as an unending painting of life with its motley play of colors and innumerable nuances.

[1]) There is something strangely ironic in the Copenhageners' Deer Park trips; they try to shake off the city's petit-bourgeois dust, escape from themselves—and find themselves again at Bakken.

14 Jan. 37

Gilleleje 1 Aug. 1835

The way I have tried to show matters in the preceding pages is how they actually seemed to me. In now trying to come to an understanding with myself about my life, things look different. Just as a child takes time to learn to distinguish itself from objects and for quite a while so little distinguishes itself from its surroundings that, keeping the stress on the passive side, it says things like "*me* hit the horse," this same phenomenon repeats itself in a higher spiritual sphere. Therefore I thought I might possibly gain more peace of mind by taking up a new line of study, directing my energies toward some other goal. I might even have managed for a while in that way to banish a certain restlessness, though no doubt it would have returned with greater effect like a fever after the relief of a cool drink. What I really need is to be clear about *what I am to do*,[2] not what I must know, except in the way knowledge must precede all action. It is a question of understanding my own destiny, of seeing what the Deity really wants *me* to do; the thing is to find a truth which is truth *for me*,[3] to find *the idea for which I am willing to live and die*. And what use would it be in this respect if I were to discover a so-called objective truth, or if I worked my way through the philosophers' systems and were able to call them all to account on request, point out inconsistencies in every single circle? And what use would it be in that respect to be able to work out a theory of the state, and put all the pieces from so many places into one whole, construct a world which, again, I myself did not inhabit but merely held up for others to see? What use would it be to be able to propound the meaning of Christianity, to explain many separate facts, if it had *no* deeper meaning for *myself* and *my life*? And the better I became at it and the more I saw others appropriate the offspring of my mind, the more distressing my situation would become, rather like that of parents who in their poverty have to send their children out into the world and turn them over to the care of others. What use would it be if truth were to stand there before me, cold and naked, not caring whether I acknowledged it or not, inducing an anxious shiver rather than trusting devotion? Certainly I

[2]) How often, in thinking one has got the very best hold on oneself, one finds one has embraced the clouds instead of Juno.

[3]) That's when a person first acquires an inner experience. But for how many are life's different impressions not like the shapes the sea draws in the sand, only to wipe them out again without trace.

won't deny that I still accept an *imperative of knowledge*, and that through it one can also influence people, but *then it must be taken up alive in me*, and *this* is what I now see as the main point. It is this my soul thirsts for as the African deserts thirst for water. That is what is lacking, and this is why I am like a man who has collected furniture and rented rooms but still hasn't found the beloved with whom to share life's good and bad fortune. But to find that idea, or more properly to find myself, it is no use my plunging still further into the world. And that is exactly what I did before, which is why I had thought it would be a good idea to throw myself into *jurisprudence*, to be able to sharpen my mind on life's many complications. Here a whole mass of details offered itself for me to lose myself in; from the given facts I could perhaps fashion a totality, an organism, of the life of thieves, pursue it in all its darker aspects (here, too, a certain community spirit is highly remarkable). That's also why I could wish to become an *actor*, so that by taking on another's role I could acquire a sort of surrogate for my own life and in these varying externals find some form of diversion. That's what I lacked for leading a *completely human life* and not just a life of *knowledge*, to avoid basing my mind's development on—yes,[4] on something that people call objective—something which at any rate isn't my own, and to base it instead on something which is bound up with the

[4]) [In the margin]
This also explains a not uncommon phenomenon, a certain stinginess with ideas.[1] Precisely because life is not healthy but knowledge too predominant, ideas are not understood as the natural flowerings on the tree of life, and are not adhered to as such, nor understood to acquire their meaning only in this sense—but as individual glimpses of light, as though such a mass of, as it were, external ideas (sit venia verbo—aphoristically) made life richer. They forget that ideas are like Thor's hammer, which returns to where it was thrown from, even if in an altered guise.

[1]) A similar phenomenon is the mistaken view people have of knowledge and its results, talking of the objective results and forgetting that the genuine philosopher is in the highest degree subjective. I need only mention Fichte. Wit is treated in the same way; people do not look on it as the Minerva springing with necessity from the author's whole individuality and environment, as something therefore in a sense lyrical—[hence also the blushing which tends to accompany a certain type of witticism, suggesting that it came forth naturally, new-born; 20 Sept. 36]—but as flowers one can pluck and keep for one's own use. (The forget-me-not has its place in the field, hidden and humble, but in a garden becomes uncomely.)

deepest roots of my existence,[5] through which I have, as it were, grown into the divine, clinging fast to it even if the whole world were to fall apart. *This, you see, is what I need,* and *this is what I strive for*. So it is with joy and inner invigoration that I contemplate the great men who have found that precious stone for which they sell everything, even their lives,[6] whether I see them intervening forcefully in life, with firm step, without wavering, going down their chosen paths, or run into them off the beaten track, self-absorbed and working for their lofty goals. I even look with respect upon those false paths that also lie there so close by. It is this inward action of the human, this God-side of man, that matters, not a mass of information. That will no doubt follow, but then not in the guise of accidental accumulations or a succession of details side by side without any system, without a focal point upon which all radii converge. Such a focal point is something I too have looked for. Vainly I have sought an anchorage, not just in the depths of knowledge, but in the bottomless sea of pleasure. I have felt the well-nigh irresistible power with which one pleasure holds out its hand to another; I have felt that false kind of enthusiasm which it is capable of producing. I have also felt the tedium, the laceration, which ensues. I have tasted the fruits of the tree of knowledge and have relished them time and again. But this joy was only in the moment of cognition and left no deeper mark upon me. It occurs to me that
27 I have not so much drunk from as fallen into the cup of wisdom. I have tried to find that principle for my life through resignation, by supposing that since everything went according to inscrutable laws it could not be otherwise, by blunting my ambition and the feelers of my vanity. Because I was unable to make everything go as I fancied, I withdrew with a consciousness of my own competence, rather as a doddering clergyman resigns with his pension. What did I find? Not my "I," for that is exactly what I was trying in that way

[5]) How near is man to madness in any case despite all his knowledge? What is truth other than living for an idea? Everything must in the final analysis be based on a postulate. But the moment when it no longer stands outside him but he lives in it, only then, for him, does it cease to be a postulate. (Dialectic-Dispute)

[6]) So it will be easy for us, once we have received that ball of yarn from Ariadne (love), to go through all the mazes of the labyrinth (life) and slay the monster. But how many plunge into life (the labyrinth) without observing that precaution (the *young* girls and the little boys who are sacrificed every year to the Minotaur)—?

to find (I imagined, if I may so put it, my soul shut up in a box with a spring lock in front, which the external surroundings would release by pressing the spring).—So the first thing to be resolved was this search for and discovery of the Kingdom of Heaven. A person would no more want to decide the externals first and the fundamentals afterward than a heavenly body about to form itself would decide first of all about its surface, about which bodies it should turn its light side to, and to which its dark side, without first letting the harmony of centrifugal and centripetal forces bring it into being and letting the rest come by itself. One must first learn to know oneself before knowing anything else (γνωθι σεαυτον). Only when the person has inwardly understood *himself*, and then sees the way forward on his path, does his life acquire repose and meaning; only then is he free of that irksome, fateful traveling companion—that life's irony [7] which appears in the sphere of knowledge and bids true knowing begin with a not-knowing (Socrates),[8] just as God 28 created the world from nothing. But it is especially at home in the seaways of ethics, for those who have yet to enter the tradewind of virtue. Here it tosses a person about in the most terrible way, letting him feel happy and content one moment in his resolve to go ahead

[7]) It may well also persist in a certain sense, but he is in a position to withstand these squalls in life, for the more the person lives for an idea, the more easily he also comes to sit on the wonder-chair before the whole world.—Often, too, when one is most convinced that one has understood oneself, one can be seized by a curious anxiety that one has really only learned someone else's life by rote.[1]

[1]) A peculiar kind of irony is also presented in an Arabian tale "Morad the Hunchback" (in *Moden Zeitung, "Bilder Magazin,"* No. 40, 1835): a man who comes into possession of a ring that provides everything he wishes though always with a "but" attached—for example, when what he wishes is security he finds himself in prison, etc. (This story is found in Riise's *Young People's Library*, II, 6, 1836, p. 453).—I have also heard or read somewhere of a man who from outside a theater heard some notes of a soprano voice so beautiful and enchanting that he promptly fell in love with the voice; he hastens into the theater and meets a corpulent, fat man who on being asked who it was who sang so beautifully answered: "It was I"—he was a castrato.

[8]) The proverb also says: "From children and the insane shall one hear the truth." And here, surely, it is not a matter of having truth according to premises and conclusions. Yet how often have not the words of a child or a madman silenced the man on whom acuity could make no impression?

down the right path, only to hurl him into the abyss of despair the next. Often it lulls a person to sleep with the thought "That's just the way it is," only to waken him suddenly to a rigorous interrogation. Often it seems as if to let a veil of oblivion fall over the past, only to allow every single trifle to come vividly to light once more. When he struggles along the right path, rejoicing in having overcome the power of temptation, there comes perhaps almost simultaneously, hard upon the most perfect victory, some seemingly insignificant outer circumstance which thrusts him down, like Sisyphus from the top of the hill. Often when the person has focused his energy on something, some little outer circumstance crops up and destroys it all. (As, I would say, someone weary of life and about to throw himself into the Thames is stayed at the crucial moment by the bite of a mosquito.) Often, as with the consumptive, a person feels at his very best[9] when things are at their very worst. In vain he tries to resist, he lacks the strength and it avails him nothing that he has endured the same thing many times before; the kind of practice one acquires in that way is not to the point here. No more than a person ever so well practiced in swimming can keep afloat in a storm unless he is deeply convinced of and has experienced the fact that he is indeed lighter than water, can one who lacks this inner point of orientation keep himself afloat in the storms of life.—Only when someone has understood himself in this way is he in a position to maintain an independent existence and thus avoid giving up his own I. How often we see (at a time when in our panegyrics we extol the Greek historian for knowing how to adopt a foreign style that is deceptively like the original author's, rather than censuring him, seeing that the first prize for an author is always for having his own style—that is, with a form of expression and presentation which bears the mark of his own individuality)—how often we see people who either from spiritual laziness live on the crumbs that fall from other people's tables, or for more egotistical reasons try to identify themselves with others until they resemble the liar who, through frequent repetition of his stories, ends up believing them himself. Notwithstanding my still being very far from this inward self-understanding, I have tried with profound respect for its significance

[9]) "Es ist, wie mit den anmuthigen Morgentraümen, aus deren einschläferndem Wirbel man nur mit Gewalt sich herausziehen kann, wenn man nicht in immer drückender Müdigkeit gerathen, und so in krankhafter Erschöpfung nachher den ganzen Tag hinschleppen will." Novalis, *Schriften*, Berlin 1826, 1ster Theil, p. 107.

to protect my individuality and have worshiped the unknown Deity. I have tried, with undue anxiety, to avoid coming into too close contact with those phenomena whose attraction might exert too much power over me. I have tried to appropriate much from them, studied their individual characters and significance in human life, but at the same time I have taken care, like the gnat, not to come too close to the flame. In association with the ordinary run of men I have had but little to win or to lose. In part, their whole activity—so-called practical life[10]—has interested me little; in part, I was alienated from them even further by the coolness and indifference they showed toward the spiritual and deeper stirrings in man. My companions have with few exceptions exerted no marked influence upon me. A life that has not arrived at an understanding with itself must necessarily present an uneven surface to the world; all they have had to go on are individual facts and their apparent disharmony, for they were not sufficiently interested in me to try to resolve this into a higher harmony or see the necessity in it all. Their judgment upon me was therefore always one-sided, and I have vacillated between putting too much and too little weight on their pronouncements. Their influence and the potential deviations on the compass of my life resulting from it are also things I now shun. So I am standing once more at the point where I must begin in another way. I shall now try to look calmly at myself and begin to act inwardly; for only in this way will I be able, as the child in its first consciously undertaken act refers to itself as "I," to call myself "I" in a profounder sense.

But it calls for endurance, and one cannot harvest straightaway what one has sown. I will bear in mind that philosopher's method, of having his disciples keep silent for three years; then it should come. Just as one does not begin a feast with the rising of the sun but with its setting, so also in the spiritual world one must first work ahead for a time before the sun can really shine for us and rise in all its glory. For although it is said that God lets his sun rise upon both the good and the evil, and the rain fall on the just and the unjust, that isn't so in the spiritual world. So let the die be cast—I am

[10]) This life, which is fairly prevalent in the whole age, also manifests itself on a larger scale. Whereas past ages built works before which the observer could only stand in silence, now they build a tunnel under the Thames (utility and advantage). Yes, almost before a child has time to admire the beauty of a plant or one or another animal species, it asks: "What use is it?"

crossing the Rubicon! This road no doubt leads me *into battle*, but I will not give up. I will not lament the past—why lament? I will work with vigor and not waste time on regrets like the man stuck in a mire who wanted first to calculate how far he had sunk without realizing that in the time spent doing that he was sinking still deeper. I will hurry along the path I have found and shout to everyone I meet not to look back as Lot's wife did but remember that it is up a hill that we are struggling.

* *

It's no use hurrying on as the moralists believe, even rejecting remorse;—in the physical world don't we see mist lift itself like a quiet prayer above the earth, then, the prayer answered, return as refreshing dew—?

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13 *Philosophy and Christianity can never be united*,[1] for if I'm to hold fast to what is one of the most essential features of Christianity, redemption, then of course for it really to amount to anything it must extend to the whole man. Or am I supposed to consider his moral powers defective but his cognition unimpaired? Certainly I can conceive of such a philosophy after Christianity, or after a person has become a Christian, but then it would be a Christian philosophy. The relation would not be one of philosophy to Christianity but of Christianity to Christian knowledge, or, if you absolutely must, to Christian philosophy—unless one is willing to have it that philosophy has to conclude beforehand, or prior to Christianity, that the riddle of life cannot be solved. For it would negate philosophy as an accounting-within-itself of the relation between God and the world were it to conclude that it was unable to explain that relation, and then philosophy would at the peak of its perfection be accomplice to its own total downfall, that is, as the evidence of its inability to live up to its own definition. Yes, philosophy from this point of view would not even serve as a transition to Christianity, for it would necessarily have to abide by this negative conclusion, and the whole idea of a need for redemption would have to enter man from quite another side; that is, it would first of all have to be felt and then known. Now if philosophy's attention were drawn to a large number of people who maintained a lively conviction of their

[1]) Cf. the scholastic principle that "something can be true in philosophy that is false in theology."

need for redemption, actual redemption, it might very well apply itself to this idea—(albeit it might also find that difficult since Christianity demands, before being examined, a living oneself-into-it, but then also a consciousness of redemption. Were the philosopher to hold onto that consciousness in the moment of contemplation, he would abandon his philosophy, while if he were to attach himself to the philosophy he would lack the substrate for his reflection and could at most look back on it as something past, whose true reality he would at that moment have to deny, that is, as a philosopher)[2]—and try to understand these people's conviction, yet for the same reason philosophy would still not recognize the necessity of redemption. Ultimately it is *here* the yawning chasm lies: Christianity stipulates the defectiveness of human cognition due to sin, which is then rectified in Christianity. The philosopher tries qua man to account for matters of God and the world. The outcome can therefore very well be admitted to be limited inasmuch as man is a limited being, but also as the best possible [outcome] for man qua man. Certainly, the philosopher can acquire the concept of man's sin, but it doesn't follow that he knows that man is in need of redemption, least of all a redemption which—corresponding to the ordinary creature's sinfulness—must be passed on to God, rather than a relative redemption (i.e., one that redeems itself). Yes, that's just it, he would call on man to forget the past because in the face of the forcefulness of his activity there is no time for such a thing. 32

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[2]) The philosopher must either embrace optimism—or despair.

14 For all his way of life and faith, the Christian may still easily prove to be someone who has become fixated on a definite idea.[1] Before he succeeds (so the Christians tell us when we look at the phenomena peculiar to this religion; here I want mainly to advert to

[1]) [Inserted at the same place]
With regard to a Christian's views of paganism, see Hamann, I, pp. 406, 418, and 419, especially p. 419: "Nein—wenn Gott selbst mit ihm redete, so ist er genöthigt das **Machtwort** zum voraus zu senden und es in Erfüllung gehen zu laßen—: Wache auf, der Du schläfst." From p. 406 one sees the complete misunderstanding of a Christian and non-Christian, in that to an objection of Hume's, Hamann answers: Yes, that's just how it is.

10 Sepbr 36

those who have sought not so much to bring Christianity into the world as to take themselves out of the world in order to live in Christ. I am thinking of these works for edification which are squeezed out of a wholly Christian life and thus not just observations of the individual's life, but which have again served to strengthen a large number of pious Christians in their Christianity)—before he succeeds in arriving at the Christian conviction, there is many a conflict, many a mental pain in the face of doubt. When he has finally reached it, a spiritual trial faces him, i.e., reason once more presses its claims before its total downfall.[2] But then these objections and questions are ones which the Christian, before he meets them, has already been told stem from the Devil, so the whole trick is to adopt the method already recommended earlier by Ulysses with the Sirens: put wax in your ears. Coming as they do from the Devil, you must have no truck with them since his objections were assumed dealt with already, just as nowadays you assume 33 yourself finished with an opponent once you have attacked his morals. Therefore I take all talk of the Devil to be a huge Christian subterfuge.—The reason why these doubts could come up a second time (for what now makes its second appearance under the name of temptation is what from the earlier standpoint we called doubt) is that they were not rejected the first time through a debate but by some other force, or a sprouting shoot, brushing them aside. It is not because they have been beaten down that these temptations do not persist throughout the Christian's life, since Christians, as we saw, would have no truck with them. But you can dull yourself to certain things, you can become spiritually deaf in one ear so that you cannot hear your name being called. Then finally the Christian stands

[2]) [The same place]
There is a fundamental opposition: Augustine and Pelagius. The former wants to crush everything in order then to regenerate it; the latter appeals to man as he is. Thus regarding Christianity, the former system acquires three stages: Creation—the Fall and, as a consequence, death and powerlessness—and a new Creation, so that man is placed in the position of being able to choose, and afterward—if he chooses—Christianity.—The latter system appeals to man as he is (Christianity fits into the world). From this one sees the importance of the theory of inspiration for the first system; from it one also sees the relation between the synergistic and the semi-Pelagian conflict. It is the same question, only that the synergistic controversy presupposes the Augustinian system's new Creation.

14 Jan. 1837

there ready, he points proudly toward his final hour, and he speaks with a certain presumption of the peace with which he will face death undaunted. But what wonder? If a person has spent all his life familiarizing himself with a definite idea, what wonder if the idea appears to him in a manner similar to the way in which people with weak vision everywhere see sparkling lights before their eyes? What wonder if this sparkle or speck disturbs his vision of what really lies before him? It takes on the appearance of a happy madness. Certainly one may point to those many brilliant and profound minds who have been Christians, but for one thing, I would reserve for myself a little heresy concerning these most distinguished names; for another, we have all seen people who have demonstrated matchless acumen within an idée fixe. For what strikes me as among Don Quixote's most excellent traits is the ease with which when, say, he sees that he has mistaken windmills for giants, he discovers that it must have been the evil demon that is always on his tail. I wonder whether he ever doubted his knightly destiny, whether he lacked peace and contentment?—Yet *that* is exactly what the Christians appeal to, and insist that we first become Christians before we judge them. 34

19 Octb. 35

Remarks found on some scraps of paper from about that time **15**

On looking at a fair number of particular phenomena in the Christian life, it occurs to me that Christianity, instead of bestowing strength on them—yes, that in contrast to the pagan, such individuals are deprived by Christianity of their manhood and are now like the gelding in relation to the stallion.

* *

—Christianity made an impressive figure when it strode vigorously upon the world and said what it meant. But from that moment on, when either it tried to stake out boundaries with a Pope or wanted to beat people over the head with the Bible, or now most recently with the Apostles' Creed, it is like an old man who thinks he has lived long enough and wants to make an end to himself. That of course is why it occurs to some of its illegitimate children (the rationalists) to put it in custody as incompetent, whereas its true children imagine that, to the world's amazement, it will rise again at **16**

the critical moment in full vigor, like Sophocles—the voice is no doubt Jacob's but the hands Esau's.

* *

17 —The consequences of such a union (of Christianity and Philosophy) are seen from rationalism, a conception of which linguistic confusion is one type, and just as it has been noted that many words are common to different languages, so in spite of tearing each other down the rationalists have at least these words in common: philosophical, reasonable Christianity (Christianity and the whole appearance of Christ are—an accommodation).

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18 I have now tried to show why it is hardly possible for Christianity and philosophy to be combined. To prove the correctness of this separation I have taken account of how Christianity—or rather, the Christian life—must appear from the standpoint of reason. In further confirmation I shall now sketch how the human being as human being outside Christianity must look to the Christian. Here it will suffice to recall how the Christians regarded the pagans, looked on their gods as the work of the Devil and their virtues as glittering vices, how one of their coryphaei declares man prior to Christ to be a block of wood and stone, to recall how they in no way linked the preaching of their gospel to the human being as such, how they always began with "Repent ye," and how they themselves declared their gospel to be folly to the pagans and a scandal to the Jews. And in case anyone thinks it was only through exaggeration that I managed to present them in such sharp contrast, and that one should also pay attention to the countless nuances to be found here, I shall look at these just a little in case there really are some such. And what is it that makes so many say at least that they are conscious of Christian impulses but on the other hand neither are nor pretend to be Christians? It is presumably because *Christianity is a radical cure* which one shrinks from, even without these people having to envisage such external circumstances as led many early Christians to postpone the decisive step to the last moment—they no doubt lack the strength to make the despairing *leap*. Add to that the strange suffocating atmosphere one encounters in Christianity and which exposes everyone to a very dangerous tropical fever (of which above—spiritual trials) before becoming acclimatized. If we look

first at life here on earth, they come up with the explanation that all is sinful, nature as well as man; they talk of the wide path in contrast to the narrow one. If we look to the other world, there—so the Christians teach—is where we first find the knot untied (Act 5). And even if they didn't have the grandiose imagination which allowed the Norseman to portray Loki bound to a rock with poison dripping down on him, yet still let his wife be placed by his side, the Christians knew on the contrary how to deprive the luckless person of every relief—not even a drop of water to relieve his burning tongue. Practically wherever the Christian is occupied with the future it is punishment, devastation, ruin, eternal torment, and suffering that hover before his eyes; and just as in this respect the Christian's imagination is fertile and wayward, so when it comes to describing the bliss of the faithful and the chosen it is correspondingly spare. 36
Bliss is portrayed as a beatific gazing with staring, lackluster eyes, and large fixed pupils, or a swimming, moist look that prohibits any clear vision. There is no talk of a vigorous life of the spirit, of seeing God face to face, of full comprehension in contrast to our view here on earth, through a glass and in a dark discourse—this has not occupied them much. To me it seems just like the way in which love is treated in a certain kind of romantic novel: after a prolonged struggle with dragons and wild beasts the lover finally manages to fall into his girl's arms, and then the curtain falls on a marriage as prosaic as all others, rather than a new growth in love, an intimate, mutual mirroring in each other which now should surely awaken. A conception I have always found far more salutary is to envisage, gathered together in one place, all the world's great, especially gifted men, all those who have put a hand to the wheel of human development. The thought of such a college (in the profoundest sense) of the human race has always inspired me, a sort of scholarly republic where—in an eternal struggle between opposites—we would grow every instant in knowledge, where the often hidden and little known causes and effects of the past would be unveiled in their full light. The Christians, however, have been afraid of granting these great men admission to their fellowship, in order that it not become too mixed, so that one single solitary chord can always be struck and the Christians sit thus like a Chinese council and rejoice at having erected that high, insurmountable wall against—the barbarians. And why do I say all this? Not to find fault with the Christians but to demonstrate the opposition admitted de facto within the Christian life, to caution everyone whose breast has not yet been tightly laced in this kind of spiritual corset against impru-

dently entering upon any such thing, to protect him against such narrow-chested, asthmatic conceptions. Certainly, it must be hard to live in a land where the sun never shines on the horizon; but neither is it all that pleasurable to live in a place where the sun stands so perpendicularly over the crowns of our heads that it allows neither us nor anything around us to cast a shadow.

* *

19 37 Our Journal Literature: a Study from Nature; the Light of Midday; *Kbhvnsposten*'s Morning Observations,

"Concerning *Fædrelandet*'s Polemic" a reply prompted by *Fædrelandet*'s attempt to refute the claim lodged by me against *Kjøbenhavnsposten*

To Mr. Orla Lehmann

Something I can say which, when I noted this down, I would like to have added but omitted from a laughable vanity—since I was afraid of being regarded as vain by doing so—is what a hit the articles, as well as the address, made. I will simply refer to the fact that a paper (*Statsvennen* no. 3) came out which, under the impression that the first article (the one in no. 76) was by Heiberg, said: "that he had written many witty things but never anything as witty, and that old Rahbek, were he still alive, would have said it was priceless." Then that P. Møller, also thinking it was by Heiberg, ran off after him in the street to thank him for it, "since it was the best there had been since *Flyveposten* became political,"—but didn't catch up with him and met E. Boesen, who told him it was by me.

20 After that *Kjøbenhavnsposten* stopped replying and so let me have the last word, but after a long lapse a new paper came out, calling itself *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade*, edited and published by printer Jørgensen. One still doesn't know for certain who the author is, but it is of course one or other of the poets from *Kjøbenhavnsposten*'s aesthetic period. The first two numbers came out together and were as good as aimed only at me and kept mainly to the article against Hage. Naturally, it could never occur to me to give any proper answer to these papers, seeing my articles must have been forgotten after such a long lapse of time so that, as far as that goes, he was therefore both reporter and judge; I wanted therefore simply to reveal his comic side and point out his foolishness and intellectual

poverty. After writing the reply it occurred to me that it wasn't worth the trouble of having it printed, since these *Intelligentsblade*s had made no stir to speak of, and in the Student Union, for instance—one of the few places one could find copies to read—they were regarded as so poor that not even *Kjøbenhavnsposten'*s supporters dared praise them. No. 3 of these papers was directed at the whole of *Flyveposten* and so it wasn't up to me, but Heiberg, to reply. Apart from it being undeniably the best of the three numbers, 38
Heiberg declared that *they* would have to make a better response if they were to have a reply from *him*.

* *

—The reply which I had written went as follows: **21**

Humoristiske Intelligentsblade nos. 1 and 2

"At Easter I let my head be shaved,
The stubble left over in fear is raised,
And my wig an inch from its place does lift,
Who worries not at being called Sophist."

Again a new opponent, again with due delay, again as *Kjøbenhavnsposten'*s custodian—for respected readers will certainly admit we are right in viewing these pages in *so* essential a relation to that newspaper, as is even further confirmed by the following observations. They have no editor, or as good as no editor—just like *Kjøbenhavnsposten;*—the vernal observations correspond to the *Kjøbenhavnsposten'*s morning ditto, and the fantasies, pregnant with fluids, water, and steam, are in an essential and necessary relationship to the *Post*. The respected reader will know then, that here in this land there has evolved not just a political but also an aesthetic fraternity of dwarfs, and that they relate to one another through Liunge. But since fluids when connected through pipes always lie at the same level, we can infer the aestheticians from the politicians. Thus, as the master, so follow the servants. When the knight is a Don Quixote we know already what the poet and the humorist are like. So if on a previous occasion we had met the honored company in Auerbach's wine cellar, *there* we can be sure to meet our humorist too, and just listen:

The clamorous choir:

"Uns ist ganz kanibalisch wohl
als wie fünfhundert Säuen!"

You see it's in this state we must catch hold of our humorist. For as in the spring we see startled cows cantering sideways over the fields with ingenious flicks of their tails—a phenomenon the experienced countryman with deep irony puts down to heat and gadflies—so too our humorist: with spring thoughts about green fodder, *he* leaps around. But now, to do with him what we did on a previous occasion with one of our politicians when he went amok: press him between the shields of the dilemma—so as to hobble him there, that we wouldn't do, in particular because *Flyveposten*'s own territory is not endangered. Since, on the other hand, this ingenious rushing about would become rather monotonous, our humorist, like those seven lean cows in Egypt, though lean, swallowed seven fat ones without becoming fatter on that account—in other words: our *humorist steals*. It isn't just at Holberg's much frequented pawnshop that he borrows on credit. It isn't just among well-known and unknown authors, no, it's even with friends and acquaintances.[1] But I would say to him: "Take care, young man! Think if all owners called in their loans all at once. Bear in mind, you may be young. So do not plunge into debt in your youth, you will have trouble repaying it all your life.[2] I will also promise you that, out of consideration for you, I shall not reply to you, so as not to give you the occasion and temptation again, in your youth, to take so much on credit. You will misunderstand me; you will say it is an inappropriate interference in others' financial affairs, but I can assure you that, even if you are weak enough to misunderstand a friend's advice, I shall still be strong enough to do what I have once and for all seen to be the right thing."

Whatever else will come of the conflict, if it can be called that when the one party doesn't reply, I don't know. But since there is a myth that interprets the appearance of these papers so well, I shall

[1]) That is why the standard of measure proposed by our humorist Mr. Hage with respect to us, couldn't be used either: the cubic. We have to use area measurement: his writings always have length and breadth, no depth.

[2]) I trust the respected readers are cognizant of the fact that *I* am by nature in such fortunate circumstances that I am able to live from my *own* means.

let it be cited here in the hope that with its prophetic glance it may also provide a true vision of the future.

Nordic Mythology by Grundtvig, p. 409: "Because of this, the giants constructed a warrior on the Steens-Vedd made of clay and straw which was nine fathoms tall and three fathoms broad across the chest, and after searching afar, found a horse's heart big enough for him; but he could not help trembling when Thor appeared . . . Beside him (Hrugner), stood the giant clay warrior whom they called Narrifas; but when he saw Thor, he was so dumbfounded that he urinated."[3]—

[3]*Note*. Seeing that our opponent has so strongly suspected us of arrogance, and that the rash comparison of our situation with Thor's accordingly could cause harm to him and other weak ones, I will remark that even if a Thor was required to bring Narrifas into that situation of need, he is certainly not required to bring our humorist into the same situation.—

41
22 What I write down here was on a slip and predates my acquaintance with the younger Fichte, whose *Idee der Personlichkeit* I had read just cursorily. No doubt it's from Feb.

19 March 37

Neither Schleiermacher nor Schelling, nor now the younger Fichte, came beyond reciprocity (and by means of speculation it is hardly possible). The sole object of intuition, and as such the sole truth, is the infinite unity moving through infinite multiplicity—the simultaneous infinite becoming and infinite completeness. The infinite multiplicity as such would be a pure abstraction, and likewise the infinite completeness. They can only be seen in and by virtue of each other, at a stroke in the now of beginning, filling infinite space and time, in the same way one may explain individuality in consequence as the infinite completeness in an infinite becoming,[1] and therefore the system would have to be Calvinist or at least see it, with Schleiermacher's modification, as the infinite sinning and infinite satisfaction. Just as any individual is predestined, so too in a way is the system—omniscience and omnipotence thus become the same, except seen from 2 sides. God's consciousness of things is their coming into being.

God is the actuality of the possible.

What this system really captures in time (true, Fichte speaks in one place of "besondere Zeit" which is supposed to get him beyond Schelling, but it stops there) is not the Chr. doctrine of time—of the Devil's fall from the eternal and therefore man's in time,[2] not satisfaction in time, not faith (only the immed. consciousness).— Fichte has to that extent made an advance, in going beyond Hegel's abstraction to intuition.
42

[1]If the infinite multiplicity were simply given it would be purely atomistic.

[2]There must surely be something corresponding to this in F. Baader, where, e.g., on behalf of humankind, he declines the honor of being the first discoverer of sin and rants against Kant's radical evil—here, too, belongs Günther's theory of hereditary sin conditioned by the evolution of the race, before the Fall Adam and Eve were not conscious of gender difference.

The first creation produces the immed. consciousness (that's the impression, but just like the wind, one knows neither whence it comes nor whither it blows); beyond this we cannot go. Xnty is the second creation (that's why Xt is born of a pure virgin, which is again a creation out of nothing, therefore the spirit of God cast its shadow over the Vrg. Mary, just as previously it brooded over the waters), a new element, the hearing of the Word—faith, which is the immed. consciousness of the second stage—all this talk of tradition in the province of philosophy is a subreption, an illegitimate child of Xnty. What has most likely given rise to this talk of tradition is that, philosophy having been made the theoretical fulfilment of consciousness, tradition was now added to it so as to counter the objection that no guarantee was really given of having measured up to normal consciousness.—
So here there can also be a question of why God created the world, which of course the old doctrinal theologians also considered—since it has a revelation—while Fichte etc. were naturally unable ever to come beyond the common human immed. consciousness:

> The reason for transcribing the foregoing is not that I believe that anything great has been said, but that it pleases me to see that some of the remarks there essentially agree with what I came across in a later reading of the younger Fichte. The same is true of the following piece.

43
23 There is a very interesting little story by C. Brentano: *Pretty Ane*, and important with ref. to presentiment. It belongs eminently to the folk tradition, and if it isn't based on a folk-tale then B. has here proved himself a true master. Besides the happy (mens sana in corpore sano) and exuberant tones there is also a deep, serious, melancholy pervading the genuinely popular element: a presentiment of the power of evil, a quiet resignation that lets every age pay its tribute to this unbending power.[a] That is why places of execution, ravens and crows, prison, seductions, etc. play such a large part. Such a tone also pervades this story; the simple, pious stanza that wanders throughout it in a wonderfully prophetic way; the executioner's fearful foreboding when the sword moves by itself: the story of how beautiful Ane always tugged at her apron in a special way, etc.

The whole story should be heard from a tattered female ragpicker in the suicides' cemetery in misty air beneath ravens and the cawing of crows on a day of execution.[b]—

(It also resembles a poem in *Knaben Wunderh.* vol. 2, p. 204, which is however in other respects quite commonplace, yet remarkable in that in the story it is a junior lieutenant and that he brings a pardon, but too late.)

Regarding presentiment, there is also quite a lot in Steffens's *The 4 Norwegians*, not scholarly research, that is, but elements of it, except that, with him, it has become rather monotonous, almost as much so as his Norwegian mountains, in that each of his heroes begins practically every one of his more important and, in the novel, more gripping lines by talking about the Norwegian mountains, so that besides the vagueness it must needs have, their presentiment also has something abstract about it. Their consciousness contains too few other factors that might at least let such things be intimated. For although all presentiment is obscure and comes to consciousness all at once, or at
44 least fills the soul with anxiety so gradually as not to

[a] only stipulating a burial in consecrated ground.

[b] or heard there from a tattered, stunted creature, a family tragedy about the god who visits the father's sins unto 4 or 5 generations.

appear as a conclusion from given premises, but pointing constantly beyond itself into an indeterminate something, I nevertheless believe that one should now more than ever set about getting to the bottom of subjective receptivity, and not as something sickly and unsound but as present in a normal constitution.

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24 A comment for theology: *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 6 (in Tieck's translation, vol. 8, p. 362 at the foot). Lear: … Ja und Nein zugleich, das war keine gute Theologie.—

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25 There are people who, with their horribly officious way of meddling in everything, play a very comic role. I can think of no better illustration than the one Baggesen has provided in Ranger Jens (in *The Kalundborg Chronicle*):

> Then came on horseback clippity clop
> Ranger Jens riding on the hop.

#

26 There is a distinctly curious self-contradiction, a lie in all naïveté (which makes it so easy to parody these tales), running through the stories of warrior heroes. Here I shall just take an example from the tale in the saga of Hervor and King Heidrik, to be found in Rafn's *Tales of Nordic Champions*, vol. 3. For it isn't just forgetting what has been said earlier that makes, for instance, nearly every hero out to be the strongest etc., but something of another kind. Thus on p. 8 we are told that from the trolls Svafurlame gets Tyrfing, a sword with the property that every time it was drawn it proved fatal to some man. He now draws it, strikes at the trolls, but behold!, he doesn't hit them and so should really have killed himself. Again on p. 18 where Agantyr is about to do battle with Hialmar but Odd advises him to let him go in his place, because he had

a silk shirt with which no steel could make contact (that is, a sword that cuts everything—and on the other hand a shirt that cannot be hacked asunder by any sword). Then again the contradiction, running through all such tales, in the way the warrior life is understood; talking of their great courage, passion for fighting, etc. and at the same time portraying them as most anxiously concerned to have not just good weapons but even charmed weapons that would give to an otherwise wretched warrior the advantage over the proudest. At the same time, it is forgotten in the telling of the fight that only one of them had this aid and an awful long time is allowed to go before the victory is decided—indeed he is even just barely victorious.—It is the irony inherent in this romantic life, still slumbering in its immediacy.—To this too belongs the splendid naïveté in the story of the chain binding the Fenris wolf: 5 things not to be found in the world are named, and it says of them: therefore they aren't to be found in the world.—When fishing for the Midgaard serpent Thor thrusts his legs *through* the boat (doubtless a physical impossibility) and ends up standing on the sea-bed.—

[a] Similarly in Ørvarodd's Saga, part 3 of the *Tales of Champions*, in Rafn, p. 118, where he fights with Øgmund and the latter remarks: I hacked at your arm, but it didn't cut in spite of my having a *sword that never stops for anything*.

[b] or an expensive ointment that heals every wound;

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27 The calm, the reassurance, one has in reading a classic work, or being in the company of a fully mature pers., does not occur in the Romantic, where it's almost as though you saw a man writing with trembling hand and afraid all the time his pen will run away from him and make some grotesque stroke or other. (This is slumbering irony.)

[a] This is where the development of the concept of irony must have its beginning; the grandiose, fantastic ideas are gratified and reflection has still not disturbed this standpoint's credulity. But then one notices that this is not how things go in the world, and, unable to surrender one's lofty ideals, one can't help also feeling how the world is in some way mocking one (irony—Romantic, the aforementioned was not Romantic but a gratification in the form of exploit) (this irony is the world's irony over the single individual and differs from what the Greeks called irony, which precisely was the ironical gratification

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46

28 I have often wondered at seeing otherwise strict Xns so easily tempted by trifles that others would never imagine to be hard to resist (I have seen them long so much for a bit of the forbidden food, long for a happy moment enjoying this or that, even if it costs 3 hours of pain, have seen them make it the object of extensive research and imagine they have won a great victory

whereby the particular individual hovered above the world, and which began to develop just as the idea of the state was, for that reason, vanishing more and more from view in Socrates. In the Romantic standpoint, however, where everything is struggle, irony cannot gain access to the individual but lies outside. I believe this distinction has been too much overlooked). Finally, the third standpoint, where irony is outlived.

when they have limited the pleasure to a tiny quantum). What can be the reason? It must be the fact that from the common point of view, it appears to be something neutral and thus no temptation, or that once involved with it, one looks on it as insignificant and doesn't share the common Christian view that it is precisely in such things that the Devil tempts them; and, as far as that goes, there might be something to the defense Catholics so often marshaled as proof of the principle that heathens could not be saved in spite, as was objected, of being decent people: for they only seem to be; for Satan didn't tempt them since he was sure of them anyway.—

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29 Many a poet should say with an older German poet:

O starker Gott! O gerechter Richter
Erbarm dich über mich armen Dichter.

(*altdeutsche Lieder*, ed. Görres, p. 159.)

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30 Childhood is life's paradigmatic part; manhood its syntax.—

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31 I have read Andersen's novel, *The Improvisor*, from cover to cover, find nothing in it, just one good observation, the Italian taking his leave in the evening says: felicissima notte and Andersen remarks: "The Scandinavian wishes good night, sleep well; the Italians wish: the happiest night! The southern nights possess more than—dreams" (Pt. 1, p. 102). This brings to mind those open-hearted watchmen who are always appearing in old German songs with their Wach uff, wach uff, reminding lovers that the day is dawning.

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32 It's surely on the whole almost impossible to read the warrior-hero legends without a smile. One has only to think how comical it would be to see a hero like Holger Danske "come running," an expression that utterly lacks movement, and sometimes it happens that they run after each other for several miles—then Charlemagne comes running and smites him, etc. There's also a curious naïveté about not remembering what was previously said. Holger Danske (cf. Rabeck's Pt. 1, p. 289) comes to Morgana, who places a crown on his head, whereupon he forgets everything except her and her love, and yet on p. 292 it says that he speaks with King Arthur, whom he meets there, about their exploits, and then again, later on, that it is only when Morgana removes the crown that he remembers the past. A one-sided morality really makes the heroes immoral, and it is curious to see the confidence they place in the verdict of a duel as to who is right, while at the same time it doesn't embarrass them that each one fights for the one he favors, even if he or she was in the wrong.—The theological disputes they carry on during the battle are also extremely comical.—The narrator has so little dramatic vision that he has a Mohammedan say: O God, Mohammed, and our other *false gods* (cf. 45 in Holger).

Incidentally, I have noted in my copy several things of the same ilk.—

#

48

33 Holger D. was presumably first written in French, translated into Latin and from Latin into Danish by Christen Pedersen. In any case, Pedersen got the original from a Catholic country. That's why in speaking of Holger D's later wondrous days, he says on p. 252: Whosoever believes or disbelieves this does not sin thereby, for it is not in the Creed.—On the other hand, on p. 272 it reads (and it is obviously an observation by C. P. himself since he says "The person who wrote it (i.e., the Chronicle), etc."): Which is not believable

[a]Nor does the narrator have a particular eye for placing the actual battle in a natural relation to the huge mass of troops we frequently hear spoken of—sometimes up to several million. As for the battle itself, there we hear that Oliver, Roland, or some such came running and smote a king; but when one of the enemy saw that, he came running and struck Roland, and then Roland said: God help me, poor man that I am. Whereupon they won the battle and Roland alone slew 1000. God knows where he found the time for that when the first engagement was so hazardous.—

—Also comical is the long rigmarole of countries one has conquered, or warriors vanquished, since inevitably the quantitative dimension has an adverse effect on the reader's impression of the person's quality. This is something Holberg has so excellently perceived. The more often one recounts something extraordinarily great, the less so it proportionally becomes.—

[b]It is almost as bad a line as when Papageno in *The Magic Flute* says: I am a "man of nature."

however and ought not to be believed by us, for it is not to be found in Holy Scripture.

#

A Foreword **34**

Most people approach the reading of a book with an idea of how they themselves would have written, how another has or would have written, etc., just as a similar prejudice occurs when they are to see someone for the first time, and as a result so very few people really know how the other looks. This is where the first possibility of not being able to read a book begins, which then goes through innumerable nuances until at the highest level—misunderstanding—the two most opposed kinds of readers meet—the most stupid and those with the greatest genius, both of whom have in common that they were unable to read a book, the former due to emptiness, the latter due to a wealth of ideas. The reason I have given this little work such a commonplace title (it is to be called "Letters") is to do what I can to prevent what is (often)[a] a loss for the author, sometimes for the readers—misunderstanding.

1 [a]I say "often" because it sometimes happens that through a misunderstanding one finds good things in an otherwise pitiful book—

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The philosophers tend to give with one hand and **35**
take away with the other. Thus, e.g., Kant who, although he taught us something about the categories' approximation to what is really true νουμενα, took it all back by making the approximation *infinite*. All in all, this use of the word "infinite" plays a large part in philosophy.

#

49

Insofar as Hegel was fructified by Xnty, he tried to **36**
skim off the humorous element in it (concerning which there is something somewhere else in my papers), and thus reconciled himself completely with the world, ending in a quietism. The same is true of Goethe in his *Faust*, and it is curious how the second part took so

long coming. Part One presented no difficulty, but how to calm the storm once aroused, that was the question. Part Two has therefore a far more subjective side (we have pronouncements enough from Goethe on how his own experiences gave birth to this or that work of art), it is as though he makes this confession of faith in order to reassure himself.—

#

37 Hegel's later standpoint swallows the previous one, not in the way one stage of life follows another, where each still retains its validity, but as the counsellor of justice swallows up the chamber counsellor.

38 In view of a little piece by Johannes M ..... (Martensen) on Lenau's *Faust*, in which the play is said to end with Faust killing himself and Mephistopheles giving an epilogue, I find myself wondering whether it is at all appropriate to let such a piece end in this way. And here I believe Goethe was right to end Part One with Mephistopheles's "Heinrich! Heinrich!" A suicide would make the idea into too much of a character; it is the counterweight of the whole world that should crush him, as with D. Juan.—Or end with despair (the Wandering Jew). Despair is Romantic—not punishment as in the case of Prometheus.

#

39 Yes, true! The fate of everything I touch is as a poem (Knaben Wunderhorn) has it:

Ein Jäger stieß wohl in sein Horn,
wohl in sein Horn,
Und Alles, was er bliest, das war verlorn.

#

40 Just as in domestic life there is a class of pers. that, as is so well said, spreads gossip about one family to an-

other, so too there is a sizable host of those who really only tell tales regarding the union of Xnty with philosophy, since knowing neither party very well, they have got wind of something in a second- or third-hand way from the Magister who, in his foreign travels, has taken tea with this or that great scholar, etc.—

#

41 Faust may be seen as a parallel to Socrates, for just as the latter expresses the severing of the individual from the state, so Faust, after the abrogation of the Church, depicts the individual severed from its guidance and left to itself, and this indicates his relation to the Reformation and for that matter parodies the latter by putting a one-sided emphasis on the negative side.

#

42 It is touching to go past the most ordinary bookmerchants' boutiques and see things about Arch-Sorcerer Faust, etc., see the most profound things offered for sale to the most ordinary people.

#

43 D. Juan has never become as popular as Faust and why.

#

51

44 Faust is unable to commit suicide, being the idea that he is, transcending all its actual forms, he must fulfill himself in a new idea (the Wandering Jew).

#

45 Reflection can twine itself around one in the most remarkable way. I can imagine someone wanting to stage a presentation of the falsity of the age, but when he himself sits in the audience he sees that basically no one is taking it to heart except to see the fault in his neighbor. The man tries once more, staging this very

1 [a]Just as with King David who didn't understand the prophet's parable before he said, Thou art the Man, O King!

scene in the theater, and people laugh, saying, It's awful to see how many people can find fault with others, not with themselves, etc., etc.,. . . .—

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46 This is the main thing in life, that one has seen something once, felt something so great, so matchless, that all else is nothing in comparison, that if one forgot everything one would never forget this, that one can say with Benvenuto Cellini when, having sat long in a dark prison, he got a glimpse of the sun: die Gewalt der Strahlen nöthigte mich, wie gewönhlich die Augen zu schliessen, aber ich erholte mich bald, öffnete die Augen wieder, sah unverwandt nach ihr und sagte: O meine Sonne, nach der ich so lange mich gesehnt habe, ich will nun nichts weiter sehen, wenn auch deine Strahlen mich blind machen sollten, und so blieb ich mit festem Blick stehen. (Goethe's *W.* 8°, Stuttgart and T. 1830 34 Bd., pp. 365n and 66 sup.).

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47 Philosophy is life's dry nurse, it can look after us but not give suck.

52

48 ["Der arme Heinrich"]

49 The Wandering Jew

50 O God!, grant that the strength I feel at this moment not be as that powerful army, countless as the dust and well equipped, which was likened to a dream's impotent nocturnal vision;—and the reassurance I feel may not be likened to that army's exploit, which was like a starving person's in a dream, who thought he was eating his fill on the fictional fare only to awaken that much the weaker.

(I have taken these words from Schubert *Symbolik des*

Traums, 2nd ed., p. 27, which cites them as images that occur most frequently in the various symbolic language forms and thereby point precisely to a fundamental primal form.)

* *

This is how I conceive the relation between satisfactio vicaria and man's own expiation of his sins. It is no doubt true that, on the one hand, sins are forgiven through the death of Christ, but on the other hand a person is not for that reason snatched as though by magic out of his old condition, the "body of sin" which Paul talks about (Rom 7:25). He has to go back the same way he has advanced, while the consciousness that his sins are forgiven holds him erect and gives him courage and prevents despair—like someone who, fully aware of his sin, denounces himself and then undaunted even faces death as a wrongdoer[1] because he feels that is how it must be, but the consciousness that the case will now go before another and more lenient judge sustains him. He walks the perilous path (which can indeed be thorny, even with the consciousness of the forgiveness of sin, for one so often forgets it) and will not tempt God or demand a miracle of him. **51** 53

[Later addition in the margin]

One must reverse down the same path on which one has advanced, just as the spell is broken by the piece of music (The Fairy King Song), as one can learn from the fairies, only when one plays it exactly through again backwards (in reverse).

11 Oct. 37

[1]) As Luther also says somewhere in his *Tischreden* concerning a sinner: "Er starb mit fröhlichen Herzen in seiner Leibesstraffe."

26 Aug. 37

I will turn away from those who simply lie in wait in order to find out that one has done wrong in this or that respect—to him that rejoices more over one sinner **52**

who repents than over the 99 wise men who have no need of repentance.

* *

53 O God, but how easily one forgets such an intention! I have again returned to the world to reign there yet a while, dethroned in my own inner realm. O, but what did it profit the man that he gained the whole world but lost his own soul? Today too (May 8) I was trying to forget myself, though not with any noisy to-do—that substitute doesn't help—but by going out to Rørdam's to talk with Bolette, and by trying (if possible) to make that devil-wit stay at home, that angel who with blazing sword, as I deserve, interposes himself between me and every innocent girlish heart—when you caught up with me, O God, I thank you for not letting me instantly lose my mind—never have I been more afraid of that, so be thanked for once more bending your ear to me.

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54

54 Today, again the same performance—Still, I managed to get out to Rørdam's—my God, why should this tendency awaken just now—O, how alone I feel!—O, damn that arrogance of being content to stand on my own—everyone will now despise me—O, but you, my God, do not let go of me—let me live and make myself better—

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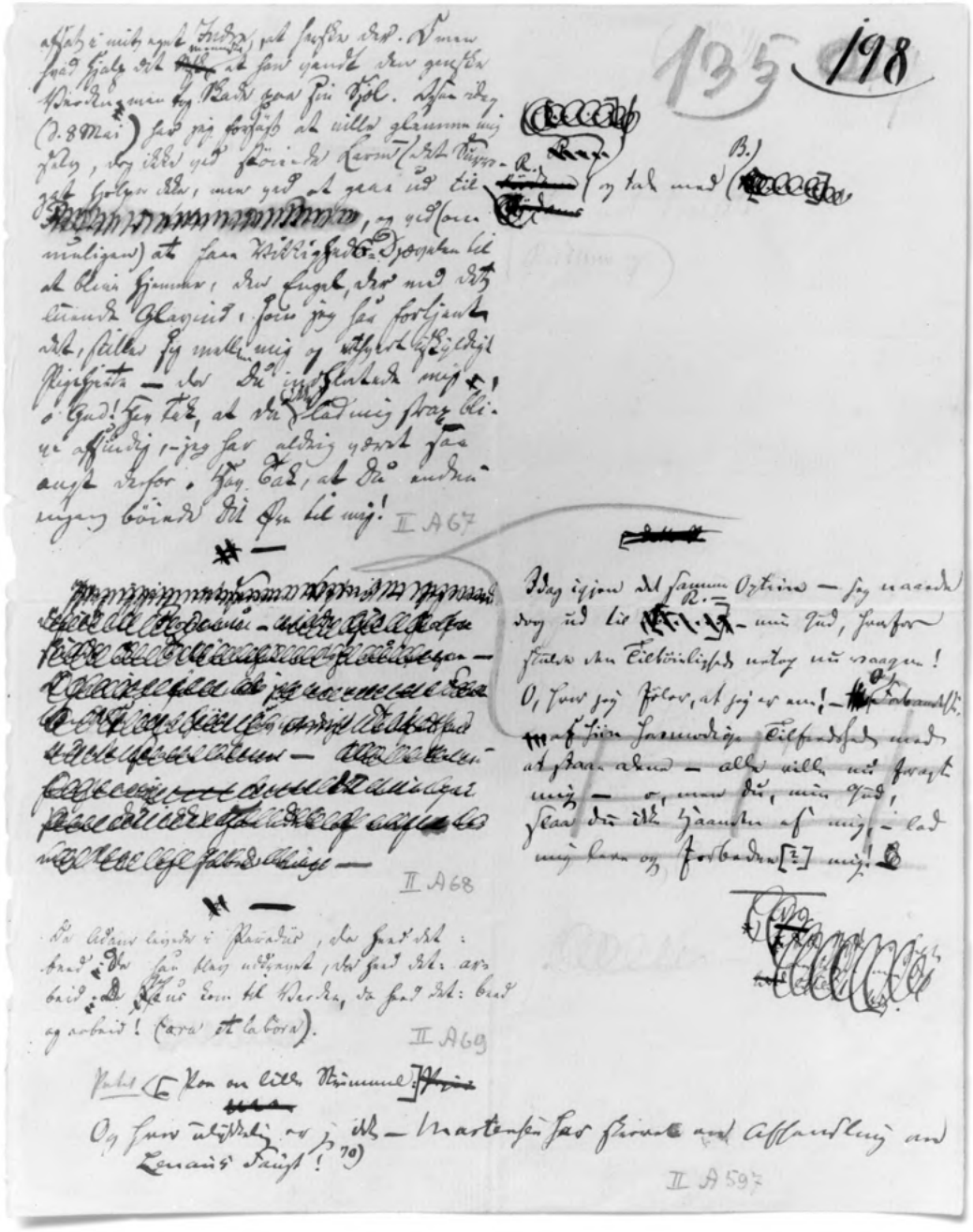
55 When Adam lived in Paradise, it was: Pray. When he was cast out, it was: Work. When Xt came to the world, it was: pray and work (ora et labora).

56 *During this time I have read a good deal of A. von Arnim, including "Armuth, Reichthum, Schuld und Busse der Gräfinn Dolores," 2 volumes.*
2nd vol., p. 21, where he speaks of her seducer, he says: "Von einem Don Juan war er schon dadurch unterschieden, daß er keinesweges bloß sinnlich war mit al

und jedem Weibe; nur mit den sinnlichen war er sinnlich; noch eifriger konnte er mit strengmoralischen sein Leben durchgehen und bessern, mit einer Religiösen Beten. Hätte Don Juan seine Vielseitigkeit gehabt, er hätte sich durch des Teufels Großmutter vom Teufel los geschwatzt ... ". I have written this down because it agrees with my view of D. J., who was less talent than genius, less character than idea.

p. 60. Countess Dolores's husband's visit to the marvelous doctor: "hier wurde ihm sehr öde und einsam, und was alle die künstlichen Maschinen nicht vermocht hatten, er schauderte und eine namenlose Angst ergriff ihn vor dem Leben eines ganz einsamen Menschen, der wie der letzte auf der Erde sich in seinen Traümen verliert und verwildert, an Hölle und Himmel zugleich anstößt und nicht hineindringen kann."

16 May 37



Journal AA: 53–55

JOURNAL BB

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p. 15. "To confine elegiac poesy to the love-relation alone is as wrong, we think, therefore, as to assume that in the elegy only the lament of unhappy love should be heard..... In the secret depth of feeling the chords of joy and sorrow lie so close to each other that the latter all too readily resonate once the former are stirred. In the midst of his happy heaven of love, the poet can detect a hint of the vanity of earthly joy, or in the bliss of possession feel the effect of a secret fear of losing it.—

p. 91. In going through the whole stock of lyric poetry now collected for us in his (Baggesen's) works, we shall find that it centers for the most part, both in content and in execution, on wholly subjective states in which, again, the main role is played partly by more or less evanescent erotic moods and partly by an elegant and witty gallantry, or that facile relation to the opposite sex that is cultivated in modern times and is the playful residue on life's surface of the spirit of chivalry, a kind of half ironic jest with those situations in which inclination can test how far in this instance it dares to go without becoming earnest, without overstepping the limit where it expresses itself as passion."—

Some clarification of the concept of the "Romantic" is to be found in the 21st lecture: this and that, though not new. p. 181 "since this (the dominant impulse to drag the eternal and the infinite—that whose measure and limits no earthly flight can approach—down into the world of phenomena) remains eternally unattainable, even for the most powerful imagination, the most profound reason, and the most ardent enthusiasm of love, then what we called the Romantic, the eternal yearning, the wistful, the infinite, privative bliss in feeling, the presentient and unearthly in imagination (the foundation of the whole world of the fabulous), the mystical and profound in thought, which as it were

[a] p. 84. The author mentions en passant the hymn in the early Greek and Roman Ch., and in this connection Herder, *Briefe zur Beförd: der Humanität 7te Samml*: pp. 21f. *Preisschrift uber die Wirk: der Dichtkunst. Samtliche Wercke zur sch: Lit*: IX pp. 419f." For me it may all be of interest, must look into it.—

tries simultaneously to identify itself with feeling and imagination—then this, I say, must serve to fill in the broad chasm between idea and substance, between the eternal, the div., the supernatural, which human striving seeks to assimilate or to bind in the various shapes of art or form-kingdoms, and these shapes themselves. It is thus not the sentimental or the chivalrous, fanciful element that forms the essential or necessary element in the Romantic—rather it is in the infinite, in the freedom of an imagination that works unbounded by the limits of the sensate, in the intuiting of the ideal, in the fullness and depth of feeling, in the power of thought directed at ideas, that we must look for that basic condition of the Romantic, and also for a large and significant part of modern art. The R., says Jean Paul, is the beautiful without limitation, or the beautiful infinite, just as there is a sublime infinite." Jean P. likens the Romantic to the illumination of a region by moonlight or to the reverberations in the echoes of a ringing bell, or a stroked string—a trembling sound that as it were swims further and further away and finally becomes lost in ourselves, still sounding within even though outside us it is quiet.— Furthermore "all poetizing is a kind of soothsayer's art, so romantic poetizing is a presentiment of a greater future." That is why the Romantic has been called the poetry of presentiment.——But if we consider each of the various arts as a whole with respect to their affinity to the Romantic, or to their receptivity of the character of the spiritually unlimited, we will find that they appear in degree of this affinity in an order in which the first place is occupied by tonal art, which exceeds all other art in making immediately intuitable the infinite, the inexhaustible, the unfathomable in the soul, but here only through feeling. Then come poetry, painting, the plastic arts . . . . . Music as the most romantic of all the fine arts is also the most recent; yes, we could say that genuine musical composition, the discovery of the theory of harmony and its practical application in music, belongs wholly to our period (modern painting is distinguished by chiaroscuro and the full range of color)—whereas the plastic arts belong

61

to the anc. period.—p. 189. Here it may be required first to recall that the R. in gen. is no exclusive possession of Chr. Europe. There is much rom. material in Oriental (Indian), Nordic, and Celtic mythology.—p. 198. Another remark we add to that here (that a poetic spirit in close kinship with the classical can still belong to our modern period) is this: that the R. that we oppose to the classical must in no way be confused with an exclusively spiritual or mystical religious striving for union with the higher, the extrasensory. The Rom., besides its ideal essence or basic power, which imparts to it a predominantly spiritual, richly imaginative, emotional character, has a side that is directed toward the sense-world, which enables it to develop and present its distinctive art world. This use of rom. material occurs poetically in many different ways; but on the whole they can be said to have in common the characteristic of seeking and presenting a beauty in the manifold, a combining of the latter's most motley, marvelous, fabulous, and fanciful forms and images into a whole that is comprehensible for the assimilating power of imagination and the beholding sense of artistic appreciation. This multiplicity, which is a dominant trait in the romantic perception of art, seems just as characteristic of it as, for classical art, are the singularity, unity, and simplicity of the great, of the sublime. But we find very different expressions of romantic multiplicity in modern poetic works: In the Middle Ages, e.g., it appears for the most part only as an abundance of material or as incomplete elements for poetic works, in which there very often stirs the most glorious, the noblest, and most vivacious spirit, or the purest religious faith and the most ardent feeling, but without managing, because of a lack of refinement
62 and artistic skill, to shape and treat the extraordinarily rich poetic material they had been able to acquire. Medieval poetry, which on the whole has a predominantly epic character, is thus extremely rich in content but nonetheless frequently formless.—Another later expression of the Romantic in poetry was less authentic and less elevated than that where the spirit is preoccupied with the mysteries of the marvelous and a

living faith in the sacred and the extrasensory; it clung instead more closely to the sense-world and to everyday life, and summoned the marvelous down from the religious sphere of faith and presentiment to a lower, more motley, and fanciful stage, where the riotously marvelous, the magical, and sorcery play their game, where fairies, gnomes, elves, and a host of other supernatural creatures and dark powers intrude upon hum. fate and the course of events.

24 March 1836

Der Poesie der Troubadours nach gedruckten und handschriftlichen Werken derselben dargesstellt v. Friedrich Diez. Zwickau 1826. **2**

Erster Abschnitt. Geist und Schicksale der Poesie. Ursprung. "Folk poetry is the oldest everywhere; its influence is greatest in times where the belief in the wondrous, the inclination toward the fantastic unites with sensuousness and good cheer. Then a special class develops, traveling singers who perform old and new songs and tales with musical accompaniment. This is how it was in the Middle Ages, before and after the troubadours as well as during their own time. But folk poetry belonged to the whole nation without distinction of class, equally understood by all. The historical writers from the 8th century strongly rebuked these wanton vagabonds, to whom they give names: joculatores, ministrales, or ministelli, scurrae, mimi. They mainly found favor in the southern coastal districts of France, which can be seen from contemporary writers. But knighthood in due course evolved, which too would affect poetry. Again mainly in southern France. Shortly after the start of the crusades the spirit of 63
chivalry evolved there, and from the same period we find also artistic poetry in Peire Rogier's poems. The year 1140 marks the epoch: though one can find even earlier traces.—From what station in life did this artistic poetry issue? "Offenbar gaben die Edlen den Anlaß zu derselben, nicht allein mittelbar, insofern es der Geist der höheren Gesellschaft war, der diese Poesie hervorgebracht hat, sondern auch unmittelbar

1 [a] a range of lesser, related literature is cited in the preface: Raynouard, "Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours à Paris 1816–21. VI B"; Adrian (Prof. in Giesen) "Grundzüge zu einer provenzalischen Gramatik 1825. *Observations sur la langue et la littérature provencales* by A. W. von Schlegel; Rochegude (formerly rear admiral) *Parnasse occitanien, ou choix des poésies originales des Troubadours,* to which is added *Essai d'un glossaire occitanien a Toulouse* 1819.—

[b] *Leben und Werke des Troubadours, ein Beitrag zur nahern Kenntniss des Mittelalters* by Friedrich Diez. Zwickau 1829.

durch das Anschlagen der ersten Accorde. Dieß wird durch die Geschichte bestätigt, denn die beiden ältesten Kunstdichter, der Graf v. Poitiers und sein Zeitgenosse und Freund der Vizgraf Ebles v. Ventadour gehören in diese Reihe. Allein die Dienstleute der Edlen, welche an den Höfen derselben lebten, bemachtigten sich bald dieser neuen Art des Dichtens, und sangen das Lob ihrer Gebieter und Gebieterinnen, indem sie so ein Mittel gefunden hatten, in der Gunst derselben zu steigen, und diese sind es, welche diese Poesie zu einer Kunst, so wie zu einem Mittel des Erwerbes ausgebildet haben. Der Zeit nach erscheinen sie unmittelbar auf Guillem; theils bestanden sie aus dienenden Rittern; theils gehörten sie einer niedern Ordnung der Gesellschaft an, wie Bernart v. Ventadour, der wichtigste der älteren Hofdichter."—p. 25. poetische Gesellschaften. Did such things exist? No! But it seems a kind of poetry contest was also instituted. "Unter die förmlichen poetischen Gesellschaften würden auch jene eingebildeten Frauenvereine gehören, die sich mit Beurtheilung gewisser in den Tenzonen erörterter Streitsätze über Liebesgegenstände beschaftigt haben sollen, gewönlich Minnehöfe genannt. Die ganze Behauptung stützt sich auf Nostradamus Geschichte der Troubadours. . . . . Diesen eingebildeten Minnehöfen wird noch eine zweite Wirksamkeit eingeraümt, Schlichtung von Liebeshändeln . . . . . Der stärkste Grund gegen das Dasein der poetischen Academien und Minnehöfe liegt immer darin, daß derselben nirgends erwähnt wird; Nordfrankreich besaß dergleichen Anstalten, und die Poesie hat sie nicht mit Stillschweigen übergegangen."—p. 30 Begriff von Troubadour und Jongleur. Some have wanted to make a distinction between troubadours as refined poets and jongleurs as their servants. He thinks that jongl. are all those who make poetry or music their trade. Those called troubadours were all who occupied themselves with artistic poetry, regardless of station, whether they did it for trade or for their own pleasure. It is in the class of troub. who lived in the courts (court poets) that the basis of artistic poetry lies. Some of the same were lower nobility, such as Guillem v.

Cabestaing, Pons v. Capdueil, Peurol, Rambaut v. Vaqueiras Peire Cardinal, et al.; generally speaking impoverished sons of knights who took to it in order to support themselves. Other court poets belonged to the bourgeoisie, by then already respected in southern France, such as Folquet von Marseille, etc. Others were of even more humble station. Strangely enough, clerics also joined these singers of love songs. No doubt it was forbidden them, but some like Peire Rogier exchanged their clerical office to become singers; Gaubert von Puicibot left the service of the monastery for that reason, so appealing was the life of the free poet;—p. 35. Kunstbereich der Trobadours Trob: d: i: Erfinder (provencalisch trobaire, acc. trobador) bedeutet recht eigentlich einen Kunstdichter, im Gegensatz, wie es scheint, zum Volkdichter . . . Es bezieht sich lediglich auf die Form, insofern sie kunstmäßig ausgebildet ist d: h: auf die Form des strophischen oder musikalischen Gedichtes. Es ist mehr als warscheinlich, daß man unter Troubadour keinen andern als den lyrischen Digter verstand. Der Roman und Novelle fehlte der vornehme Charakter des Liedes; ihr einfacherer Styl, so wie die kunstlose Form derselben erinnerten zu sehr an die Volkspoesie, als dass diese Gattung für eine ebenbürtige Schwester der lyrischen hätte gelten können. That's why the troub. complained at the interest shown in the courts in the novella and the romance. In general the troub. sought in the verses to stress the form, have it referred to as an art (art de trobar) . . Most troub., mainly the court poets, were also skilled in song and play; those that weren't took a servant jongleur with them. Many set their songs to music themselves, which they remarked on at the beginning or the end of the poem. The ability to recite stories was also appreciated. They could seldom write, which is why making poetry came to be called "dictating," a poem dictation.—p. 40 Kunstbereich der Jongleurs. Das Wort J: (prov: joglar) kommt von jocus mittellateinisch Spiel d:h: Musik, und bedeutet also einen Spielmann oder Musiker. The jongleurs' trade consisted in performing the art of music. (The number of instruments was considerable, chiefly viol, harp, and

zither, among others.) They accompanied the musically inexperienced court poets on their journeying, to support them with song and play. Every poet whose position allowed it had one or more musicians in his service. In addition to the troubadours' songs j. customarily recited stories. The one skilled in the art of reciting was also given the surname Comtaire. The name Imitator, Contrafazedor, which he was also given, allows us to presume that also mimic und Possenspiele were part of it, already among Latin writers from that time they were called mimi. Finally, a perfect musician had also to understand "die Künste des Seiltänzers und Gauklers verstehen. Er tanzte, überschlug sich, sprang durch Reife, fing kleine Äpfel mit zwei Messeren auf, ahmte den Gesang der Vögel nach, ließ Hunde und Affen ihre Kunststücke machen, lief und sprang auf einem hoch gespannten Seil, und spielte überhaupt den Lustigmacher."—p. 46. poetische Unterhaltung. The courts and the nobles' castles were haunts for the troubad.; lavish hospitality. Time not devoted to hunting was usually given over to convivial pleasures, and here poets and musicians had the opportunity to present themselves. The amazing stories of much traveled knights were joined to the jest and earnestness of the art of poetry. The ladies naturally took an active part in these, and for this reason the court poets usually distinguished themselves by refined and pleasant manners (cortesia and mesura), without which even the most unmistakable talent could not gain entry; Lohn und Ehre der Sänger; Gönner der Poesie. Among them a great number are cited, mainly 66 counts from Provence and those from Toulouse (Raimond IV, V, VI, VII) etc.:—p. 62. Verfall und Untergang der Poesie. This can be assigned to about 1250–90. Court poetry was a result of the old and authentic spirit of chivalry, which distinguishes itself in that ideal and poetic tendency presented by the 12th century. The fall of this poetry lay in the prosaic direction the spirit of chivalry took, insofar as the greatest egoism replaced the noblest sacrifice. The cause of this change lay without doubt in the impoverishment of the nobility. This can also be seen from the songs themselves,

which complain about the noblemen; in this respect examples are cited pp. 66–69.—p. 69 Zeitraüme der Poesie. 1090–1140; 1140–1250; 1250–1290. Remarkable are certain traits that cast light on its spirit at different times. It has had a taste for metrical difficulties ever since it first made its appearance. Among these, "das schwere Reim" formed an era. Arnaut Daniel brought it to its peak. From the middle of the 13th century "die dunkle Rede" became associated with it, which some troub. no doubt for that reason seized upon in order to set themselves apart from the mass of poets. Yet both also faced opposition from contemporaries. Finally, it must be recalled that some poets from the last period strove for "dem erhabenen und gelerhten Dichten." "Wenn schon Guiraut v. Borneil von großen Angelegenheiten, von den Zeiten und Jahren als Gegenstände des Gesanges redet, so ist dieß als ein nicht unbedeutender Fingerzeig zu nehmen. Allein Guiraut Riquier offenbart dies Streben am sichtbaresten, indem er an mehreren Stellen jene höhere Dichtkunst erwähnt … Für die Dichter dieser Classe verlangt er den Ehrennamen Doctoren der Poesie."

p. 75. Guiraut Riquier über die Hofpoesie. *Guiraut Riquier über die Hofpoesie*. This work, whose caption is: "*Bittschreiben Guiraut Riquier an den König v. Castilien (Alfons X des Dichters Gönner) in Betreff des Namens Jongleur*. 1275," contains important information. He asks that a new title be used to distinguish between these uncomplicated itinerant conjurors, etc., and it must be forbidden to call them "jongleurs." The king ordained that they be called Bouffons "as in Lombardy," and a distinction was established between Jongleur, Troubadour, and Doctor of Poetry, as explained above. "Jongl. were those who played on instruments, narrated short stories, delivered others' poems and canzoner; Troub. were those skilled in making Vers und Liedweisen; Doc. Poet. were the foremost Troub.; these with their beautiful wisdom showed the way to honor, goodness, and duty; in verse and canzones they explained how noble courts and great deeds should be constituted."

67

Form. Vers. Die Trobadours nennen ihn môt d: h:

Wort, warscheinlich aus der Volkspoesie entlehnt, weil hier jeder Vers etwas ganzes sagt; der Ausdruck Vers hat bei ihnen ein andere Bedeutung. Der provenzalische, so wie überhaupt der Vers der romanischen Sprachen unterscheidet sich wesentlich von dem lateinischen der höhern Poesie. Wenn der lateinische Versbau sich auf das Gesetz der Quantität[c] oder Sylbenmessung gründet, so bestimmt dagegen den romanischen der Accent, der an der romanischen Sprachbildung einen merkwürdigen Antheil nimmt; von einer Messung der Sylben und von Versfüßen kann die Rede nicht mehr sein.— Stanza. (cobla). In dem Bau der Strophe zeigt sich die Kunstpoesie in ihrer wahren Bedeutung und ihrem vollsten Glanze. Die formellen Charakterzeichen der Volkspoesie bestehen darin, dass sie stets zwei oder mehr gleichartige Verse ununterbrochen zusammenreimt, und dann daß sie mit dem Verse den Gedanken oder ein Glied desselben schließt. Die Kunstdichter verwarfen diese in dem Geiste hoher Einfachheit gegründete Regel, indem sie auch ungleiche Verse und Reime ineinander ketteten und erstere nach Wohlgefallen durch den Sinn verbanden. Dieß ist überall der gebildeteren Poesie eigentumlich, und wie nahe liegend uns dieß Verfahren auch scheinen mag, so ist es doch als eine bedeutende Neuerung zu betrachten. But the forms of the stanzas are not prescribed as in Petrarch's book of songs or the Spanish Cancionero; on the contrary, the greatest multiplicity is to be found in their construction. This is also an aspect peculiar to the poetry of Provence, and its achievement here is due entirely to itself, since classical lit. was almost wholly unknown to it and church
68 singing possessed only a few quite simple forms. But neither had every poem a new stanza construction, some forms were favored.—Rhyme. (rima) Troub. distinguished between masculine and feminine rhyme, and observed this rule in practice. Only a literal accord in rhyming syllables forms a rhyme, impure rhyme occurs very seldom. The use of rhyme extends to every form of poetry and is a presupposition of poetic presentation. A lone exception is the sextain. "Überhaupt ist die Bestimmung des Reimes sehr aus-

[c] cf. Zumpt's *Gramatik*, 6th edition. 1828. § 811: "Die metrische Betonung oder der ictus, welche diejenige Sylbe erhält, die nach dem Rythmus unter die Arsis fällt, ist in den beiden alten Sprachen ganz unabhängig von dem Wortaccente" etc.

[d] cf. *Schlegel sämtliche Wercke* vol. 2, pp. 264–67.

gedehnt. Er dient nicht allein einzelne Versen zu verketten, wobei er auch in der Mitte des Verses erscheinen darf, sondern selbst die Strophen unter sich zu verbinden, so daß die Reime der ersten Strophe in allen übrigen wieder erscheinen, und das ganze Lied also ein System von Reimen darstellt; dieß letztere ist einer jener Charakterzüge, deren die Poesie der Troubad. so viele aufzuweisen hat. Es treten hierbei manche Fälle ein. Selten ist der, daß die Reime nicht in derselben sondern erst in der folgenden Strophen gebunden werden, gewönlich umschlingen sie sich alle oder zum Theil schon in derselben Strophe, endlich wechselt zuweilen die Ordnung derselben in den Strophen nach einer gewissen Regel. Das System der durchgreifenden Reime ist indessen nicht unbedingt herschender Grundsatz. Es giebt Lieder, worin mit jeder Strophe andre Reime erscheinen, wie dieß in der neueren Poesie stattfindet; allein diese Form ist wenig gebraucht worden .... Manche Lieder befolgen ein ganz eigenes Gesetz des Reims; in jeder Strophe, die erste ausgenommen, wird ein Theil der Reime durch neue abgelöst; dieses Spiel muß mit Geschick behandelt werden, wenn die Ordnung der Reime in den Strophen, so wie das Geschlecht derselben in den Versen nicht verkehrt werden soll. Nicht ungewönlich ist der Fall, daß je zwei Strophen durch ihre Reime verbunden werden, doch schlingen sich auch zuweilen hier einzelne Reime durch sämtliche Strophen und knüpfen sie zusammen. Eine andere Verknüpfung der Strophen wird dadurch erreicht, daß man entweder das letzte Wort oder gar den letzten Vers jeder Strophe am Anfang der folgenden wiederholt." There are also 69
instances of play on rhyme and letters, originating in poetry from the monastery, though less often, some of which are cited in Diez.—Gattungsnamen der Gedichte. The distinction between Verse (vêrs) and Canzone (cansôs or chansos) was not particularly observed, though it is cited in Diez. The contrast to Canzone is provided by sirvente (sirventês also sirventesce, sirventesca) "worunter man ein Lob- oder Rügelied im offentlichen oder eignen Sachen, jedoch mit Ausschluss der Liebesangelegenheiten, verstand." An

important place was occupied by the tenson (tensos: conflict), also contencios, jocx partitz, i.e., divided game; if love was the theme it was called jocs d'amour, jocs en amoratz; if more than two persons contested it was called torneiamens, i.e. tournament. It was arranged as follows: In the first stanza one poet presents to another, whom he cites by name, two statements, usually of conflicting content, and challenges him to defend whichever he wants. In the second stanza the opponent chooses and tries to defend his choice. Whichever statement he now speaks for, the questioner tries in the third stanza to show that he chose unwisely, etc. The form has the curious feature that the one asked must retain the rhyme given him by the questioner, so that these either remain in the whole poem or at least in the stanzas in pairs.—Schäferlied (pastoreta or pastorella). Taglied alba, i.e., Morgenroth feiert das Glück zweier Liebenden, indem er den Tagesanbruch verwünscht. Abendlied (serena from sers evening). A poem whose stanzas do not accord in kind and number is called Descort, i.e., disagreement. In every attempt to conclude, the content must accord with the form and thus this form lent itself to the expression of unhappy love, and Guiraut von Salignac declares that he would not compose Descort so long as his lady-friend treated him well, etc. etc. The Occitanic language, which was without doubt rich in romances, contained no special term for this kind. Româns means any lengthy poetic work not divided into stanzas, with the exception of love letters and the short story.

70 Indhalt. Allgemeine Bemerkungen. One can take the entire lit. to be the work of one man but produced in different moods. Naturally, the individual personality also plays some part; yet upon the whole it is the same spirit that penetrates them all; everywhere it is the same poetic standpoint. If this poetizing is to move into a narrower sphere of ideas, it requires all the more effort to reproduce those familiar ideas in an elegant attire and with an idiomatic expression that sustains interest. "In diesem Stück sind die Troubd. Meister, und dieß ist eine andere glänzende Seite ihrer Poesie, die

man daher im Ganzen betrachtet eher eine Poesies des Verstandes als des Gefühls nennen möchte; wenigstens stellt sie sich dem Volksgesange gegenüber als eine solcher dar. Dieser ist reiner Naturausdruck, und Einfachheit gleichfalls sein Character, allein seine Wirkung ist grösser, weil er das Empfundne dem Gefühl unmittelb. andeutet;[e] während die Kunstpoesie ihren Gegenstand in weiten Kreisen umgaukelt, und die Aufmerksamkeit mehr für sich selbst als für jenen in Anspruch nimmt. Es fehlt den Kunstliedern daher gewöhnlich an einem Mittelpunct; der Dichter verschwendet bedeutende geistige Kräfte ohne ein Ganzes zu schaffen, und so bringen seine Werke einen geringeren Eindruck hervor, indem sie nur beschäftigen so lange man sie liest, um alsdann mit allen ihren schönen Farben wie Seifenblasen vor der Betrachtung zu zerspringen."—It is curious that the only classical poet the troub. had any particular knowledge of is Ovid.—In contrast to the modern poets who use ancient mythology by retrieving images from it, the troub. had a considerable treasure trove "von Sagen und Fictionen, wovon sie denselben æsthetischen Gebrauch zu machen wußten, wie die Alten von ihrer Mythologie. Diese Dichtungen, die sich in mehrere Fabelkreise theilten, waren aus dem Geiste der Zeit hervorgegangen, allverbreitet und allverständlich also ächt national." One said, brave as Roland and Olivier, charitable as Alexander, Charlemagne, and Artus, wise as Cato, courteous as Ivan, faithful in love as Tristan and Isolde, as Floris and Blancaflor, etc.

Bemerkungen über die lyrischen Gattungen. (1) Das Minnelied (2) das Sirventes (3) die Tenzone; diese zerfallen wieder in verschiedene Unterabtheilungen. Wir wollen uns dabei aus guten Gründen die Freiheit nehmen alle zum musikalischen Vortrag bestimmten oder strophischen Gedichte also auch die Romanze, zur lyrischen Poesie zu rechnen. 71

Das Minnelied. First, this characterizes the whole trend more generally; then a number of its traits follow, illustrated by examples. First, as far as the erotic is concerned "Hier begegnet uns eine sehr einfache von den Alten entlehnte Allegorie der Liebe, nur daß sie

1 [e]thus it is the difference between the sentimental and the naive that this author is, his own way, stressing. Cf. Schiller on these two concepts.

hier fast allgemein als weibliches Wesen gedacht wird, ohne Zweifel, weil das Wort amor, wie andere Substantive dieser Endung, weiblich geworden. Diese Göttin führt eine Lanze oder einen Pfeil, womit sie die Herzen verwundet." Then some other features are cited, which should really be perused, since their sense only comes out properly in the examples. p. 148. Caution in love relationships was always necessary, and this led to the formation of a peculiar trait. In order not to offend the respect the poet owed to his lady, they hit upon referring to her under an allegorical description. This delicacy also forbade the poet from conveying his poems to his lady personally, so they were usually sent through a musician who delivered them. From the sensuous direction that love took there also arose a special kind of composition, alba, as poesy, in that it entered wholly into the spirit of the times, embroidered with the most exuberant colors. There is an example cited which is really typical.—Fervor for their lady was such that they preferred possession of her before all else in heaven and on earth. The extreme occurs in an otherwise unknown troub. Bertran in a tenson with Granet. He has an unhappy love, and while the other warns him that the Antichrist is coming over the ocean to fight with him, he declares that the Antichrist's arrival is just what he wants in order, with his help, to take possession of the beloved.—p. 167. Laments over the departed are among the best troub. achievements. "Zum Kreise des Minnelieds zählen wir auch die Romanze und das religieuse Lied. Wenn man
72 die Albas, so wie die zahlreichen Pastorellen, welche beide Dichtarten die erzählende Form beobachten, abrechnet, so kommt die Romanze aüßerst selten vor. Wir bemerken an ihr die subjective Darstellung als einen besondern Zug: entweder stellt sich nähmlich der Dichter als unmittelbaren Theilnehmer an der Handlung, die er schildert, oder doch als Beobachter derselben dar, eine Eigenheit, die auch an der Novelle zu bemerken ist." An example from Marcabrun follows, which is especially fine.—The religious poem occurs less frequently, though a few canzones of worth are to be found. Here the love letters must also be men-

tioned, since, apart from the form, they bear all the traits of the love song. Arnaut v. Marueil stands out here.

Das Sirventes. With this genre the troubd. began to influence life, making some impact upon the princes and the powerful. This also explains the relation of confidentiality in which the court poet often stood to the regent. Troubd. sang the exploits of the well-born but undertook also to reprove them for their faults, which on the whole was taken note of either when they themselves replied to someone of the same standing who had attacked them, or when they had another poet answer for them. Diez divides sirventes into political, personal, and moral, not a particularly sharp division. To the first belong the songs of battle, where the fighting spirit is portrayed with glowing fervor; and among these in turn the calls to crusade must be noted in particular. There is not much to say about the personal s., since it frequently coincides with the political. The moral s. undertook to purge the age's abuse, the clergy in particular were a frequent target.

Die Tenzone. This remarkable kind is the Provencals' and the Frenchmen's own; "Wettgesänge sind zwar schon aus der Geschichte der alten und auch sonst der neuen Poesie bekannt, allein diese behandlen, sey es nun strophen- oder liederweise, nur solche Gegenstände, die der Wirklichkeit angehören, sie besingen oder feieren dieselben wetteifernd und sind von ernsterer Art; die provenzalischen und französischen Wettgesänge in Form der Tenzone beziehen sich dagegen 73
ursprünglich auf gesetzte Fälle und sind reine Spiele oder Uebungen des Witzes ..... Sie ist ohne Zweifel, was ihre Entstehung betrifft, ein Product des dialectischen Geistes jener ganzen Zeit." But did the t. really come about with two poets contending with each other, or is it a feigned combat? The former seems the more natural and can also be proved historically. Examples of tenson themes are cited.

Erzählende und belehrende Poesie.

Offenbar enthielt das Lied die Blüthe der ganzen occitanischen Poesie; denn die bedsten Geister wandten ihre Kraft auf diese Gattung, die durch Mannichfaltig-

keit von Seiten der Form wie des Inhalts, durch den Reiz des musicalischen Vortrags, so wie durch ihre große Wirkung auf die Gesellschaft sich vor jeder andern emphal. [1] Der Liederdichter betrachtete sein Fach daher als das höhere und beschäftigte sich nicht leicht mit der Erzählung, deren Form kein kunstmäßige war, eher wohl mit dem Lehrgedicht, das in Betracht des Gegenstandes eine höhere Gattung zu sein schien. Erzählende Poesie. (a) Romane. Girart v. Roussillon, 74 Aus dem Fabelkreise Carls des Großen, in zehnsylbigen Versen mit lang anhaltender Reimfolge. Nach Raynouard gehört es in Anfang des zwölften Jarhunderts und vielleicht noch höher hinauf. (2) Jaufre, Sohn des Dovon oder Doon aus dem Fabelkreise der Tafelrunde. (3) Philomena aus dem Fabelkreise Karls des Großen, in Prosa, zu Ehren des Klosters unsrer Frauen von la Grasse (ohnweit Carcassone) geschrieben.— Mit diesem Stücke schließt die kleine Reihe der Romane, die sich in der Ursprache erhalten haben. Indessen giebt es noch einige andere, die sich den Provenzalen theils mit Gewissheit, theils mit Warscheinlichkeit zuschreiben lassen. Here belong the

[1] Es soll hiermit nicht behauptet werden, als sey der Roman von dem musicalischen Vortrag unbedingt ausgeschlossen gewesen. Uhland hat uns in seiner vortrefflichen Abhandlung über das altfranzösiche Epos (in der Zeitschrift: **die Musen** 1812 3s Quartal) gezeigt, daß in Nordfrankreich die in Alexandrinern und fünffüßigen Jamben abgefaßten Nationalromane—allerdings musikalisch vorgetragen wurden. Allein es verhält sich hier mit der Musik wie mit dem poetischen Styl. Es ist einleuchtend, daß die Musik, wenn sie den Vers zu begleiten bestimmt ist, von dem Form des Gedichtes abhängt. Für die beiden Versarten des Heltengedichtes haben, wie auch Uhland glaubt, sicherlich nur zwei einfache Melodieen statt gefunden, dagegen das Lied vermöge der Mannichfaltigkeit seines Strophenbaues die mannichfaltigsten Melodieen erforderte. Der Abstand zwischen der epischen und lyrischen Musikbegleitung war daher derselbe wie zwischen Volks- und Kunstpoesie, und die epische in den Augen des Kunstdichters so gut wie keine.

story of the beautiful Maguelone; the story of Titurel and Parsival; Tristan and Iseut; Floris and Blancaflor. (b) Novellen. Of these 5 are cited. (c) Legenden. (d) Reimchroniken. Wir besitßen nur eine einzige: Geschichte des Albigenserkrieges in Alexandrineren, mit langer Reimfolge von Meister Guillem v. Tudela. This entirely preserved work consists of 10,000 stanzas and relates the war from its beginning to the seige of Toulouse by Louis, the son of Phillip August 1209. The author is an eyewitness.
Belehrende Poesie (1) wissenschaftliche (2) moralische (3) geistliche Gedichte.

Verhältniß zu auswärtiger Litteratur.
Altfranzösische Liederpoesie; Altdeutsche Liederpoesie. Regarding the latter Diez cites literature for comparison: Bodmer *Neue kritische Briefe* 1763. pp. 78–98; Jacob Grimm[f] *Über den deutschen Meistersang* 1811; Görres in der Vorrede zu den *Altdeutschen Volks- und Meisterliedern* 1817. Die altitalienische Liederpoesie. In this whole section there are no particularly significant remarks, no grand observations, but some comparisons especially in formal respects with regard to construction of verse, rhyme, designations of poetic activity, etc.
Ueber die provenzalische Sprache.
Princip der provenzalischen Mundart. Das Princip, welches der Bildung der provenzalischen Mundart zu Grunde liegt, besteht in der Abkürzung der Wörter hinter der Tonsylbe durch Syncope oder Apocope, so daß also die Bildungs und Flexionssylben gegen die Tonsylbe hin concentrirt werden.

22 April 1836

Hoffmann *Klein Zaches gennant Zinnober*. in his *Selected Writings*, volume 9, Berlin 1828, p. 30: "Erst jetzt fühlte er (Balthasar) es recht, wie unaussprechlich er die schöne Candida liebe, aber auch zugleich, daß seltsam genug sich die reinste, innigste Liebe im aüßeren Leben etwas geckenhaft gestalte, welches wohl der tiefen Ironie zuzurechnen, die die Natur in alles menschliche Treiben gelegt." The same volume contains **3**

[f] I have had this at home from the Univ. Library. It is a polemical pamphlet against Docen, so empirical and so learned that I cannot make head or tail of it. The question is of the relation between love song and master song, it might interest me if ever I get more time.
17 January 1837

"Prinzessin Brambilla ein Capricio nach Jacob Callot," which richly deserves perusal so as to uncover "humor" grasped there in an artistic light.

4 *Ditto Ditto 8th Volume: Lebensansichten des Katers Murr, nebst fragmentarischer Biographie des Kapellmeisters Johannes Kreisler in zufälligen Makulaturblättern*. p 124: Ein durchdringendes Verstand, ein tiefes Gemüth, eine ungewönliche Erregbarkeit des Geistes, alles das waren anerkannte Vorzüge des Orgelbauers. Was man aber Humor zu nennen beliebte, war nicht jene seltene wunderbare Stimmung des Gemüthes, die aus der tieferen Anschauung des Lebens in all' seinen Bedingnissen aus dem Kamp der feindlichsten Principe sich erzeugt, sondern nur das entschiedene Gefühl des Ungehörigen, gepaart mit dem Talent es ins Leben zu schaffen, und der Nothwendigkeit der eignen bizarren Erscheinung. Dieß war die Grundlage des verhönenden Spottes, den Liskov überall ausströmen ließ, der Schadenfreude, mit der er alles als ungehörig erkannte rastlos verfolgte bis in die geheimsten Winkel.

5 *Dto Dto 3ter Band. Die Serapionsbrüder 3ter B: p. 7–23.* there are good things on the way the Devil has been construed in the popular mind.

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6 *Ludvig Tiecks Schriften 4ter Band. Phantasus erster Theil. Berlin 1828*.
p. 129 ..... Es giebt vielleicht keine Erfindung, die nicht die Allegorie, auch unbewußt, zum Grund und Boden ihres Wesens hätte. Gut und böse ist die doppelte Erscheinung, die schon das Kind in jeder Dichtung am leichtesten versteht, die uns in jeder Darstellung von neuem ergreift, die uns aus jedem Räthsel in den mannichfaltigsten Formen anspricht und sich selbst zum Verstandniss ringend auflösen will. Es giebt eine Art, das gewöhnlichste Leben wie ein Mährchen anzusehn, eben so kann man sich mit dem Wundervollsten, als wäre es das Alltäglichste, vertraut ma-

chen. Man könnte sagen, alles, das Gewöhnlichste, wie das Wunderbareste, Leichteste und Lustigste habe nur Wahrheit und ergreife uns nur darum, weil diese Allegorie im letzten Hintergrunde als Halt dem Ganzen dient, und eben darum sind auch Dantes Allegorien sa überzeugend, weil sie sich bis zur greiflichsten Wirklichkeit durchgearbeitet haben. Novalis sagt: nur die Geschichte ist eine Geschichte, die auch Fabel sein kann. Doch giebt es auch viele kranke und schwache Dichtungen dieser Art, die uns nur in Begriffen herum schleppen, ohne unsre Phantasie mit zu nehmen, und diese sind die ermüdenste Unterhaltung.—
cf. Heyne (*romantische Schule* p. 20,) in this connection.

Ueber Goethe's Faust. Vorlesungen von Dr. K. E. Schubarth. Berlin 1830. 7

We pass over, for the time being, the dedication, the prelude in the theater and the prologue in heaven. *1st scene*. S. provides a rather prosaic resumè of Göethe's words and comes up with some weitschweifige remarks in connection with them, enriched by quotations from other writings of Goethe. He then shows how a *conflict betw. life and knowledge* has taken root in Faust's consciousness, which has caused him to seize upon magic, which precisely on account of the good-humored side it gives life has something very enticing about it. By broadening knowledge, magic would secure riches, all kinds of enhanced pleasure in living, long life, etc. Magic is therefore not objectionable in itself, since it strives for knowledge; it is objectionable because it seeks truth for an inferior purpose. Faust's 77
scientific side had received a severe setback in that conflict, but an *impatience* connected to his tantalized striving for knowledge also arose—he wanted to embrace everything. He has sensed that the knowledge possessed by his contemporaries will not satisfy him; he has intimations of a far more living, far more spiritual treatment of science. But he now plunges out of control, has dreams of an unconditional mastery of nature as God's image. Finally, *his religious conflict with himself, the relationship betw. authority and his own view*

of things, appears as well; "Indem er erklärt, das Wunder sei des Glaubens liebstes Kind, theilt er dem Glauben jene Art von Beschränkheit zu, welche von phantastischer Leichtglaubigkeit, oder von dumpfem, kindischen, schwachmüthigen Erstaunen und thörichtem Gefangennehmen des eignen Verstandes sich schwer abgrenzen läßt, anstatt daß der wahre Glaube nicht vor dem Wunder erstaunt, was dem Verstande nur ein Widerspruch ist, sondern das wahrhafte Wunder, in dem findet, was bei hellster Begreiflichkeit und Anschaulichkeit dog unergründlich bleibt und so als dieß wahre Wunder tausendfältig sich überall wiederholt." Quotations from Goethe's works[a] then follow, which are very interesting but somehow direct attention away from the poem.

S. treats the following scene in the same way, a resumè and some sermonizing remarks. Regarding the fact of the dog, he cites Goethe's scientific works, where he discusses this passage and points out that light and darkness immediately require their opposites. He (Goethe) relates that the passage in *Faust* was written long before he made the discovery: "aus dichterischer Ahnung und in halben Bewußtsein, als bei gemäßigtem Licht, vor meinem Fenster auf der Straße ein schwarzer Pudel vorbeilief, der einen hellen
78 Lichtschein nach sich zog: das undeutliche, im Auge gebliebene Bild seiner vorübereilenden Gestalt."[b] S. then correctly remarks that a hitherto unknown peace establishes itself in Faust's mind (when he returns from the walk), which proves only to be a sea-calm, and then Faust makes the last and final attempt to read and interpret the Bible, but that entirely miscarries and the pious mood vanishes and he appears as an exorcist, and then, now that he has thus given up Christianity, Mephistopheles makes his appearance. After this, S. follows with a lot of chatter about evil and its meaning in existence in moral as well as physical respects, real textbook prattle, where we get to hear about Judas Iscariot, and about Bonaparte etc.: he thinks—this is just about what it comes to—that the Devil restrains and satirizes any excessive endeavor, and is thus, in a way, what I would call irony. How far

[a]One of them I can't resist copying down: "Man hat oft gesagt und mit Recht, der Unglaube sei ein umgekehrter Aberglaube, und an dem letzten möchte gerade unser Zeit vorzüglich leiden. Eine edle That wird dem Eigennutz, eine heroische Handlung der Eitelkeit, das unlaügbar poetische Product einem fieberhaften Zustande zugeschrieben; ja was wunderlicher ist, das allervorzüglichste, was hervortritt, das allermerkwürdigste, was begegnet, wird so lange als nur möglich ist, verneint."—

[b]What Falck says about Goethe's antipathy toward dogs can be compared here.

[c] Schubarth on p. 223 seems to want to prove his theory of the Devil (a theory that at least to me seems to have no great importance for the poem) as walking hand in hand with Our Lord, which is nothing but irony brought to awareness, by pointing to what seems to him the otherwise inexplicable circumstance that, although he tries to seduce Faust, he nevertheless expresses great respect for reason (in the monologue while Faust goes away and the student enters "Verachte nur Vernunft" etc.) but then again criticizes human knowledge in a very disparaging way. But it must be pointed out that, first, we must know in what sense Mephisto praises reason, since it could also be understood as not being in harmony with God, and secondly, if Mephisto, as it seems from many of Schub.'s remarks to be his opinion, really wishes the good, then in his apology for evil in the world Schub., either makes the Devil into Our Lord or Our Lord into the Devil; or, as seems to follow from other passages in Schub., the Devil wants not so much the good as to prevent eccentricity in any direction because he finds it unpleasant; for then he makes the Devil into an Epicurean in the grand manner. He has failed to perceive that, even if evil in the world can be seen as a means in the hand of God, it is not that from the Devil's grandiose yet not omniscient standpoint.

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this agrees with Göethe's view of Mephistopheles is another matter. More interesting, on the other hand, with regard to catching a glimpse of Goethe himself, is what S. cites from the latter's own writings on the impression the Lisbon earthquake made on him, and one of the quotations he gives: "Daß gewönlich, wenn unser Seelenconcert am geistigsten gestimmt sei, die rohen, kreischenden Töne des Weltwesens am gewaltsamsten und ungestümsten einfallen, und der in Geheim immer fort waltende Contrast, auf einmal hervortretend, nur desto empfindlicher wirke."—On the chorus of spirits (p. 82 in my edition of *Faust*) we find the following pronouncement in S. which I cannot understand, while I cannot understand the passage in Goethe either: "Ein unsichtbares Geisterchor läßt sich ironisch über diese Zerstörung der schönen Welt vernehmen und fordert unsern Helden auf sie prächtiger in seinem Busen aufzubauen, um als Halbgott den neuen Lebenslauf zu beginnen." Here S. wants to try to explain how the enormous polarity found in life—which the poet has centered in his Mephisto—how, and in what circumstances, it will exert its power on Faust so that, although destructive and disruptive in the particular, it will nevertheless prove salutary on the 79
whole. With his eccentric striving, Faust had naturally to be doomed to a nemesis, and this nemesis acquires splendid proportions in relation to such a character. From the moment Faust believes that he must despair without hope, Mephistopheles takes it on himself to imbue him with a taste for this world, to convince him that the world he berates is not to be despised. Only after all pleasures, after proper gratification and surfeit have been brought about, is F. to despair, since in the end he must recognize that the Devil has deceived him after all, and that in his own passion and haste he has marked out the boundaries of his glory too soon and too narrowly. F. is finally to come to grief with a sense that he has forfeited human honor, he who in his hurry had rejected the greatest goods that were open to him in freedom and discretion, and that he appropriated only that side of existence that dazzled and was designed to give pleasure.

Mephisto now handles his man with immense irony, looking down on him as a despairing fool who didn't even need the highest gifts of reason and spirit to find life pleasurable. F. foolishly condemned life, and now Mephisto undertakes to give him a taste for life by depriving him of all that is reasonable, yes even his good conscience. If we now ask what this byway is along which Mephisto would lead F., it is the path of distraction where a hum. being feels altogether human, inasmuch as in the absence of any strain he only takes life to be easy enjoyment. If we further ask how Mephisto has dared take it upon himself to subvert so highly striving a spirit, it can only happen by a psychological masterstroke. He doesn't throw him straightaway into pleasure; in F.'s present mood that would have no effect. He must first see others at pleasure on a lower level over which he himself is kept in a hovering state, enjoying it half ironically by seeing himself as better than the others. When this sight of the lower classes' pleasure—bound up with a semi-mystification of them from Mephisto's side, which helps amuse F.—has made him little by little conversant with the element of danger, then Mephisto must invest him with a more human interest, one however that only surprises him by its novelty and that does not satisfy him, for which end love will no doubt serve. Except that this human interest must flow from its truest source, that is, from a really uncorrupted womanly soul. Faust will soon tire of this relationship and Mephisto only has to take care that F. is not aware too early of the ensuing self-induced catastrophe, but must distract him in other ways. He must only make sure that F. thereby comes to see himself as guilty and the infinite misery then strikes him. The sight of it will not drive him to suicide; he is too weak and lax for that. But his conscience is besmirched and what else is there left for him, seeing he is already half-ironically used to the sight of all self-indulgence, vulgarity, and voluptuousness, is weighed down by a secret guilt, but to proceed with all frigidity and indifference along the path of irony, and then, despising himself and the entire world, to achieve the ultimate goal of desire and

himself ascend the throne and center-point of desire, in this way becoming a sole example of a virtuoso in all the most refined earthly distractions. And F.'s pleasure must not be thought of as of the coarsest kind. One thinks of him with the wand and baton of all desire's fascination, setting himself above time and space, enjoying precisely the brilliantly piquant, now respected, now feared in his world-historical position, and one can well imagine that he would succumb to the temptation of no longer wanting to leave the world—as for the student who comes to be taught by Faust, S. correctly notes: there stands before us a Faust in miniature, or in other words, that basic trait of humanity presents itself in a young man, and thereby are the words of Mephisto already here fulfilled:

"Und immer zirkulirt ein neues frisches Blut.
So geht es fort, man möchte rasend werden."

For Mephisto is hardly to the point of getting rid of the old fool in Faust before a new one grows for him in the mother's beardless son.

The scenes following are as good as untreated in S. In 81
connection with Brander's song about the rat and Mephisto's about the flea, he undertakes a kind of comparison that goes in favor of Mephisto's, since he thinks it more refined and satirical. In the scene in the witch's kitchen (concerning the piece, p. 122 in my edition *Das ist die Welt*, etc:) "Sehr erbauliche Betrachtungen von einem Meerkater über Glanz, Vergänglichkeit und Holheit irdischer Dinge. Er ist leben geblieben, der alte Practicus, und hat Alles durchgekostet; allein er traut dem Sohne nicht dieselbe Geschicklichkeit zu, daher vermacht er ihm als Testament den moralischen Rath, sich der Weltlust zu enthalten, um nicht vorzeitig sterben zu müssen." As baroque a joke as this seems—the poet introducing an ape and its family into the witch's kitchen—S. nevertheless thinks there is some profound ethical significance in the fact that the ape, known for combining most of the animal weaknesses, stands as a representative of the most animal aspects of human nature. And the poet also puts in their mouths all that comprises base human nature's strivings and efforts and wants: base greed, play, av-

arice, treachery, tyrannical oppression, rebelliousness, unbridled impudence in speech and affairs.—

The scene with Margarete follows; as S. correctly remarks, she is "leider keine Kokette, und die unerfahrne Unschuld unterliegt solcher frechen Zudringlichkeit noch schneller als die ausgelernte Buhlkunst. Denn eben weil sie die Unschuld ist, und es nur ehrlich meint, so stellt sie sich selbst in ihrer guten Meinung der Schamlosigkeit zum Anwald auf, und sucht günstig ins Sittige zu deuten, was nur Frechheit ist und bleibt." Sensuousness now takes F., who was only used to living among books, by surprise. Mephisto tries to kindle passion's first flame even further by putting obstacles in the way. Margarete, who on Mephisto's own confession is an innocent child with nothing to confess, appears. Sch. undertakes here a very untimely investigation into whether Mephisto genuinely means it or not, siding with the former, and thereby acquiring a new contribution to his Devil theory. What S. says 82 about the scene, however, is nice (p. 141 in my edition "*Es ist so schwül, so dumpfig hie*") "in dem Weben sympathetischer Gefühle, das uns der Dichter schildert, dürfen wir uns nicht wundern, daß Margrete bei der Rückkehr eine geheimnißvolle, unerklärliche Ahnung von der stattgehabten Anwesenheit der beiden Fremden hat. Es ist zart vom Dichter gewesen, diesen Geist uns fühlen zu lassen, der dem Menschen beigegeben ist, ihn in den bedeutendsten Fällen des Lebens umweht, und ihn als feinstes Gefühl das Geschick seiner fernen Zukunft vorempfinden läßt. So schaudert Margarete ahnungsvoll beim Eintrit ins Zimmer, dessen Luft ihr schwül vorkommt, obwohl es draussen nicht warm ist. Sie fühlt sich beklommen und allein, und wünscht der abwesenden Mutter baldige Ankunft." In connection with the scene between Mephisto and Marthe Schwerdtlein (p. 150 in my edition) S. thinks that one cannot but envisage a comparison between the kind of love that existed between Marthe and her presumably now dead husband, and that between F. and Grethe: that kind of love which lives in certain forms without the least trace of significance and the kind which surpasses these in eruptive warmth;

and S. thinks that this "köstliche Vexirscene" between Mephisto and Marthe serves to ameliorate the tragic denouement with Margarete.

S. remarks with reference to (p. 182 in my ed.) Margarete's anxiety of Mephisto, that now for the first time she is struck by this man's physiognomy. She had already seen him without a similar worry at Mrs. Marthe's and at their first meeting. Has there perhaps occurred in Margr. that change wherein, previously pure and innocent, she is no longer indifferent to evil, to its presence, to the still hidden expression in a third person's mien? It is unfortunately true that, by disturbing that fine feeling, a person loses the innocence that lets one look straight out, boldly and frankly; and then things that seem outwardly of no consequence assume for him exclusively the form of an accusation, a reproach. "Man kann sagen, wenn Mephistopheles für Gretchen früher nicht da war, so fängt er jetzt an für sie Wirklichkeit, Bedeutung und Kraft zu gewinnen. Auch spricht Mephisto das von seiner Seite durch den 83
wegwerfenden Titel 'Grasaffe,' den er ihr giebt, aus, während er sie früher 'ein gutes unschuldiges Ding' nannte. Es ist überhaupt diese Scene ungemein merkwürdig, wegen der Kräfte und Mächte, die dabei wirksam sind. In das Heiligste, Himmlische, was hier diese beiden freundlichst aufgeschlossenen Gemüther beschäftigt, wirft sich ein satanischer Zug, ein geheimes, ahnungvolles Grauen vor der Hölle."

Regarding the conversation on religion betw. the two lovers, Sch. remarks that it reveals the difference between the religious needs of the sexes, the more general religious view, and the more particular. He then goes over to considering Xnty in general, how spiritually speaking the various main trends have influenced the various religions, which then, in repeating themselves within Xnty, influence the various creeds. It seems to me, however, that this whole investigation, especially at such length, has absolutely nothing to do with the piece.—A character which God, Nature, in their vastness, does not satisfy, is so rare indeed that we might expect him to take the witches' mountain by storm. However, it would be petty and contradictory were

he unable to disengage himself from these labyrinths of the magic mountain, and kept that old nature of his which finds peace in neither good nor evil. On the other hand, such a journey to Blocksberg has a basis of the greatest necessity in a proto-character like this. It is the same artistic necessity that earlier let us see F. in Auerbach's cellar, in the witch's kitchen. The same motives that allowed F. to make a pact with evil at all, the denying principle, lead him to the summit of all confusion. It was part of the Devil's plan to bribe F. with an ironical satisfaction, inasmuch as on this summit of all confusion he continued to maintain a kind of grandeur and superiority. In this vision of the great mass of evil, Satan brings him to the dangerous point of finally seeing himself placed beyond all distinction between good and evil. Now if this is the real absolute, or the most absolute, which nature strives toward, then we see that ascending the Brocken to acquire the
84 sense of such a self-elevation beyond himself had to be an indispensable necessity for F. For it is from that unconditionality, that absoluteness, that our man is suffering. Mephisto catches sight here of the point that, by letting the difference between good and evil vanish, by surpassing it, he can make F. amenable to that highest unconditional all-ness which, insofar as all difference then disappears in it, brings him, through deception, close to a certain God-likeness. No doubt it is nothing but the unconditioned emptiness and nothingness that, as all-ness, is what remains once all difference is suspended. With this, Mephisto will now both gratify F. and destroy him spiritually, leading him by way of this bridge over into the realm of perfect arbitrariness.

But the real Satan's trick Mephisto plays on F. with this Blocksberg scene is that mysterious vision of Gretchen's form that appears to F. on Blocksberg. In this way, he seizes hold of him deep inside his innermost conscience and binds him with a bond to the vast hosts of evil that is at first light, but little by little is hundredweight heavy. He first jokingly warns F. not to look all too closely at the specter; then he ridicules him for this caricature of his conscience. If Mephisto suc-

ceeds in leading the voice of F.'s conscience astray in this way, then the view of eternal misery will only cause him a brief and external shock. Weighed down far more by the great secretive guilt, he will also be cured of any other thought. Besides, on awakening from the storm of his senses and reason, he notes that one still retains enough strength to live, and that where innocence brings the cycle of life to an end, life's energy pulsates beyond it. In thus transcending the narrow limits that reason, that conscience sets for man, F. will feel properly bound in truth to Mephisto, for it is he who opens for him the limitless, immeasurable prospect that can alone satisfy him. For it is F.'s misfortune that he cannot put up with the common limitations of life. The Walpurgis Night dream serves to embroider the ideal region on Blocksberg. *There is a remark in S. on pp. 327 and 28 that I will copy down:* "Indem übrigens der Blocksberg nicht eine Zeitepoche, sondern Aeltestes und Jüngstes in sich befaßt, fängt hier jene Aufhebung des gewönlichen Zeitbegriffs schon sehr bedeutend an, an die wir uns von nun an immer mehr werden gewöhnen müßen. In dem folgende Verlaufe nämlich der Schicksale unseres Helden, wie sie uns der zweite Theil vorlegt, verschwinden Zeit und Oertlichkeit immer mehr, und F: wandelt sich aus einer wirklichen, historischen Person, als die er uns der Hauptsache nach im ersten Theil in Ton und Haltung erscheint, in eine mythisch allegorische und symbolische Persönlichkeit um. Alle Schicksale unsers Helden verlieren den individuellen Bezug, und nähern sich einem Allgemeinen, ja Allgemeinsten der Weltgeschichte." On taking up now in conclusion the whole unfolding of Mephisto's plan, in the 10th lecture, and before proceeding to part two of Goethe's *Faust*, S. discusses Faust's love story, in its right place. He shows how there developed out of this one of the deepest "Entzweiungen" in his inner being, regarding which he could not be clear whether it was inflicted upon him more by his own sin or by some unhappy conjunction of circumstances such as, e.g., Valentine's murder, which plunged him into committing an offence, and of a kind that robbed him of any courage to

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uphold, with the strength of innocence, his complaint against the higher powers over the denial of his supreme wishes. In order that the impression of Gretchen's wretchedness does not totally permeate the ideal region and perhaps assume the form of the deep and inner remorse which we finally see Margarete gripped by, the spirit of our man has already been smitten by such an impression of evil at the sight of its immensity and power during his ascent of the Brocken, that he is more disposed to take this vision to support a conception of this creature's misery as merely an individual case, and a minimum of that baseness that, to the extent that it issues from the hum. personality and will, belongs to earthly existence. If he nevertheless cannot altogether overcome the sting, still so much has been achieved that in all similar cases in the future he will have less courage to examine closely whether the
86 highest demands are being satisfied in that way, or not. He will be that much more prone to adopt the riotous life of every pleasure to drown out the wounds in his inner heart. Conceding all this, one sees that in order to escape the reproaches of the ideal, our man is obliged to arrive at—yes, is well on the way toward—arriving at a real satisfaction, unnoticed and against his will.

Faust Part Two

Here, just for my own reference, I will remind myself that Schubarth does not possess the complete edition of F., which came from the poet's hand only in 1831, but had to make do with the scattered fragments. He calls attention to the fact that some people have found a continuation of F. unnecessary, others impossible, and he thinks both are refuted by the poet in the best manner. He reminds us that what was stated in the prologue is only partly fulfilled "Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt"; but the second part is unfulfilled "Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange, Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewußt." Also, Mephisto has brought his man only so far as the vision of pleasure and put him, in his distraction, in the position of needing to find a remedy for his secret half-

guilt. But in the first part nothing so far has occurred whereby F. tries to put himself in the center and focus of earthly pleasure in the most concentrated and cultivated sense. Had one borne that in mind, thinks S., such heresies would have been avoided. He cites a remark by Goethe in *Kunst und Alterthum* in connection with the "Helen" interlude: "Darüber aber mußte ich mich wundern, daß diejenigen, welche eine Fortsetzung und Ergänzung meines Fragmentes unternahmen, nicht auf den so nahe liegenden Gedanken gekommen sind, es müsse die Bearbeitung eines zweiten Theils sich nothwendig aus der bisherigen kümmerlichen Sphäre ganz erheben, und einen solchen Mann in höhern Regionen durch würdigere Verhältnisse durchführen." S. thinks the scene of F.'s awakening at the emperor's court and the great court festival is 87
used to develop and present F. in this second stage (pleasure). The Helen fragment follows, in which connection he cites a passage from Goethe which points out that in the legend F. insists on seeing Helen. After an exposition of what we have from Goethe in this fragment, S. continues: If we now consider how H. and F. meet here, we must admit that it could hardly happen in a more suitable manner than by F. appearing as the center-point in the immense movement from north to south, which from the time of the migration of the tribes, through all the Middle Ages to the most recent times, has been kept up partly by entire peoples, partly by individuals, as the expression of the northern countries' ardent desire and longing for the beauties of the south, in forms as marvelous as they are enchanting. Only as a people's prince of this kind, standing in the midst of this movement's most romantic trope, dared F. risk seeking the favors of the world-famous beauty of ancient times, and only in this way, as Romanticism's prince of youth, does he appear not unworthy to walk beside the perfection of all beauty.

As a conclusion S. makes an attempt at construing the finale of the whole work. However, there is nothing special in this. On the other hand, the comment with which he closes his work is really good: "Wenn das Streben nach dem Absoluten sich in der neuern

und neuesten Menschheit auf mancherlei Weise hervorgethan, und auf dem philosophischen Wege der ernsthaftesten Behandlung unterworfen zu werden, nicht für unwerth befunden worden; so ist es merkwürdig, wie der Dichter dasselbe als einen Wahn von sich zu weisen scheint, dem auf ernstem Wege positiv durchaus nichts abzugewinnen sei. Auf einem scherzhaften Wege hingegen in gründlich, tüchtiger, verneinender Behandlung gewähre es die glänzendsten Vortheile und Befriedigung. Es verleihe nämlich einem, in seiner allgemein menschlichen Begrenztheit sich unbehaglich fühlenden Charakter eben das Recht, sich über alle Grenzen und Schranken, die dem Menschen nothwendiger und zufälliger Weise gezogen sind, hinaus zu versetzen, um mit der Phantasie in jener ungebundenen, dog gefälligen Willkürlichkeit und Zugellosigkeit den nie endenden Wettstreit zu beginnen. Statt daß also das Absolute in die philosophische Region aufzunehmen sei, wo es stets starr, trocken, todt, ungnießbar verbleibe, und verrückte Combinationen veranlasse, gehöre der Begriff desselben recht eigentlich der Poesie an, die ihm allein Giltigkeit zu verschaffen und ihn durch das grenzenlose Schwärmen der Einbildungskraft, dem er entspricht, erst lebendig, wirksam, wahr, so wie ergötzlich und heiter zu machen im Stande sei."—

I will now go back and take up S.'s introduction. He remarks that in this work Goethe has chiefly employed humor: "Eine humoristische Behandlungsart und die damit verknüpfte Ansicht tritt unstreitig überall ein, wo viele Dinge, werthvolle und unwerthe, unserer Anschauung theils zugleich, theils bald nachzeitig entgegen gebracht werden, so daß der wohlbekannte Unterschied derselben zu schwinden scheint, und für den Augenblick durch den Bezug auf etwas noch Höheres, gleichsam als auf ein Absolutes, das bald deutlicher hervortritt, bald mehr im Hintergrunde gehalten wird, seine gewönliche Giltigkeit verliert und in dem bekannten Resultate null wird." As an example he cites standing on a high mountain and looking down at the valley lying below. "Was nun aber dieses Höhere ge-

rade vorstellt, worauf der sonst bekannte Unterschied und Werth der Dinge als verschwindend bezogen wird, bildet den verschiedenen Charakter und die abweichende Beschaffenheit des Humors, der damit sich eben so in die höchsten Regionen erheben, als bei einem sehr trivialen niedern Fluge beharren kann, so daß es nichts Gemeines giebt, was fratzenhaft ausgedrückt, nicht humoristisch aussehn und wirken könnte." "Jedenfalls wird eine gewisse Breite des Weltzustandes, eine gewisse Mannigfaltigkeit der Gegenstände und Situationen vorausgesetzt, wenn der Humor sich entwicklen soll. Daher es erklärlich ist, warum diese Lebensansicht und Behandlungsart der Dinge bei den Alten weniger angetroffen wird, und erst in der neuern Welt sich entwickelt hat." He then makes a distinction betw. naive and realistic and a more ideal 89 or fanciful humor full of longing. "Der Unterschied beider aussert seine Wirksamkeit vorzüglich in Absicht auf jenes Absolute, den sonstigen Unterschied der Dinge theils aufhebende, theils neu Contrastirende. Wird namlich dieses in irgend etwas Gegenwartiges, noch Erreichbares, Diesseitiges gesetzt, so entsteht jener naive Humor; wird aber dabei in die Ferne, in ein Jenseits, in überirdische Regionen hinaufgegangen, so entspringt der sentimentale Humor." E.g., Jean Paul. He shows how in the poem the poet Faust constantly presumes the thought that life in its basest, most foolish and perverted manifestations is still constantly a priceless gift. That makes his humor naive.—From pages 80–84 S. himself provides a summary of the content of the second lecture. One should not tolerate a certain one-sided preference for a single work by a truly great poet. The latter's greatness is to be sought in the totality of all his works. S. then tries to meet various objections to the work, as by A. W. Schlegel in *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, who thinks that the poem's form far exceeds the dramatic presentation. He shows that some have simply understood the poem to be a complaint that he was denied the highest pleasures of life, and that Lord Byron has reproduced the matter and content in F. from this standpoint.—

In the third lecture S. tries to explain the dedication, the prelude and the prologue. There is nothing of interest here. On p. 103 there is a new contribution to his Devil theory, which I have already developed in the preceding. On p. 106 likewise a contribution. He calls attention to the fact that other great poets, for instance Klopstock, Milton, and even Lord Byron in his *Cain* have understood the Devil from another side. Goethe thinks he comes closer to the way he is understood in the book of Job. The outcome is then roughly that the Devil has undertaken to be provost in the divine court, a business in which I really don't see anything devilish, especially when this provost thinks well of mankind.

2 Sept. 36.

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8 From an earlier excerpt, no doubt from 35, I will just remind myself of Lessing's adaptation of Faust, a fragment found in:
Gothold Ephraim Lessings sämtliche Schriften, Berlin 1794
Band XXII pp. 213–231
This is from a letter from Engel in which he writes to K. G. Lessing that his (Lessing's) now deceased brother had given him ideas for several pieces, and among them F. He sets the scene in a destroyed Gothic church with a main altar and 6 side-altars. Destruction of God's works is Satan's delight, and sojourn in the ruins of a temple his favorite residence. Various devils come along to render account. One of them has had his attention drawn to F. p. 218: "Gott seinen Liebling zu rauben—einen denkenden, einsamen Jüngling, ganz der Warheit ergeben, ganz nur für sie athmend, für sie empfindend; jeder Leidenschaft absagend, außer der einzigen für die Warheit; dir und uns allen gefährlich, wenn er einst Lehrer des Volks würde." However, this devil has been unable to find any weak side to attack in F. So Satan prepares to take this upon himself and promises himself victory. But God's angel is heard calling: You shall not win. The plot now unfolds: diesen Faust begräbt der Engel in einen tiefen Schlummer, und erschafft an seiner Stelle ein Phan-

tom, womit die Teufel so lange ihr Spiel treiben bis es in dem Augenblick, daß sie sich seiner vollich versichern wollen, verschwindet. Alles, was mit diesem Phantome vorgeht ist Traumgesicht für den schlafenden wirklichen F., dieser erwacht, da schon die Teufel sich schamvoll und wüthend entfernt haben, und dankt der Vorsehung für die Warnung, die sie durch einen so lehrreiche Traum ihm hat geben wollen. F. now proves stronger in virtue, but no particulars are provided about how the Devil has worked on him so as to seduce him.

In no. 2 there is nothing of interest. He has F. conjure forth first Aristotle, then a devil. 91

3. F. und sieben Geister

Here it ends with the 7th spirit meeting his man. It is as quick as the transition from good to evil."

7 Sept. 36

Doctor Faust **9**

fliegendes Blatt aus Cöln.

Cf. *Knaben Wunderhorn*, I, p. 214

8 Sept. 36

In Tieck's *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 462, there is a remark on **10** Goethe's activity re the theater in Weimar, remarking that it was on the whole very negative and, though keeping the commonplace at bay, it also often pruned away work of splendid brilliance.

19 Sept. 36

In Tieck's *Schriften*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1828, pp. 199 f., in the **11** second section of "Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhaüser," the Faustian aspect appears in certain of its trends as the sensuous element that wants gratification (e.g., p. 202); likewise the story about Venusberg and the life lived therein. Some passages and expressions even remind one of Goethe's *Faust*, e.g. p. 210 below.

22 Oct. 36

[a] It is Don Juanian, the musical-sensuous (cf. The scene in Lenau's *Faust* where Mephisto strikes up.—). Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen* by Grimm, 1826, p. 25, etc., "Der Kleine Sackpfeifer," especially pp. 28, 29, 30.

29 Sept. 37

92
12 Literature on Faust

This is found quite extensively in Raumer, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, vol. 5. Berlin, 1834, pp. 183–206.

Volksbücher.

1. Historia von D. Johann Fausten, den weitbeschreyten Zauberer vnd Schwarzkünstler. Wie er sich gegen den Teufel auf eine benannte Zeit verschrieben, Was er hierzwischen für seltsame Abenthewer gesehen, selbs angerichtet vnd getrieben, biß er endlich seinen wohl verdienten Lohn empfangen. Mehrentheils auß seinen eygenen hinderlassenen Schriften, allen hochtragenden, fürwitzigen vnd gottlosen Menschen zum schrecklichen Beispiel, abscheulichen Exempel, vnd trew hertzigen Warnung zusammen gezogen vnd in den Druck verfertigt. Jacobi IIII, seyt Gott vnterthänig, widerstehwt dem Teufel, so fleucht er von euch. Cum Gratia et Privilegio. Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Main durch Johann Spies

MDLXXXVIII. 8.

Am Ende der Vorrede verspricht der Verfasser eine lateinische übersetzung ..... Ob die lateinische Bearbeitung herausgekommen, ist uns nicht bekannt. Nach der vorstehenden Dedication ist der Buchdrucker Spies auch der Herausgeber des Buches, der das Manuscript aus Speier erhalten zu haben vorgiebt.

2. Historia vom Doct. Joh. Fausts, des ausbündigen Zauberers und Schwarzkünstlers Teuflischer Verschreibung, Vndchristlichen Leben vnd Wandel, seltsamen Abenthewern, auch vberaus Ende. Jetzt aufs newe vbersehen und mit vielen Stücken gemehret. MDLXXXIX. 8.

Ohne Benennung des Druckorts. Wahrscheinlich ist dieses Buch eine neue Auflage des vorigen.

3. Erster Theil der wahrhaftigen Historien von den greulichen und abscheulichen Sünden und Lastern, auch von vielen wunderbarlichen und seltsamen Ebentheuern so
93 D. Johannes Faustus, ein weltberuffener Schwarzkünstler und Erzzauberer, durch seine Schwarzkunst

bis an sein schreckliches End hat getrieben; mit nothwendigen Erinnerungen und schönen Exempeln, menniglichen zur Lehr und Warnung außgestrichen und erklärt durch Georg Rudolf Widman, gedruckt zu Hamburg 1599. 4. Ex Officina Hermanni Molleri.

Der andere Theil der Historien von Doct. Johanne Fausto dem Erzzauberer und Schwarzkünstler. Darin erzehlet wird, wie er nach seinen wiederholten teuffelischen Verschreibung sich mit dem Satan verheirathet, und an Keyserlichen und Fürstlichen Höfen auch sonst viel wunderbarliche abentheuer und Schwarzkünsteres Possen getrieben hat. 4.

Der dritte Theil von Doct. Johanne Fausto dem Erzzauberer und Schwarzkünstler. Darin von seinem letzten Testament, Prophezeihungen, Anfechtungen, und erschrecklichen grewlichen ende und abschied aus dieser Weldt, wahrhaftige und ausführliche Meldung geschieht. 4.

Zu Nürnberg erschien 1695 eine neue Ausgabe von Widmans Buch, nebst vorangefügtem Bericht Conrad Wolfg: Platzii, weiland der heiligen Schrift Doctoris, von der graulichen Zauberey-Sünde, und einem Anhange von der Lapponischen Wahrsager Ränken, wie auch sonst etlichen zauberischen Geschichten.

4. Das ärgerliche Leben und schreckliche Ende des vielberüchtigten Erzschwarzkünstlers Dr. Johannis Fausts erstlich vor vielen Jahren fleißig beschrieben durch G. R. Widman, jetzo aufs neue übersehn und sowol mit neuen Erin nerungen als nachdenklichen Fragen und Geschichten der heutigen bösen Welt zur Warnung vermehrt durch Jo: Nicolaum Pfitzerum Med. Doct: etc. Nürnberg 1674; 1681; 1685; 1695; 1711; 1726. 8.

5. Christoph Wagners Zauberkünste und Leben D. Fausti. Berlin 1712.

6. Des durch seine Zauberkunst bekannten C. Wagners, weiland gewesenen Famulus D. J. Faustens Leben und Thaten von F. Schotus Tolet, in deutscher Sprach geschrieben und nunmehr mit einer Vorrede vermehrt durch P. J. M. (Marperger) Berlin 1714. 8. 94

7. Des durch die ganze Welt berufenen Erzschwarzkünstlers und Zauberers D. Johan Fausts mit dem Teufel aufgerichtetes Bündniß, abentheuerlicher Lebenswandel und

mit Schrecken genommenes Ende. Auf neue übersehn, in eine beliebte Kürze zusammengezogen, und allen vorsetzlichen Sündern zu einer herzlichen Vermahnung und Warnung zum Druck befordert von einem Christlich Meynenden. Frankfurt und Leipzig 8.— Auch unter den Druckorten: Köln am Rhein und Nürnberg. Es ist ein Auszug oder vielmehr eine neue Bearbeitung des ältern Volksbuches und das noch jetzt gewöhnliche.—Ein Auszug davon steht im ersten Bande von Reichards *Bibliothek der Romane*.

8. Hier mag auch gehören: *Faust, der große Mann und dessen Wanderungen mit dem Teufel durch die Hölle*. Wien 8.

9. *Histoire prodigieuse et lamentable de Jean Faust, grand et horrible enchanteur, avec sa mort epouvantable*. Rouen 1614. 12. Dernière édition Rouen 1667. 12. Paris 1673. 12.

10. *Histoire prodigieuse de J. Fauste, grand magicien, avec son testament et sa mort epouvantable*. Trad. de l'allemand par Victor Palma Cayet. Col: 1712. 12.

11. *Die Historie van Dr. J. Faustus, die eenen uitnemenden groote Toovenar ende swert Constenar was*, uit de Hooch-Duytschen oversien ende mit figuren verclart. Emmerich 1592. Delft 1607. 8.

Dat anderde deel van Dr. J. Faustus Historien, daarin beschreven wordt Christoffel Wagenaars Leven etc uit de Hooch Duytsche overgesetzt ende met figuren verciert. Delft 1607. 8. Auch ohne Druckort 1608. 4.

Schriften über Faust, und die ihn erwähnen.

1. Joh. Manlius *Collectanea locorum communium Basil* 1600. p. 38. Hierin findet sich die älteste bestimmte Nachricht von Faust[s] Leben.

2. Jo Wierius *de Præstigiis Dæmonum* lib II p. 145 sqq. 156.

3. Conrad Gesner *Onomasticon und Epist: medicinal*:.

4. Philippus Camerarius in seinen *Horis succisivis*.

5. Martinus del Rio. *Disquisit: magicae*, lib II, quæst. 11.

6. Samuel Meigerus. *Nucleus historicus* lib: VII. cap. 18.

7. Gabriel Naudaeus *Apologia*.

8. Andreas Hondorff *Promtuarium exemplorum*.

9. Jacob Thomasius *Discursus de vagantibus scholasticis* § 28; 131; 134; 135.

10. Bierling *Diss: de Pyrrhonismo historico* p. 158 sqq.

11. Philipp Begardi Zeyger *der Gesundtheit* Worms 1539.

12. Joh. Conr. Dürr. *Dissert. epistolica de Johanne Fausto*. Altdorf 1676. Sie steht in Schellhorn Amoenitat. literar. tom. V. p. 50 sqq. Der Verfasser hält die Geschichte Fausts für ein Märchen und sucht zu beweisen, daß Alles was vom Doctor Faust erzählt wird, auf den Buchdrucker Fust gehe, worin er jedoch irrt.

13. Joh. Georg Neumann et C. C. Kirchner, auctor et respondens, *Dissertatio historica de Fausto præstigiatore*. Wittenberg 1683. 4. Dieses ist die erste kritische Behandlung der Geschichte Fausts. Es sind davon mehre Ausgaben erschienen: 1742; 1743; 1746. Eine deutsche Uebersetzung davon findet sich in dem Buche: *Deliciarum Manipulus* das ist Annehmliche und rare Discourse von mancherlei nützlichen und curiosen Dingen. Erster Theil 1703. Diese Uebersetzung führt den Titel: *Curiöse academische Catheder-Lust*, oder *historische Betrachtung des sogennanten Dr. Faustens* auf der Universität Wittenberg, den 23 Mai 1683 herausgegeben v: M. Johann Georg Neumann. In dieser Uebersetzung fehlt der §8, des zweiten Capitels der lateinischen Urschrift, und nach dem §5, des drittens Capitels ist ein neuer Paragraph hinzugekommen, der eine Wiederlegung der Meinung enthält, daß Doctor Faust und der Buchdrucker Fust eine und dieselbe Person wäre.

14. Henr. Weissii *Dissertatio de Doctore, quem vocant Joh. Fausto*, circuli Wittenbergensis olim habitatore. Altenb: 1728. Fol. 96

15. Tentzel, *Supplem. Hist. Gothanæ*. Jenae 1701. Tom 1 p. 95. *Dessen monatliche Unterhaltungen* 1704. S. 746. Tentzels Nachrichten sind aus Briefen des Mutianus Rufus, welcher den Vornamen Georg gibt.

16. Trithemii *Epist. familiares Hagenoae* 1580 p. 312. Trithem führen wir nur an zur Berichtigung der Meinung Vieler, als ob er vom Doctor Faust spräche. Allein der Faust, den er erwähnt ist Sabellicus, der sich Faustus minor nannte.

17. Christoph August Heumanns *Nachrichten vom Dr. Faust* in Heubners *Bibliotheca magica*. Auch in den *Hanöverschen Beiträgen zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* 1759. S. 610 fl.

18. Boks und Baumanns *Nachrichten von Faust*, im *Hanöverschen Magazine* v. J: 1758. S. 1643 und v. J. 1759. S. 609.

19. J. C. W. Moehsen: *Verzeichniß einer Sammlung von Bildnissen, größtentheils berühmter Aertze*. Berlin 1771. 4. S. 13–18.

20. Motschmanni *Erfortia literata continuata*. St. 3. S. 372 fl.

21. *Historische Remarquen über Dr. Johann Fausts Leben*, nebst andern hierbei ereigneten Begebenheiten, auch was sonst von Fausts Büchern ohne Grund ausgestreuet worden. Zwickau ohne Jahrzahl. 8.

22. *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung über das Leben und die Thaten des als Schwarzkünstler verschrienen Landfahrers Dr. Johan Fausts, des Cagliostro seiner Zeiten* (vom Mg: Köhler) Leipzig 1791. 8.

23. *Uber Faust als Volksbuch s. die Deutschen Volksbücher* v. J. Görres. S. 207. fl.

24. Ueber die verschiedenen poetischen Behandlungen der National-Legende vom Doctor Faust in deutscher Sprache, steht im *Journal von und für Deutschland* 1792. St. 8 S. 687 fl.

25. Horst *Zauberbibliothek* Th. II. S. 108 fl. Th. III S. 86 fl. Th. IV S. 141 fl.

26. Einige literarische Nachrichten über Faust stehn in Kochs *Compendium der deutschen Literatur Geschichte* Th. II unter den Romanen S. 238.

97 27. Bouterwek in der *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit* Band IX S. 422 erwähnt gleichfalls Faust und seinen Zauberroman.

28. Ueber Doctor Faust; die ältesten Nachrichten von ihm stehen in der *Berliner Monatsschrift* vom Jahre 1810 Junius S. 17 fl.

29. Schmidt in seiner *Geschichte der romantischen Poesie*, versprach eine Geschichte der Dichtung v. Faust, ob sie aber erschienen, ist uns nicht bekannt.

30. *Uber Calderons Wunderthätigen Magus*, ein Beitrag

zum Verständniß der Faustischen Fabel von Dr. Rosenkranz. Halle 1829. 8.
31. *Doctor Faust* vom Dr. Stieglitz. Im *deutschen Museum* von Friedrich Schlegel v. J. 1812 Oct.
32. *Von zwei alten Bildern im Keller unter Auerbachs Hofe zu Leipzig*, Scenen aus Fausts Leben vorstellend von Dr. Stieglitz. In den Beiträgen zur vaterländischen Alterthumskunde, herausgegeben vom sächsischen Vereine zur Erforschung vaterländischer Alterthümer Leipzig 1826. 8.
33. Einige Bemerkungen über die Bilder in Auerbachs Keller finden sich im *Leipziger Tageblatte* v. J: 1833. N^{o} 20, worauf in den Numern 22, 23, 25. Versuche von Ubersetzungen der auf dem Bilde mit dem Schmause befindlichen lateinischen Verse erschienen. Dasselbe Tageblatt Numer 31 eine kurze Anzeige über die Sage v. Faust.

Die Angabe, es solle in der *Wiener Literaturzeitung* v. J. 1816 S. 414 etwas über Faust als Krakauer Student enthalten sein, ist unrichtig; wir finden hier nur die Erwähnung der Sage und eine Vergleichung des Faust^{s} mit dem polnischen Schwarzkünstler Twardowsky, die in dem hier angezeigten Buche: *Geschichte der Krakauer Buchdruckereien* etc. von Joseph Matecki, befindlich ist.

Dichterische Behandlungen

1. Schon im siebzenten Jahrhundert muß Faust ein Gegenstand der Schauspiele gewesen sein, da Neumann (Disquis: de Fausto cap. III, § VIII. 1683) erinnert, Fausts Andenken würde längst verschwunden sein, wäre er nicht mehrmal auf der Bühne, auch in Trauerspielen, vorgeführt worden. Das erste solcher 98
Stücke, von dem man gewisse Nachricht hat, ist aus spateren Zeiten. Es gab im Jahre 1746 die Schuchische Gesellschaft in Mainz ein extemporirtes Stück v. Faust. *Theater Journal für Deutschland* 1,64.
2. Zu dieser Zeit wurde Faust mehrmal als tragische Posse auf das Theater gebracht, vorzüglich auf Marionettentheater, wo sie sich bis jetzt noch erhalten.

In den Marionettenstücken ist alles ins Komische gezogen sie haben überdies manches vom Volksbuche

Abweichendes. In den uns bekannten solchen Stücken, auf den sogenannten Kunsttheatern von Dreher und Schytz, Thieme, Eberle tritt Faust vorzüglich an dem Hofe zu Parma auf, vor dem Herzoge Ferdinand und seiner Gemahlin Luise, denen er viele Erscheinungen vorführt, Goliath und David, Simson, Lucretia die Römerin, König Salomo, Judith, die dem Holofernes das Haupt abschlägt, und Helena, die Trojanerin. Auch Wagner, Fausts Famulus, fehlt nicht, noch weniger Mephistopheles. So lassen sich ebenfalls mehre Geister, Drachen und dergleichen sehen. Eine Hauptrolle spielt Casperle mit seinen bekannten Späßen, der in verschiedenen Verwandlungen auftritt, wo er besonders als einen reisenden Passagier sich zeigt, zu Fuß und zu Pferde, das mehrmal sich verwandelt.

Als Fortsetzung der Seitenstücke zum Faust, gibt es auch noch eine andere Vorstellung von mechanischen Kunstfiguren: J. Christoph Wagner, ehmaliger Famulus beim Doctor Faust, auch unter dem Titel: Doctor Wagner, oder Fausts Höllenzwang. Außer Wagnern, dem Helden des Stücks, kommt auch Faust zum Vorschein, Geister und andre Erscheinungen, so wie Casperle, in verschiedenen Gestalten, dienen zur Unterhaltung.

3. In chinesischen Schattenspielen wurde von den Gebrüdern Lobe Doctor Faust als ein Zauberstück vorgestellt, worin zuletzt Faust vom Teufel geholt wird.

4. Als Pantomime kam Faust haufig auf das Theater. Im Jahre 1770 gab die Wäsersche Gesellschaft in Leipzig eine Pantomime Dr. Faust. S. *Ueber die Leipziger Bühne*
99 *an Herrn J. F. Löwen zu Rostock*. Erstes Schreiben 1770 S. 96. Zweites Schreiben S. 200. Im Jahre 1809 sah man in Leipzig eine ähnliche Pantomime, von der Nuthischen Gesellschaft.

Zu Wien wurde im Jahre 1779 eine Pantomime, *Dr. Faust*, aufgeführt, wozu ein Programm in deutscher und französischer Sprache ausgegeben wurde: Dernier jour du Docteur Faust, Pantomime dressé sur un plan allemand d'un de nos amateurs du Théâtre, representé par des enfants au Theatre Imp. et Royal d: i: Doctor Faust's letzter Tag, eine Pantomime, nach dem Entwurfe eines

hiesigen Theaterfreunds aufgeführt durch Kinder auf dem K. K. Theater.

5. Lessing hatte die Absicht Faust als Schauspiel zu bearbeiten, er hat aber nur eine Scene bekannt gemacht in den *Briefen, die neueste Litteratur* betreffend Th. 1 S. 103 und in den *Analecten für die Litteratur* Th. 1, S 210. Auch in zweiten Theile von Lessings Theatralischem Nachlasse. Lessing soll zwei verschiedene Plane zu einem Faust entworfen haben.

6. *Johann Faust, ein allegorisches Drama von fünf Aufzügen*. München 1775, 8.

7. *Der Höllenrichter von Lenz*. Ein Fragment, das im *deutschen Museum* vom Jahre 1777. Mai S. 254 steht, worin Fausts abgeschiedener Geist wieder auf die Erde zurückgeführt wird.

8. *Situationen aus Faust*^{s} *Leben* von Maler Müller. Mannheim 1776. Auch in zweiten Theile von Müllers Werken.

9. *Faust*^{s} *Leben dramatisirt* vom Maler Müller Mannheim 1778. 8. und in zweiten Theile von Müllers Werken.

10. *Doctor Faust*^{s} *Leibgürtel*. Posse in einem Akt nach Rousseau. Es ist eine freie übersetzung von Rousseau Devin de village. Sie steht im *Theater der Ausländer* von Reichard Band III.

11. *Scenen aus Fausts Leben* von Schreiber. Offenbach 1792. 8.

12. *Doctor Faust* Volksschauspiel im 5 Akten, vom Graf von Soden. Augsburg 1797. 8.

13. Von J. F. Schink sind verschiedene Dichtungen über Faust bekannt: *der neue Faust* ein Duodrama von Schink. Es steht in dem Buche: *Zum Behuf des deutschens Theaters*. Eine Probe davon stand vorher im sechsten Bande von *Reichards Theater-Journal für Deutschland*.

14. *Doctor Fausts Bund mit der Hölle*, von Schink, steht im *Berliner Archive der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks* vom Jahre 1796.

15. *Johann Faust dramatische Phantasie* von J. F. Schink 1804. 8.

16. Auch hatte Schink eine Oper, Faust, angefangen,

von welcher der ältere Methfessel einige Stücke in Musik setzte.

17. *Faust*, Tragoedie in einem Akt von Chamisso, in dessen *Musen-Almanach* vom Jahre 1804. Auch in der *Samlung seiner Gedichte* Leipzig 1831. 8.

18. *Der Färberhof, oder die Buchdruckerei in Mainz* von Nicolaus Voigt. In den *Ruinen am Rhein* Th. 1. Frankfurt am Main 1809 8. Dieses Schauspiel enthält Fausts Geschichte mit der des Don Juan vermischt.

19. *Faust*, eine romantische Tragoedie, von Dr: K. Schöne. Berlin 1809. 8.

20. *Die Jubelfeier der Hölle* oder *Faust der jüngere*. Schauspiel in fünf Akten von Benkowitz. Berlin 1808.

21. *Der travestirte Dr. Faust*, Trauerspiel in zwei Akten. Berlin 1809.

22. *Faust* ein Trauerspiel nach der Volkslegende bearbeitet von August Klingemann.

23. *Scenen aus Fausts Leben* vom Verfasser der Adelheid v. Messina.

24. *Faust und Don Juan*, Tragoedie in fünf Akten von Grabbe. Frankfurt 1829. 8.

25. *Faust der wunderthätige Magus des Nordens* von Holtei. Melodrama.

26. *Faust im Gewandte der Zeit*, ein Schattenspiel mit Licht. v. Harro Harring. Leipzig. 1831. 12.

27. *Mantelkragen des verlornen Faust*. Von Harro Harring. Leipzig 1831.

28. *Faust* eine Tragoedie v. Goethe.

Nach der zweiten Ausgabe vom Jahre 1808 bearbeitete Tieck, mit gutem Erfolge, den Faust für das Theater, der auf den Bühnen zu Leipzig und Dresden am
101 28 August des Jahres 1829, als an Göthes achtzigstem Geburtstage, zum ersten Male aufgeführt wurde.

29. C. C. L. Schöne, *Fortsetzung von Gothes Faust*, als zweiter Theil. Berlin 1823. 12.

30 *Geistlich Nachspiel zur Tragoedie Faust* von Dr. Carl Rosenkranz. Leipzig 1831. 8.

31. *Faust eine Tragoedie v. Göthe*, fortgesetzt von J. D. Hofmann Leipzig 1832. 8.

32. *Faustische Scenen* von Gustav Pfizer. Im *Morgenblatte* vom Jahre 1831. N° 159 f. die Scenen knüpfen sich an das Ende der Tragoedie von Göthe.

33. Ein Fürst Radzivil hatte eine Composition zu Göthes Faust geschrieben, die aber weder auf das Theater gekommen, noch sonst bekannt geworden ist. Göthe erwähnt sie in den *Tag und Jahresheften*, als Ergänzung seiner sonstigen Bekentnisse. *Gothes Werke*, Ausgabe letzter Hand 1830 Th. 32. S. 88.

Französische Uebersetzungen.

34. *Faust* tragédie traduit de l'allemand. Paris 1825. 8.
35. *Faust*, nouvelle traduction en prose et en vers. par Gerard. Paris 1827.
36. *Faust* tragedie de Mr. Goethe, traduite en francois par Mr. Stampfer, ornée de XVII dessins par Mr. de Lacroix. Paris 1828. Fol. Die Zeichnungen sind lithographirt.

Englische Uebersetzungen.

37. *Faustus* from the German of Göthe, by the Lord Lowison Gower. London 1825. Da hier einige Stellen der deutschen Urschrift ausgelassen waren, so hat Shelley das Fehlende ergänzt. *Posthumous Poems* of P. B. Shelley.
38. Eine andere englische Uebersetzung soll von Gay erschienen sein, deren Titel uns aber nicht bekannt ist.
39. Auch in die schwedische Sprache wurde Faust ubersetzt, worüber uns aber keine nähere Anzeige zugekommen.

Schriften über Göthes Faust.

40. *Ueber Göthes Faust und dessen Fortsetzung*, nebst einem Anhange vom ewigen Juden Leipzig 1824. 8. 102
41. *Aesthetische Vorlesungen über Gothes Faust als Beitrag zur Anerkennung wissenschaftlicher Kunst-Beurtheilung*. Herausgegeben von Dr. H. F. W. Hinrichs. Halle 1825. 8.
42. *Vorlesungen von Wolf über Göthes Faust*, 1829 in Jena gehalten. Nicht gedruckt.
43. *Vorlesungen über Göthes Faust* von K. E. Schubarth. Berlin 1830.
44. *Heroldstimme zu Göthes Faust*, ersten und zweiten Theils mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Schlusscene des ersten Theils v. C. J. G. G—l. Leipzig 1831. 8.
45. L. B. (Bechstein) die *Darstellung der Tragoedie Faust von Göthe auf der Bühne*. Ein zeitgemäßes Wort für The-

ater-Directionen, Schauspieler und Bühnenfreunde. Stuttgardt 1831. 12.

46. *Ueber Erklärung und Fortsetzung des "Faust" im Allgemeinen und insbesondere über "Christliches Nachspiel zur Tragoedie Faust"* von K. Rosenkranz. Leipzig 1831. 8.

47. *Vorlesungen über Göthes Faust* von F. A. Rauch. Büdingen 1830.

48. Sehr treffende Bemerkungen und Erläuterungen über Göthes Faust gibt Falk in seinem Buche: *Göthe aus näherem Umgang dargestellt*, wo er die Originalität Göthes gegen andre Dichter hervorhebt, die richtige Auffassung aller und jeder Lebensverhältnisse, das innige Zusammenfließen mit der Natur und ihren Erscheinungen, und das Eindringen in das Universalleben der Natur.

49. *Doctor Faustus tragical history* by Chr. Marlowe. London 1604. 1616. 1624. 1651. 1663. Dieses Stück steht auch im ersten Bande der *Old Plays being a continuation of Dodleys collection*. Marlowe lebte in der letzten Hälfte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts und war auch noch ein Zeitgenosse Shakspeares, als Schauspieldichter und Schauspieler gleich berühmt.

50. *Doctor Faustus*, Tragoedie von Christoph Marlowe. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Wilhelm Müller. Mit einer Vorrede von Ludvig Achim v. Arnim. Berlin
103 1808. 8.

51. *Life and Death of Doctor Faustus with the humors of Harlequin and Scaramouche*. London 1697.

52. *A Dramatic Entertainement, call'd the Necromances, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus*. London 1768.

53. In London wurde im Jahre 1825 ein Faust auf das Theater gebracht, in dem ernsthafte Scenen, Göthes Faust entnommen, mit lustigen abwechselten, auch Lieder eingemischt waren. Vornehmlich wurde das Stück durch die Darstellungen von Reisen zu Wasser, Land und durch die Luft durch Höllenspuk und mancherlei Erscheinungen, so wie durch gute Decorationen gehoben. S. *Morgenblatt* v. J. 1825 N° 149.

Opern.

54. *Dr. Fausts Mantel*. Zauberspiel mit Gesang in zwei Akten von Adolph Baüerle. Wien 1819. 8.

55. *Faust* Trauerspiel mit Gesang und Tantz von Julius v. Voss. Berlin 1824. 8.
56. *Faust* Oper in vier Aufzügen von Bernard, Musik v. Sphor.
57. *Fausto* Opera seria in drei Akten, in Paris zum ersten Male gegeben im März 1831. Die Musik ist vom Fraülein Louise Bertin.

Erzählungen.

58. *Doctor Faust* eine Erzählung v. Hamilton frei übersetzt v. Mylius. Im zweiten Bande der Bibliothek der Romane. Das französische Original führt den Titel: *l'enchanteur Faustus.*
59. *Fausts Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt* in fünf Büchern v. Klinger. Petersburg 1791. 8.
60. *Faust von Mainz*, Gemälde aus der Mitte des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts, vom J. M. Kamarack. Leipzig. 1794.
61. *Der umgekehrte Faust oder Frosch*[s] *Jugendjahre* v. Seybold. Heidelberg 1816.
62. *Fausts Lehrling* eine kleine Erzählung von Gerle. Im dritten Theile von des Verfassers Schattenrisse und *Mondnachts Bilder* Leipzig 1824. 8.
63. *Faustus* ein Gedicht in lyrischer Form von Ludvig Bechstein. Leipzig 1832. 4. mit acht Kupfertafeln. Proben davon standen im *Morgenblatt* vom Jahre 1831. 104

13 To illuminate the individual difference nationally in the understanding of the Faust legend, one might compare him with the magician Virgilius. This is related in *Erzählungen und Märchen*, herausgegeben by F. H. von der Hagen (Prenzlau 1825), I believe in the first volume. Görres tells about him in his work *Die teutschen Volksbücher*, pp. 225–229.

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14 Prompted by a remark by von Raumer in the fifth volume of his historical "Taschenbuch," p. 137, where he seems to present a view with some similarity to one I myself developed earlier, I decided, since his remark is accompanied by a quotation: "Ueber das wahrscheinli-

che Alter und die Bedeutung des Gedicht vom wartburger Kriege, von Koberstein, p. 57," to examine this latter, and the book now lies before me. Since von Raumer doesn't embark further upon this, I must stay with Koberstein, which however poses the problem that I haven't the least knowledge of the poem he mentions. He dissociates "das Räthselspiel zwischen Wolfram v. Eschenbach und Klinsor" from the Wartburger wager. "Und so ist denn, wie gesagt, am der Neigung, die auf Wolframs Verherrlichung gerichtet war, und aus dieser Vorliebe für das Allegorische und Räthselhafte auch unser Räthselspiel entsprungen, in welchem dem tüchtigen in dem Glauben an die Untrüglichkeit und Allgemeingültigkeit des Christenthums erstarkten Wolfram die neckende, hämische Magie in dem Klinsor entgegentritt, die aus dem Naturglauben hervorgegangen und nach dem heidnischen Orient, als ihrem Vaterland zurückweisend, den Christen an sich selbst irre zu machen, die Unzulänglichkeit der chr: Offenbarung zu erweisen versucht, und da ihr dies nicht gelingen will, den Teufel selbst zu Hülfe ruft, als das Element des ewigen Verneinens, Aufhebens und Zerstörens," etc. He thinks "that already here we see the first appearance of the idea which in the centuries following, especially since the Reformation, developing and centering on a specific individual as its focus, was finally grasped in all its profundity by Goethe in his *Faust*, yet in such a way that while both poets have understood the deep rift in man, the older one, in accordance with the Middle Ages' view of the world, has represented the rift in two individuals, whereas Goethe has let it develop in *one* individual."

Upon closer inspection, however, the content was not what I had been led to expect, and the whole comment seems to dissolve instead into a trifle. Understanding life as a struggle, and consequently understanding the life that is essentially moved by the religious as a struggle between the Devil and God, is, if I may say so, a mode of understanding that differs in no specific way from that of the modern period; and it would be easy—merely by abstracting from a Goethean poetic development (whether this is actually the

case with Faust, about that later) which sees these 2 worlds more as intermingling and grasps these 2 forces in a higher concentricity, not a phenomenological eccentricity—to give examples of this as much in a newer as in an older development than the Middle Ages.—If we now ask how the difference betw. the older and the Goethean view is then to be understood, we are not provided with much more light here either; for the specific difference between them—something our author has not seen—is that Goethe has written a second part of F., whereas I simply cannot see that he has let this struggle unwind in the individual himself; for he is paralleled with Klingsor, who also had his better beginning, and F. is first F. from the moment when his developmental conflict with the world calls forth the Devil (that I say that he is then F. for the first time, suggesting a previous existence, is due to the weakness of language that must always let the individual and the idea of F. be interchangeable; to the latter the scriptural expression "it was in the beginning" applies), except that now F. is developed more lyrically (everything is thus tipped to that side), whereas the older poet has understood it in a more epic way. But this difference in conception can of course also be repeated inside every age's own peculiar modified circle. In general, I think it is not at all a question of how the poets understand it—notwithstanding they too should be taken into consideration as representatives[a];—but of how the age lies before us world-historically. And here I believe that although multiple tendencies intersected at that time, they knew nothing, if I may say so, of each other and did not see—since it is only the worldly perspective I speak of—how the one ironized the other; by contrast, the modern age, being more umsichtig and not living in such an inspiring illusion, becomes conscious of it—just as the older age exteriorized it as pixies, trolls, the Devil—as the world's cold irony, which is perhaps at the next moment a link toward something else. The Middle Ages could therefore very well, and from the depth of its entire nature, conceive life as a struggle, and thus here, too, [as a struggle] between the child-

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[a] and then it's a question whether they again, just as they let the world and its movements manifest itself to them, had to repeat the same two-sidednesss for the observer who in his development has outlived the Middle Ages.

[b] precisely by the one endeavor and its opposite dawning for consciousness.

like, pious Wolfram and the artful Klingsor. But the Middle Ages never reached a point of rest; for Christianity also won. So what won was only a life-view that proclaims itself a struggle, where the conflict accordingly begins anew, though in another circle, which does not concern us here.

3 Dec. 36

15 In F. v. Baader *Fermenta cognitionis* there are some really good comments on "Faust," as in the first number, p. 27, note; pp. 58f.

[c]that is why Faust, also viewed world-historically, has *in one respect* grasped his counterpart in the one salvific church.

[d]cf. in this connection Schlegel's remarks on the three kinds of tragedy.

107

Literature on the Wandering Jew. 16

cf. Popular Light Reading in Denmark and Norway by Nyerup. Copenhagen, 1816.

Especially dissertations: one by Prof. Christopher Schulz in Königsberg, 1689; one by Carl Anton in Helmstad, 1755. These are in the University Library, also one sub praesidio Gotfried Thilonis, *de Judaeo immortali*, Wittenberg, 1672; one under Prof. Sebastian Neumann's chairmanship, *de duobus testibus passionis dominicae,* Jena, 1668; one kept in Regentsen, by Caspar Kildgaard, Hafniae, 1733 "*de Judaeo non mortali*." Cf. Görres, pp. 201–3.

Cf. *Ein Volksbüchlein*, Zweite Ausgabe. Munich, 1835, pp. 267–74.

Pages from the Notebook of a Jerusalem Shoemaker, Copenhagen, 1833, by Ingemann.

The romance by A. W. Schlegel, "Die Warnung," is in "*Auswahl deutscher Gedichte* by Dr. K. E. P. Wackernagel, Berlin, 1836, zweite Auflage, p. 407. 17

In Goethe's "*Aus meinem Leben*," part 3, there is also his idea for an adaptation of the Wandering Jew, in which, true to form, he tries to motivate the Wandering Jew's despair. 18

The Wandering Jew, translated from the German. Copenhagen 1797 at Stadthagen's Forlag, 246 pp. a miserable production, unless one wants to use the book as a guide for teaching history, yet a very poetic foreground: 4 young people from 4 different nations who meet at the Leipzig Easter Fair, one of whom is an enthusiast of Lavater's *Physiognomical Fragments* and puts it into practice successfully until they meet this man, though it is curious that such a connoisseur of faces fails to recognize a Jew's particularly pronounced physiognomy. 19 108

But this unmotivated ignorance does provide the occasion for the very interesting scene in which each one, in his own language, asks him whose compatriot he is, and in the language of each he answers in the negative.—Otherwise quite without significance: one completely forgets who is speaking, and the various tricks—e.g., that he informs a number of vehemently disagreeing critics of the existence of the work whose spuriousness has been asserted, or where he sees himself as presented on the stage very unfavorably—are very badly exploited. In general, there is only a frame, not content. Naturally, because it is easier, as in most adaptations he is conceived here more as the *temporal* Jew than as the *eternal* Jew; i.e., what is presented, in its multiple, variegated forms, is the purely atomistic in time, but on the whole what is lacking is that which signifies the deepest, most silent despair, the eye that is far more inwardly turned than the one that grasps external objects as such; and he is equipped with a good portion of the adventurer's peculiar loquacity (αλαζονια), and thus the person in question has not understood what he himself relates: i.e., that the Wandering Jew may stay only 3 days in one place, and it is a *poetic* fate which the Wandering Jew cannot cheat by satisfying their inquisitiveness for 3 days and 3 nights (for that would be the suicide of the idea). The only way to sustain such a thing would be, by way of contrast, to emphasize how little this interested him, how insignificant everything was compared to the sorrow he bore, which he could never, at any moment, alleviate by expressing it, seeing that not even all moments would be enough, precisely because he was eternal.

29 Feb. 37

[a] The Wandering Jew is the petrified wife of Lot brought to consciousness.

20 I will simply quote the profound words in A. W. Schlegel's romance about the Wandering Jew.

> Ich bin nicht jung, ich bin nicht alt,
> Mein Leben ist kein Leben.

109 and

der ewige Jude by Wilhelm Muller, *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen*, 1823, p. 10:

So zieh' ich Tag und Nacht einher,
Das Herz so voll die Welt so leer,
Ich habe Alles schon gesehn
Und darf doch nicht zur Ruhe gehn.

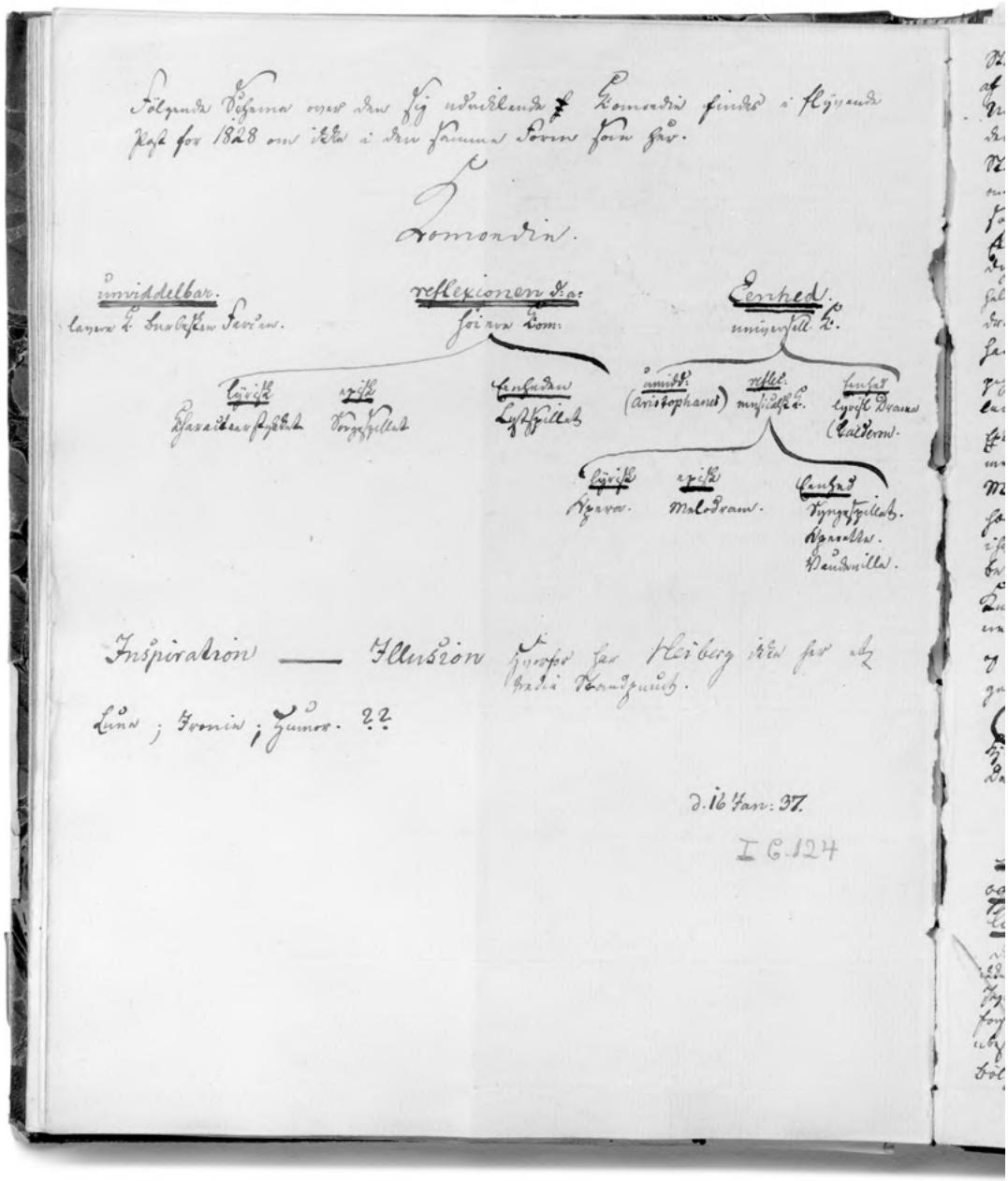
28 Aug. 37

110
21 **Literature on Don Juan**

111

22 How half the pleasure is lost when the artistic aspect lacks conception and execution, no matter how piquant and interesting the situation, can be seen, e.g., from *Mittheilungen aus dem Tagebuche eines Artzes, aus den Englischen* by C. Jürgens, 3 parts, Brunswig 1833. One cannot deny this man his great experience and with it a practiced eye for situations. It often occurs to one while reading him that life itself is after all richer and more diverse than the imagination of the greatest poet. But when the poetic aspect in the conception is in some respect lacking, the reader is not granted the pleasure, the harmonious joy, which is after all the main thing. The material in a way overwhelms one. The poetry implicit in it takes possession of the reader and in a way presses him into a kind of creativity, insofar as his imagination is as though forced to let it take shape for itself. For that reason one will certainly not easily forget the impression the reading of this work has made on one; but, on the other hand, one will hardly go back to it as one does with what is genuinely artistic; and were one to do so, one would hardly, to the same degree as if the really poetic had occupied the mind, find oneself satisfied.

As something which is so true, and where the physician, by recording as far as possible verbatim the mad fantasies of someone grandly endowed by nature, has thereby also gained something genuinely poetic in the execution (immed. lyrical), I recall, e.g., in the first part of the piece, "Liebeshändel und Wahnwitz" (pp. 159f.) p. 184, e.g., where the insane Warningham (a man of much reading, theater, infatuated with an actress) takes the physician to be an actor, tells him he will write a tragedy and show him something quite different, for now he was descending to hell to learn from Satan how to speak. When speaking he easily forgets what he wants to say and remarks on that occasion that Shakespeare must be a great expert on souls who calls memory the test of the soul's health p. 189 he talks of his play: "Ach—jetzt, noch einmal—ich sagte, ich hätte einen Charakter für Sie—gut; lassen Sie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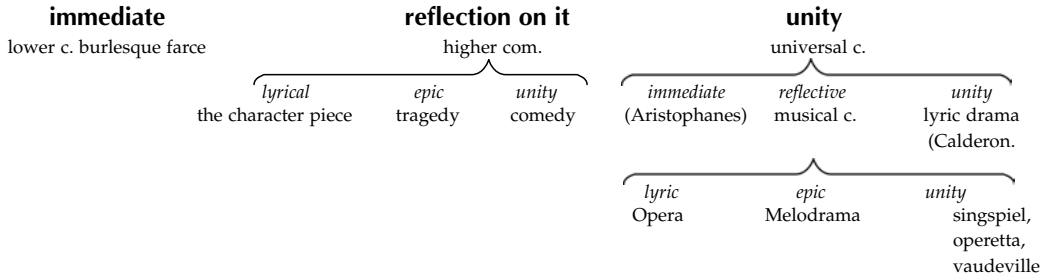
ihm Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren, oder bei meinem Leben ich will sie dermaßen auszischen als wäre ich eine Riesenschlange, die mitten im Parterre zusamengerollt läge!—Da ist ein Gedanke für Sie beilaüfig zu sagen! Halt! Ich verliere ihn abermahls—halt ihn—halt ihn."

In the first volume there is also a story: "Der verdrehte Kopf" p. 317, which is presented as an example of a certain type of hypochondria. It is especially interesting psychologically, both in the way he keeps to his obsession in the face of all facts and also in the separate humorous flashes where he himself perceives the ridiculousness of his presumed situation.

23 The following outline on the self-development of comedy is in *Flyvende Post* of 1828, although not in the same form as here.

Comedy



Inspiration—Illusion. Why does Heiberg not have a third standpoint here?
Caprice; irony; humor??

16 Jan. 37

24 *Something on the page in* Figaro; *Papageno in* The Magic Flute *and* Don Giovanni.

Tonight I shall see for the first time *The Magic Flute*, which occurred to me might have significance regarding Don Giovanni and fill out a stage between him and the Page in *Figaro*. I believe that, in these three stages, Mozart has perfectly and consummately presented a development of love at its immediate standpoint.

(1) *The Page in Figaro* is the first standpoint in the development; it is the indefinite, awakening desire in an unconscious conflict with the environment, the play of

colors from which a pure color gradually develops; it is the not-yet-given I, but the becoming I with its sensitive feelers. Just as all coming into existence is a polemic, so too is life itself; at the first standpoint, [it is] not conscious but a steady approach toward consciousness. It identifies itself in a way with the world (the child's "me"), but precisely because it is a life, a development, there is precisely for that reason an endless approach toward definite, conscious desire, though without this therefore coming as a conclusive moment, since, on the contrary, as a new point of departure it comes at a stroke and cannot be explained by all the previous [moments]. The entire content, and all the territory in which life is to move on the various levels of its development, are given; the whole horizon of life is given with all its variety (but precisely because the I is not given, the result of the highest stage of approximation could perhaps appear as the question: why did one not see the earth, which is after all also a celestial body in the heavens). Therefore, like the plant captive in one spot, it breathes out its longing, exhales the fragrance of its desire, but the longing and desire are not so definite as to snatch him up from the earth in order to find what is sought. On the contrary, what is desired appears to glide past him in great masses, and when he wants to grasp at a particular one and then lets it be, it is not because it disappears before him—for in that case either his desire would be so intense as to suddenly wrench him loose from the soil in which he sprouted, or else he would still follow the vanishing object of desire with the yearning gaze of Ingeborg—but because at the very same moment something just as glorious and beautiful appears, something which, as it too vanishes, is succeeded by something equally glorious and beautiful, etc.—and this again not because it is really the case with the whole of the developed fullness that everything is equally beautiful, etc., but because the individual at this point has not separated himself out and therefore cannot establish any standard of measure, not even that of the plant, which closes up in bad weather or at a profane touch (because the plant does not have desire in this sense).—And how better could I put this than by recalling the Page's rap-

ture over every girl he sees along his way, indeed even expressing himself in the same way regarding old Dr. Bartholo's housekeeper. It should thus be clear from the foregoing where the distinctive element in the melancholy of this standpoint lies, that it arises because the whole of life's fullness is oppressive and, so to speak, overwhelming; whereas the melancholy of another level (the Romantic) is able to express itself, inasmuch as the individual, pursuing his vanishing object, is as though brought to a standstill by what he would call the spare, prosaic world.

What is not taken up into the idea is the accidental and the inessential, which is apparent from its acquisition of a foreign element when represented in a particular personality. Thus with the Page, who is apparently deeply infatuated with the Countess, but, on the one hand, this is in line with what I have just stressed, and on the other, the Page in *Figaro* has in this way come a little beyond the stage's true median, and this affords a glimpse of one side of the third stage.—Thus it is in Papageno's duet in the fourth act, which shows that Mozart has let Papageno's standpoint round itself out by coming to consciousness. (Hence perhaps all his wanderings? Silence is imposed on him, sojourn with Isis and Osiris, where the volatile must calm down.) Instead of the first and second stages being rounded out only in Don Giovanni in the third stage, Mozart has an individual arrive at gratification at this standpoint. Although it is not so obvious, the Page's infatuation is to be similarly explained.

Note: Isn't there something inelegant in the awakening of the Page's love re the yet undeveloped sensuousness? Might it perhaps be explained by Italian life as more natural to it?

But the longing becomes more definite, or more correctly: the first stage must move into the second stage by means of a contradiction (a continuous desire and an all
116 too great gratification, and yet not gratification). The longing shakes itself free of the home soil and takes to wandering. The heart beats faster, objects vanish and appear more rapidly, yet before every disappearance

there is a present moment of pleasure, brief but blessed, gleaming like a glowworm, inconstant and fleeting as a butterfly, countless kisses, but so hurriedly enjoyed, as if he tore them from one girl to give them to the next, yet with occasional darts of desire for a deeper satisfaction which, however, never gets time to take shape as such.[1]

This is the second stage:

(2) *Papageno in The Magic Flute*,[2] just as the perpendicular direction of plant life is succeeded by the horizontality of locomotion. Here the melancholic does not at all take on the same shape as with the previous standpoint, because the desire following upon the pleasure is satisfied in the same instant by a new pleasure—though not completely (see above), yet still in such a way that the remaining desire is again gratified by a new pleasure—even though not completely—and so on endlessly. It is not the melancholy gaze, as it were, fixating upon itself, which upon the presentation of the new object cannot forget the previous one—and so on endlessly; it is like the concentration of the soul in the eye all at once for an instant—a single object—and then concentrating on the next, and so on endlessly, yet in such a way that full concentration does not occur because almost in the same instant a new pleasure presents itself.

And with this we approach the third stage (Stage 3), D. Giovanni, who is precisely the unity of both stages and the final stage of the immed. development (incidentally by calling it immed. I wish to indicate that precisely as striving it has not yet reached consciousness of its relation to the world, but seeks its gratification magnetically). This stage is the unity of the two previous, in that the deep, infinitely melancholic draining of the fullness of love (like the horn Thor drank from at Loki's, with its tip in the ocean) on the one hand unites with the exuberant variety, and all the 117

[1]) It is the standpoint one finds in plants, where the male and female sit on the same stem.

[2]) A kind of analogy to Papageno is to be found in Skjærvæk in *The Apothecary and the Doctor*.

striving is thus infinite, both intensively and extensively, and to this extent in constant contradiction with itself. Furthermore, I do not believe that the former factor (intensity) is sufficiently stressed in the extant adaptations of Don Juan, although Mozart drops significant hints in this respect.

Just one more observation: naturally, being immed., all three stages are purely musical,[b] and any attempt at another presentation is likely to place too much consciousness in them.

(*Note*: Isn't it in Faust that the more mediated love-life begins, to the extent that he reproduces Don Juan?)

Thursday afternoon, 26 Jan. 37

25 *Something on life's four stages, also with regard to mythology*

The first is the stage in which the child has not separated himself from his surroundings ("me"). The I is not given, but its possibility is, and to that extent it is a conflict. It appears in the form of indistinct and fleeting outlines, like the sea-maidens produced by ocean waves (see a copper etching) which give way to new ones at the same moment; and just as I would imagine all these multiple and fleeting forms formed into a unity by a stroke of magic, so too, in childhood, these innumerable moments stand alongside each other, jostling with each other to be taken up into the presence of the eternal I; in childhood, then, what is given is an atomistic multiplicity, in the I, the one in the many. So far as I can see, in mythology this stage corresponds to Oriental mythologies. It is the div. fullness that streams down like the golden rain on Danae's
118 lap. To make use of an expression from dogmatics, it is original justice which, as the Catholic dogmaticians believe, was given to human beings, if I may say so, in abundance. But the nearer life approaches self-consciousness by an infinite approximation, the more apparent the conflict becomes. And thus, on top of the diversity, which in the case of these mythologies has been considered enough to call them Romantic, I get something at least analogous to what I call Romanticism, since

[a] In this contradiction, one sees the significance of married life—debauchery (for there can be no question of this in the first stage).

[b] I believe the immediate (lyrical) standpoint is completed through a steady ascent (prose—immediate musical verse—reflective musical verse—music) in music. The reason why all reflections on this are so sparse is that it is a far einfachere medium for one's self-expression. The significance of music in treating the insane. Music completes the immed. standpoint, just as actions another, the concept another.

the genuinely Romantic stage is a reproduction of the first stage. But since life has still not gained self-consciousness, still not acquired its center of gravity within itself, the diversity exerts pressure. Just as in a room with a low ceiling (and it is the same relatively, whatever the height) a very motley and overcrowded painting on the ceiling seems to press down and gives one the feeling that it is sinking, similarly with the heaven of the Orientals, while the Greeks' light drawings and beautiful forms produce harmony and calm.

But upon this struggle there follows a calm, an idyllic well-being. It is a youth's contentment in family and school (church and state); this is the second stage: Greek mythology. Here is genuine equilibrium, here the div. is taken up into the world (cf. a lot of jottings on scraps in this connection) in a way that it never had been before in the world's development, neither early or recently, nor ever will be again, though surely it is so in the development of the single individual; for in what I call Romanticism proper, a question arises of a satisfaction beyond the world, and thus not to be found in the world; also even in the fourth stage, though only in the form which asserts that, after all, so much has been given in this world that it is sufficient, provided one is modest and unassuming (resignation), even though one still has a little to hope for. For this is the way at least that Xnty, which after all has the most world historical significance re the solution to this question, has answered it. Indeed, most fundamentally Xnty has everything to hope for, so the expression "a little" really refers to the philosopher's struggle.

NB. Observations on the last two stages are to be found among my papers. 119

Note: The system has only 3 stages: immediate, reflective, and unity. Life has 4.

Note: To what degree does Hegel include my first two stages, since his first stage (the immed.) as a pure abstraction is really nothing; and prior to its retrograde systematic crabwise movement, all philos. must begin with conflict, where he perhaps has the conflict between the I and the world as the first stage, but not

the first analogical stage corresponding to it. And his calm is not the Greek one, since that can correspond only to a prior stage, which is my first—but the last.

27 Jan. 37

#

Miscellanies

Outline for a sermon on 1 Tim 3:16. Introduction. All the other points enumerated (εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, etc.) are of a purely historical kind, reported just like other events; (1) but these words, "He was believed on in the world," is this also simply a historical report, a piece of news, which you have just as others do, simply from what others report—or is it something much deeper for you, can you and your life also be a testimony, for yourself and for others, to the accuracy of these words: He was believed on in the world? Is this faith so living and so firm within you that, even if the entire world did not understand you, you could still say: He was believed on in the world. And if it is not, if the firmness of your conviction about these words is more or less conditioned by what others say, then remember (2) that after these words "He was bel. on in the w." comes: "He was taken up in glory." This existence was given as a period of transformation—"You shall judge the angels"—there are many nations Chr. did not come to here in the world—you will not dissipate it with that thought—was he not offered to you—do you know the ways of Providence—were you not among the many who were called—or will you reassure yourself through the fact that the same applied to many others—will you let your grief over the death of a father be dissipated by the thought that every day 100,000 die on this earth?—you must not tempt God—Oh would that this hour might contribute to your being able to say: He was believed on in the world.—

120

#

Isn't it irony of the highest degree when Hamann says somewhere that he'd rather hear the truth from

the mouth of a Pharisee against his will than from an apostle or an angel?

#

28 A quite splendid irony is to be found in Preziosa act 4, where father and son recognize each other. *Fath*. How came you here? (the son does not answer, but) *Pedro*: I have brought him here. *Fath*. And these clothes? *Pedro* He stole them. *Fath*. to Pedro: Be gone. *Pedro* misunderstanding, to the son: Be gone.—

#

29 All knowledge inviting coquetry is of the realist's kind. "Don't you see these blue-eyed boys" who know what a nose is called in French? Then the parents must also catch up with what they neglected in their youth, and take the speed-teachers in *Adresseavisen* who bring you in 50 hours what normally takes 3 years; and then you can also be certain, when the opportunity offers, of saying something that can be said just as perfectly in Danish, in German, French, or English, depending on what language the last hour has taught them a word in; while by and large the humanists only exploit their knowledge of dead languages when it's impossible to say it in the mother-tongue as well, or so nicely or pungently.—Also of the realist sort are these abstract children's books: about polite Peter, etc., which if children were as they should be, could never interest them, and I believe that on the whole they do not. These polite Peters who then become accomplished civil servants, or these sensible Emilies and Maries, etc. of whom it is told they became happily married and enriched the world with a whole new stock of the same kind, instead of dying as spinsters for the betterment of the world.

#

30 It might perhaps happen that once the question of humanism and realism was taken up, instead of proceeding, e.g., to the living languages, natural science, etc., one will go back through Greek to Sanskrit, since

teaching is supposed to let the individual, outside the world, run through the stages of life that the world itself has run through up to now, to the point where his cue comes.

#

31 Realism makes people into fractional hum. beings, just like the Russian horn-blowers who came here once. It occurs to me, too, that their music came somewhat close to sounds of nature.

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32 Martensen's treatise in *Maanedsskriftet* is of a quite curious kind. After leap-frogging over all his predecessors he has advanced onward into an indeterminate infinity. For since his standpoint is not given—he declares this—his criticism of Hegel is external and his existence is in suspense. And since the treatise itself, not being highly individualized in presentation and tone, is not stamped with his likeness so that wherever it appeared, one would have to say: Give to Caesar that which is Caesar's, one could also, because of his relation to a certain learned man in Munich, call his treatise ein fliegendes Blatt aus München that has now been nailed down in *Maanedsskriftet*.—(By this likeness I do not mean a facsimile of his handwriting, his features in stone, but rather something like a paper producer's watermark, which both is and is not, 122 and which brands as a liar anyone who ventures to pass it off as his own.)

33 Latinity in the Middle Ages.

34 When one sees the sorry state of the aesthetician and the theater critic here, and most recently in the shape of Overskou's (M. Rosiflengius) aesthetic dried-fish soaking establishment, conceptual evaporation and dissolution into the primal nebula, one could al-

most be tempted to believe that the best thing would be to prepare a new collection of terms; but that is dangerous, since such terms could easily become mere expressions of personal views. More important is getting a critic with the intellectual resources to regenerate and re-possess the old expressions, rather as Baggesen in "Agnete" has been able to bestow all its fullness on a word that had become well-nigh repulsive—the word "sweet."

People cannot understand it. **35**

With every step it takes, philosophy sheds a skin and into it creep the more foolish adherents.— **36**

Should one, after reading the treatise, say that I may be talking of *the art of story-telling*, but seem rather to be inveighing *against* it in the whole treatise, I will not *unconditionally* concede this, since I have only inveighed against abuse, and I will also draw attention to the fact that I have taken the expression "tell stories" in a wider sense concerning everything whereby one occupies the child's mind outside the actual assigned hours of teaching, and which one cannot simply call play, in which respect, however, telling stories undeniably plays a major role. **37**

* * 123

That such a multitude busy themselves with *telling children stories* is a natural result of there being so many children and of the desire so deeply implanted in them to hear things told. Yet there are so few with a talent for it; as a result of this, much harm is caused. There are two recommended ways of telling children stories, but there are also a multitude of false paths in between.

The *first* is the way unconsciously adopted by nannies, and whoever can be included with them in that category. Here a whole fantasy world dawns for the

child, and the nannies are themselves deeply convinced the stories are true,[1] which, however fantastic the content, must necessarily instill a beneficial calm in the child. Only when the child gets some clue of the fact that the person doesn't believe her own stories are there ill-effects—not from the content itself but because of the narrator's insincerity—from the lack of confidence and suspicion that gradually develop in the child.

The *second* way is possible only for someone who with full transparency reproduces the life of childhood—knows what it calls for—knows what is good for it, and from his higher standpoint offers the children a spiritual sustenance that suits them—knows *how to be* a child, whereas the nannies themselves basically *are* children (that children get to enjoy the benefit of both ways is a great advantage, and one must not take it that the holder of the second view never sees the point of the first; no, quite contrary to what is always the case with incompetents who cut away the path of development, a person with a mature view of life acknowledges the other way).

124 Here there is no long preparation. The husband returns from the busy office, changes his socks, brings out a pipe, kisses mother on the cheek, and says, "Now, my little sweet" (this is to accustom the child to an atmosphere of love). Then we get something you see portrayed in most children's books: an "Uncle Frands," whose stories the children have been looking forward to all morning, and little Fritz and Marie come running in and clap their hands: "'Uncle[2] Frands' is telling stories." The mother places herself among the children

[1]) In the expression "nursery stories" there is as much attention given to the manner of story-telling as to the content.

[2]) Unfortunately it's no accident that it is always *an uncle* who appears in the active role, for the parents' activity is mostly confined to appearing as provost or as prize-giver for noble deeds on the monthly day of reckoning—both done with a bookkeeper conscience's exactitude and punctiliousness. So there are undeniably opportunities for *uncles* with talent.

with the smallest in her arms, and says, "Be good! Listen now to what your dear father has to tell!"

So much for the *frame* for the storytelling, [now to] our *storyteller*. All that ordinarily occupies children outside the proper lesson hours, but also within these as far as possible, should be *Socratic*. One must awaken an appetite in them to *ask questions* instead of waving a sensible question aside—one which perhaps taxes the limits of "Uncle Frands's" knowledge or puts him on the spot in some other way—by saying "The stupid lad, can't he keep quiet while I'm telling the story?" and to prevent more serious scenes, the mother giving assurances that "he won't ever do it again." What matters is to bring *the poetic to bear on their lives in every way*, to exert a magical influence; when least expected, suddenly to let in a glimpse and then have it vanish again; the poetic is not something to be consigned to certain hours and days. In the company of such a person children do not leap like ungainly calves with legs awry and clap their hands, because they *want to* hear a story. They come to *such* a person with an open, frank, trusting nature, confiding in him, letting him in on many small secrets too, telling him about their games, and he knows how to enter into this and knows how to give the games a more serious side. He is never inconvenienced by the children, never pestered by them; they have too much regard and respect for him for that.[3] He knows what they have to do at school, he doesn't go over their lessons with them but quietly asks what they

[3]) One must also *learn from children oneself*, from their amazing genius, leaving it partly to them, not lecturing them like some know-it-alls, while also bearing in mind the words of the twelve-year-old Christ: "Knew you not that I must be about my father's business?" (It occurs to me that I have read something similar in one of Mynster's sermons.)—Nor is one to be quick with the prosaic birch, like the schoolmaster in *The Elves*, because something deeper is astir there in the children—in *this* way one avoids, among other things (Oh, divine nemesis!), falling 1400 feet beneath the earth and becoming—a mule.

are reading, acquainting himself with it, not to test them, not to take up some part of it and dramatize it for them, not to give them the opportunity to be brilliant in company, but to let some glimpse of it suddenly emerge, to relate it in an individual way precisely to what they are otherwise engaged in, though always en passant, so that the child's soul is electrified by it and he feels as it were the omnipresence of something poetic which, though dear to him, he nevertheless dares not approach too nearly.[4] *In this way* a constant mental mobility is nurtured in the children, a permanent attentiveness to whatever they hear and see, an attentiveness one must otherwise conjure forth by *external* means, for instance by letting the children enter a very brightly lit room from one more dimly lit where "Uncle Frands" sits, by boring them all day with the story of "how splendid it is to hear 126 'Uncle Frands' tell stories," etc.

But for all the pervading clarity, a certain sentimentality can arise through forgetting that manhood has what childhood promised. One thinks, particularly with very bright children, that childhood after all promised something more; so in this way one generates an anxiety in their lives, which really can arise for this reason, and not always from trivial tearfulness. Those continual assurances: "You are happy, but when you get older[5] there'll be trouble enough," etc., have a *damaging* effect since, to the extent that they take root in the child, they introduce a singular anxiety as to how long it is possible to stay happy (and then they *are*

[4]) Children are not so very interested in *Greek* mythology, at least not in what in modern times is considered the most glorious (though no doubt Hercules—N. B. the *miracles*).

[5]) And many begin with this so early while the children are still quite small. So, no doubt it occasionally occurs to a child to behave as the little child of whom Abraham of St. Clara tells, who, just as it was born, saw the world's misery so plainly that it ran back into its mother's womb.—Is that to *strengthen* children for life? Is it not to enervate their whole life by depriving them of the perpetuum-mobile of *enthusiasm*?

already unhappy); or to the extent that this constant jeremiad fails to make any impression, it has a harmful effect just like any other talk that is not to the point.—This uncertainty may seem to conflict with a no doubt very proper demand for rigor and clear boundaries. In school this latter is pretty well meant to be part of the child's essential character (the former is for playtime). He who in childhood has never been under *the gospel*, but only under the law, will never be free.[6] Perhaps that's wrong but there is nevertheless something noble in it, while the wider *the law* reaches, the larger the number of small irritations sown, and nothing is better suited to produce faintheartedness. The eye possesses a power to conjure forth the sprout of the good and to crush evil—but in effect the misconceived strictness and discipline, a daughter of comfort and ease, almost gives one generation the opportunity to avenge itself on the next for the drubbing and abuse it has itself received, by treating its successor similarly. 127

But should one then *not* tell stories? Of course one should. Mythology and good stories are what the child needs—or one lets the child read and then tell the stories, and one corrects them Socratically (by asking by degrees, so that the child is not at all corrected under duress by the teacher but on the contrary appears to be correcting others—and a person who otherwise understands how to treat children will certainly be in no danger of letting this degenerate into self-importance); but above all it must happen impromptu and not at a definite time and place. Children should experience early in their lives that joy is a fortunate constellation to be appreciated with gratitude, yet know also how to stop in time, and on no account should one forget *the point* of the story.—(A false path which I can touch on straightaway, though it comes up again later, is this perpetual and practically all-day-long telling of meaningless and trivial stories, manufacturing those novel-readers who every day swallow one volume after another without these leaving any distinct impression.) Besides, in telling stories in a variety of ways, one elic-

[6]) A *state* becomes in a way unfree by giving itself laws.

its a certain creativity (drawing or in some other way) by oneself bringing the stories into relation to what otherwise moves and occupies the children.

Now the question comes up: *What significance* does childhood really have? Is it just a stage, whose only importance lies in the fact that it in some way determines the subsequent stages? Or has it an independent value? Some have expounded the latter view to the point of assuming that childhood is basically the peak of human attainment beyond which man degenerates. The result of the former view has been that people have tried, on the one hand, simply to make the time of childhood go by[7] and, as one confines poultry in the dark in order to fatten them in a way that would otherwise be impossible in a whole year, one can surely find all sorts of ways of doing it—and, on the other, to
128 put this "tiresome time of childhood" to use and particularly to take care of the child's physical welfare. From this standpoint the principal maxim for bringing up a child goes as follows: "He who doesn't finish his first dish gets no second." (How often are children embittered, especially the lives of little girls, by constantly hearing that one has absolutely no use for them—etc.)

The false paths crop up by coming beyond the point of view of the nursery but then not staying the course, stopping half-way.

First stage: Those who, after moving beyond the immediate position, instead of—as would be natural—in maturer years appropriating their childhood in transfigured form, have fallen into "being a child" (cf. the *elixir* of youth); these lanky scamps who are so innocent and naive, who would give much to have their beards never become strong enough to need shaving, so as always to remain downy-cheeked, bare-necked striplings, and who have so much become children again that they talk like children, acquire all the turns of phrase of the child's language and would long ago have got us all to talk like children and to write as

[7]) This is inherent in the haste of our age, which basically misjudges every age because it thinks that one age exists only for the next.

children talk—a caricature which will indeed become reality once the opposite view, now so widespread, that children would like to be old people, has become obsolete. It is a tragi-comic sight to see these lanky, puerile marionettes jumping about on the floor and riding hobbyhorses with the sweet young things, and listen to their tales of "innocent and happy childhood. "[8]—(Cf. their confrontation with halfgrown girls who want to be adult; they parody one another.) 129

Their tales "for children and childlike souls" (poetic mouthwash). If that is a mistake one finds most often in younger people, a similar false path is to be found among the older who "*condescend*" to children, in the conviction that the life of the child is so void and lacking in its own content that *they* would, as it were, breathe some substance into it. Basically, both parties must assume the emptiness of childhood, otherwise the former wouldn't take it on themselves to offer something repellent enough to cause instant rejection in any good-natured person, or the latter take it on themselves to breathe the spirit of life into childhood.—Nor does one destroy the whole impression by, having

[8]) Cf. *Hamann*: *Fünf Hirtenbriefe, das Schuldrama betreffend* in *Sämtl—. W*. 2te Th., S. 412 ff.—but here his much too polemical irony also goes too far. Thus he in effect wants to have one learn everything from children, in the strictest sense, which his motto also alludes to: "Es ist ein Knabe hie, der hat fünf Gerstenbrod," which clearly implies far too much. But it is part of his whole tendency, for it is surely not because he believes it, but in order to humiliate the world; it is otherwise with Socrates—which Hamann also demands—that one asks as a child, but it is this odd polemic which causes him to prefer hearing wisdom from Balaam's donkey rather than from the wisest man, from a Pharisee against his will rather than from an apostle or an angel (as he himself says somewhere). His polemic goes too far and at times involves, it seems to me, something blasphemous, something through which he seems as though to want to "tempt God."—Apart from the fact that there are also, naturally, splendid things in these 5 letters.

told a story, ending up with, "But you realize of course that it was *only* a fairy story"—something which has also cropped up again more recently with people who have no sense at all for the poetic and who therefore vitiate the impression of every anecdote, etc., by initiating an investigation into its factual truth.

The fantastic and one-sided direction which story-telling has taken. People discovered that it was ridiculous and harmful for the future to cram children's imaginations with such stories while, on the contrary, it was perfectly all right to tell them something just to pass the time and amuse them. So then—seeing it was simply for amusement and one did not deign to spend any time on preparation[9]—there came that endless story-nonsense about the dog and the cat, etc., with the most frightful monotony, but of which children, once pampered, constantly demand ever more versions, and which keep returning stereotyped with important changes (e.g. once upon a time there was a red dog and once upon another time a black one).[10]

This, too, however, was found to be wrong, since the

[9]) These wise people who think that there's no great trick to talking with children. To them I will say with Hamann: "Kindern zu antworten ist in der That ein Examen rigorosum; auch Kindern durch Fragen anzuholen und zu witzigen ist ein Meisterstück, weil eben Unwissenheit der grosse Sophist bleibt, der so viele Narren zu starken Geistern krönt—et addit cornua pauperi." (Horace, Odes III, 21)

[10]) Once in a while the persons in question happen by chance to recall one of the more fabulous stories from their childhood, but they tell it so that, when they have finished and the question comes up, Do such mermaids exist? they can answer, No, it's something people imagine.—Or is the fantasy story *so* meaningless that one must destroy the story and its impression straight off, that one immediately would burst the shining soap-bubble to show that all its glory was nothing but soap-water after all? Childhood craves the legend, and that is already proof enough of its worth.—But *now* the question arises, how far *can one believe* in these stories *oneself*. I believe that when our story-teller does do so,

time could be better spent, put to better use even in the shape of a joke and a game. And from here two paths diverge: *either* educating them, as one says, morally, *or* conveying to them some useful knowledge. I shall dwell a little on the consequences of adopting the latter path. Here, as though by the touch of a wand, there came a scourge of—no, not textbooks, but readers and all sorts of picture-books on natural history to impart the vocabularies of living languages to children, and "Uncle Frands" told of his travels in Africa and gave animals and plants names with the help of their classifications, and parents and others asked, "What is nose in French?" etc., or one taught children to strum some piece on the fortepiano—and even if the reason is to prevent them from being embarrassed *by* performing, neither must one make them embarrassed *to* perform. Out of this a purely atomistic knowledge developed which did not enter into any deeper relation to children and their existence, and was *not appropriated* in their *souls* in any way, thus depriving them of any possible standard and allowing them, as a consequence, to assume that they were great naturalists and linguists. As soon as details are used to decide things, it is of course entirely accidental how many or how few count among the masters. Hence the coquetry, hence the busy Marthas who forget the one thing needful.

131

this question, But is it true? will at least not come from the children. For the story must have at once such an overwhelming and so calming an effect that it would never occur to them. And this, not telling children tales and legends capable of occupying their imaginations, leaves room precisely for an anxiety that, not moderated by such narratives, returns with all the greater strength. (Cf. "Die Verlobung," short story by Tieck, Dresden 1823, pp. 63 below, 64 and 65.—Cf. also the plain and run-of-the-mill preface to *Tales of Nordic Champions*, ed. by Rafn, 2nd volume (N. B. the preface is of course not by Rafn), especially its conclusion, p. 9: "it may of course be that one or another person hearing these tales will find that the saga's mighty deeds and great exploits do not suit his style and for that reason disdains them"—correct: *hinc* illæ *lacrymæ*!)

With atomistic knowledge like this, it is not true that what one learns in youth one does not forget in old age.—

Regarding the *way* in which I think it necessary, in all teaching and all up-bringing of children, to allow the child *to bring forth life in himself in all stillness*, I now find a good comment in Steffens's *4 Norwegians*, which I have been reading these days. Unfortunately, I have only the Danish translation, the Steen edition; the passage is in the second part, pp. 250, 251, 252.

* *

I remember an example of how everything is brought about in such a life; everything they read about in the classics is reflected; when they read about ostracism they introduced it straightaway in their playing—etc.

* *

Also these childrens' books for "polite, industrious, obedient, lovable, guiltless, uncorrupted" children—where by presenting them with a copy they tell them that *they are that*, since otherwise it would be a misunderstanding to give them the book.[11]

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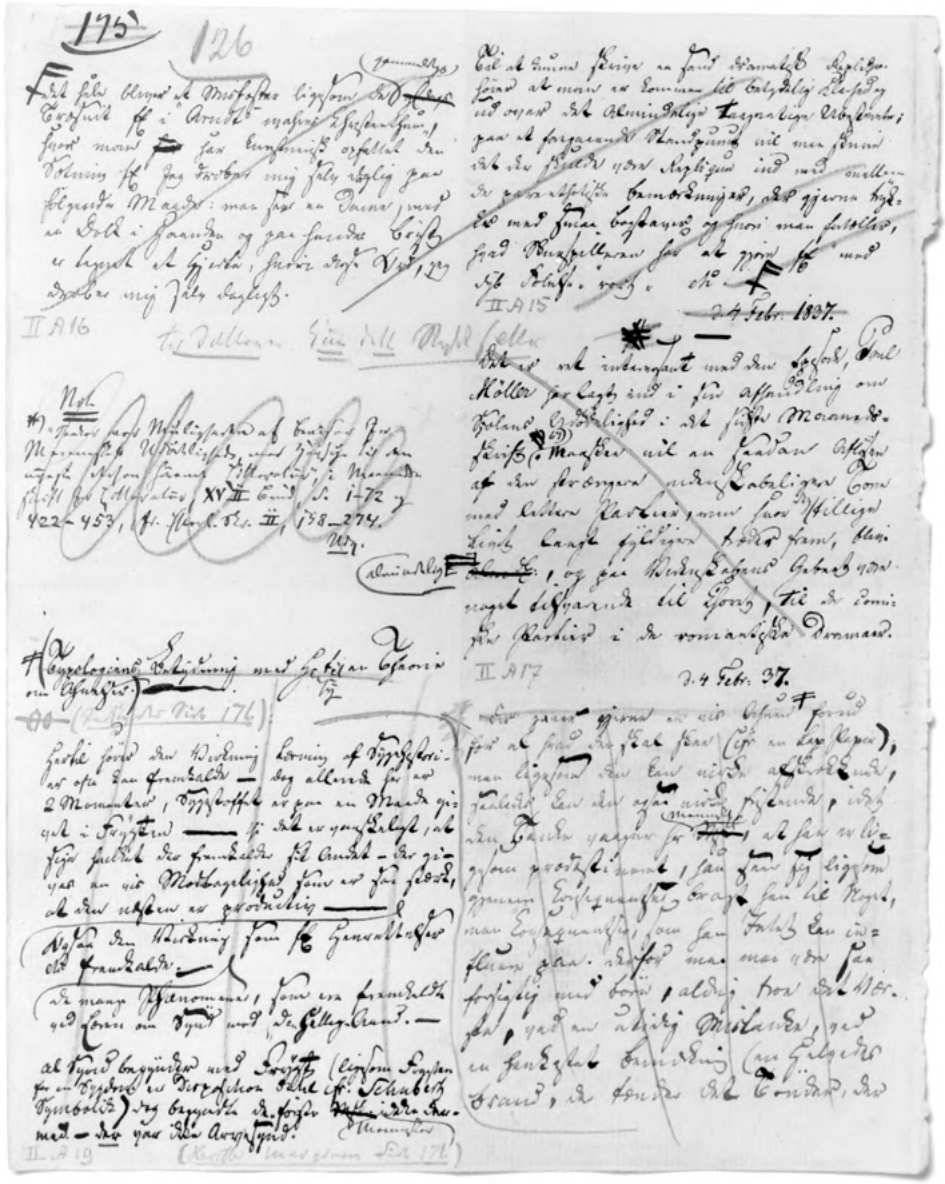
[11]) I see now *a good title* in the catalogue for the Book Fair: Blumauer: "die kleinen Enkel auf dem Schoosse der erzählenden Grossmutter, ein Gegenstück der kleinen Enkel am Knie des erzählenden Grossvaters." (Fair Catalogue for July 1836—January 1837, p. 27, top.)

38 Outline for a sermon, "Why do you think evil in your hearts?"—*Intro*. it fits the whole of the Pharisees' life—their outward holiness—are thoughts then not duty-free?—no, on the contrary, they pay sin a far larger due than words and deeds. They invite self-excusing—with words and deeds we hear less often the excuse: I couldn't help it, it's my nature—they



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invite one rather to remain within them because they could be hidden—they are a far greater hindrance to conversion, because one cuts off the punishment and pain and humiliation here in the world, which are also a calling from God.

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39 In reflecting upon history, great care must be taken that the genuinely historical does not slip through one's fingers, and in this connection I cannot refrain from transcribing a remark by G. Phizer in his *M. Luthers Leben* (reviewed in Rheinwald's Repertorium, vol. XV, p. 129, from which the quotation is taken): "Bei einer solchen angeblich erhabenen, grossartigen und tiefsinnigen, in der That aber frivole Behandlungsweise der Geschichte gelten die Personen nur noch als Träger oder Symbole gewisser, willkührlich in sie gelegter Ansichten, verlieren ihre Eigentümlichkeit und allen Charakter, so wie der auf solche verwöhnte und 134 gekitzelte Geschmack die derbere aber nahrhafte Kost der wirklichen, markigen nicht nach Belieben ausgedeuteten und abgezogenen Geschichte nach und nach verschmäht."

40 To be able to write a true dramatic line requires having gained considerable clarity, beyond the usual foggy indistinctness; formerly, what was intended to be a dramatic line was written betw. the parenthetical remarks usually printed with small letters, in which one tells what the actor has to do, e.g., "With deep feeling," "moved," etc.

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41 The episode Poul Møller has included in his treatise on the immortality of the soul in the latest issue of *Maanedsskrift* is very interesting. Perhaps relieving the strict scholarly tone in this way with lighter passages, in which life nevertheless emerges much more

[a]The whole thing will be a monster, just like the old woodcut, e.g., in "Arndt's wahres Christenthum," where the sentence, e.g., I kill myself daily, has been artistically interpreted in the following manner: One sees a lady with a dagger in hand and on her breast a heart is drawn and in it these words, I kill myself daily.

fully, will become the usual thing, and will in the scholarly domain compare somewhat to the chorus, to the comic parts of romantic dramas.

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Usually a certain presentiment[a] precedes everything **42**
that is going to happen (cf. a slip of paper); but just as it can act as a deterrent, so too it can have the effect of a temptation in that the thought awakens in a pers. that it is as if he were predestined; he sees himself as if brought through certain consequences to a certain point, but consequences that he can have no influence upon. That is why one must be so careful with children, never believe the worst, evoke through an untimely suspicion or a throwaway comment (a hellish fire that lights the tinder that exists in every soul) a state of alarm in which innocent though not strong souls could easily be tempted to believe themselves guilty, 135
to despair and by doing so take the first step toward arriving at the goal which the alarming presentiment heralded— an expression which gives the kingdom of evil, with its snakily stupefying eye, an opportunity to bring them into a kind of spiritual impotence.In this respect, too, one can say: Woe to the man from whom offence comes forth.

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[a] The significance of typology in respect of a theory of presentiment.

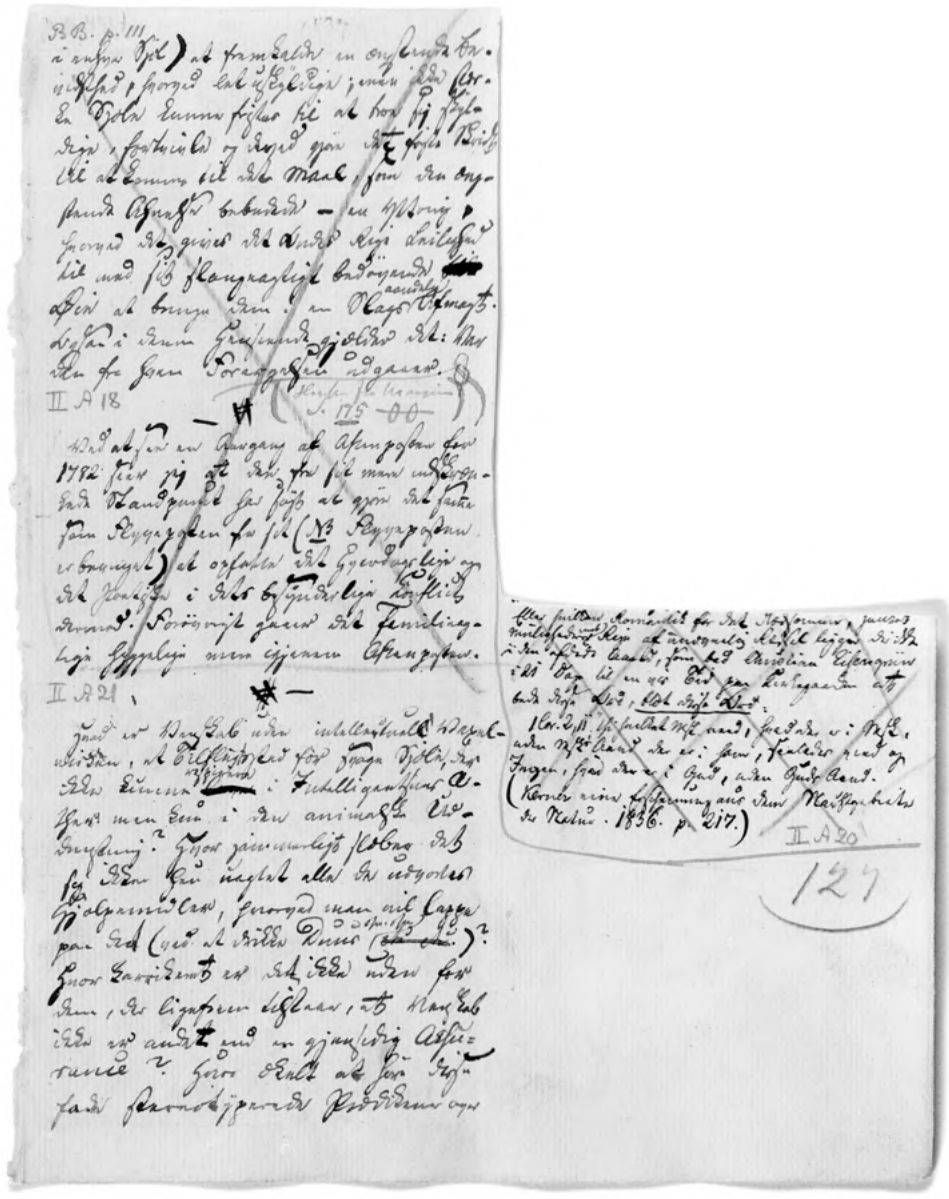
[b] Here belongs an effect, related to presentiment, that reading medical case histories can often produce—though already here there are 2 factors: the makings of sickness are in a way present in the fear—for it is hard to say which produces which—there is a certain susceptibility that is so strong as almost to be productive.

[c] Also the effect that executions, e.g., produce.

[d] The many phenomena evoked by the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Spirit.

[e] All sin begins with fear (just as fear of a sickness disposes one to it—see Schubert, *Symbolik*); yet the first hum. beings did not begin with it—there was no original sin

[f] It made an extremely frightening impression on me the first time I heard that in *the letters of indulgence* it said that they absolved from *all* sins: "etiam si matrem virginem violasset."—I still remember how I felt when, a few years ago, in my youthful, romantic enthusiasm for a *master-thief*, I went so far as to say he was merely misusing his talents, that such a man could no doubt change, and father said to me very



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earnestly: "There are crimes that can be fought only with the constant help of God." I hurried down to my room and looked at myself in the mirror (cf. F. Schlegel's *samtl. W.* 7, p. 15, inf.).—Or when father often said it was good after all to have "an elderly venerable confessor to whom one could really open one's heart." Or what Romanticism for terror, what a wealth of possibilities for nameless horror, in the departed spirit who asked Christian Eisengrün to come to the graveyard at a certain time in 21 days and pray with these words, *just these words*:

1 Cor 2:11: "For what man knows the things of a man except the spirit of the man which is in him? So also no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God."
(Kerner, *eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur*, 1836. p. 217)

[a]What this implies is that [they] too, naturally, are moved by the train of events and by the mightier spirits, and they parodically reproduce them, just as tame geese and

On looking at a volume of *Aftenposten* for 1782, I see that it tried from its narrower point of view to do the same as *Flyveposten* has from its point of view (N.B. *Flyveposten* has wings), to grasp the everyday and the poetic in its curious conflict with it. Family coziness otherwise permeates *Aftenposten* the more. **43**

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What is friendship without intellectual exchange? A refuge for weak souls who cannot find breath in the ether of intelligence but only in animal exhalation? How wretchedly it drags itself along in spite of all the external expedients with which one tries to patch it up (by drinking Dus, etc.)? What a caricature it is, except for those who admit straight out that friendship is nothing but mutual insurance. How disgusting to hear those insipid stereotyped sermons on friendship, on mutual understanding. Certainly understanding belongs to friendship, but not the kind in which the one always knows what the other is going to say; no indeed, it is part of friendship that the one never knows what the other is going to say. If it got to that point the friendship would be over. But friendships of that kind also make such people believe that they understand everyone else too. Hence the complacency with which they say that they expected one to answer just as one did, etc., which is very often untrue and based on the presumption that everyone's conversation is just like their own, vapid, trivial, and pointless. They have no suspicion of the whole host of individual traits, etc. that make every remark interesting. It is always well to avoid such people, for in spite of all their understanding they continually misunderstand. What is more distressing for a doubter than to hear from such a "ten-a-penny pers. that he has experienced the same thing." If the talk is about a great man, he promptly has a little man he thinks just as great; naturally all phenomena are fetched out of his duodecimo horizon (a good example: *Raketten med Stjerner* complained that Sibbern was now beginning to write and found this dou- **44** 136

bly regrettable because it was at the very same time that Messrs. Blok Tøxen and Lange put down the pen). If the talk is about a great thinker, they promptly have an opinion about him because perhaps they heard his name once. In general, as far as their conversation goes, people tend with the years to become more and more like portable barrel-organs, in their movements (including the twitches of their facial muscles, etc.) like robots, like sea-captains who, given the opportunity to stroll along the longest and most beautiful avenue, prefer their "skipper quantum"—

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45 All true love is a matter of one loving another in a third—and all the way from the lowest stage where, e.g., they love one another in a third, all the way to the Xnty's teaching: that brothers love should one another in Xt.

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46 A thesis: great geniuses couldn't really read a book. While they are reading, they will always develop themselves more than understand the author.

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138

47 When, on the basis of a later standpoint, Grundtvig retracts the previous one, he does so not in humble recognition of his mistake but in the proud satisfaction of the present standpoint.

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48 In Henrich Steffens's *The 4 Norwegians* (I have unfortunately only the Danish translation by Reiersen), 2nd ed., p. 220 there is a description of a German hero, Roland, enthusiastic for his fatherland, that is in every respect excellent. "Roland, who spoke thus, was a tall, broad-shouldered man of middle age. His manners had something coarse and crude about them, and it was

ducks beat their wings, scream, and quack the moment a wild goose or duck hovers over them.

[a]If there were no higher individuality in whom the single individ. rested, and through whom spiritual reciprocity was realized, the same would happen re the latter in the case of love as it once did with the Catholic and the Protestant who debated and convinced each other: the one would become the other, just as the Catholic became Protestant and the Protestant Catholic.—

apparent that he would give to all he did and said a certain stamp of the outspoken, the robustly proper. His not very memorable face seemed more to affect than originally to express a stern seriousness; for this easily faded into an almost good-natured loquacity from which projected an inner softness that had to be concealed by many hard forms of expression and almost callous views. He wore a short black frock-coat, almost like that worn long ago as a mark of the old Germany; his neck was bare and the shirt-collar lay outside the coat. The blond hair was parted and hung straight down, and short mustaches and a goatee completed the old German appearance."—

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That the Faust who is meant to represent this age differs essentially from the earlier Faust and, in general, from the Faust of any other time, is so evident that we have only to be reminded of the fact. But where does the difference lie? If we look at this age we find a great number of people who in the proper Greek sense are πραϰτιϰοι, people whom Aristotle already assigns to the lowest rung of development, busy with their job of cultivating their land and what is called educating their children, i.e., to be "confirmed consumers." They pursue carefree lives and in death do something practical for the world—by decaying and fertilizing the earth. Nothing Faustian is likely to come from that quarter. On the other hand, there are a great number who have either turned their heads round to make discoveries in a vanished time or else immersed themselves in natural discoveries. Their busyness means that the Faustian element will not appear among them either, insofar as that can only appear when their energy is paralyzed in some way or other.—But now at last the type of people we need to observe come into view; namely, those who seek in intuition to comprehend in the totality of vision the infinite multiplicity in nature, in life, in history. Yet here, too, is the misfortune. For much is already unrolled before their eyes and more appears every day, but under all this multi-

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farious knowledge there is a latent feeling of how infinitely little it is, and this is the feeling which paralyses their activity. And now the Faustian element appears as despair over the inability to comprehend the whole development in an all-embracing total vision wherein every single nuance is also recognized in its full, i.e., in its absolute worth.—But where is the difference? The original Faust's despair was more practical. He had studied, but the studies had given him no return (whereas the second Faust, from what he has seen, does have some return even if infinitely little compared to what he wants. The return Faust received for the knowledge was nothing, since it was not *that* question he wanted answered but the question of *what he himself* should do). Because of the far less developed state of the sciences at the time a simple survey would suffice to convince him of their nothingness, but the special character of the age—active enthusiasm for realizing its ideal—meant that the question had to be transferred to that domain; he had to reconcile life with knowledge. For our own time, the question must retreat much further into the background since, naturally, as the world grows older, the intuitive tendency must come to the fore and the question then becomes: how can true intuition enter in spite of man's circumscribed position? What propels people, however, to this demand for a perfect and true intuition is a despair over the relativity of everything. For by associating (while he himself uses a rather high criterion and is confirmed in his convictions about this by having to listen perpetually to complaints about being a fantast) with people who use every infinite gradation of a criterion, all the way from an inch to the diameter of the heavenly vault, all the way from those whom the greatest world-historical personages inspire to those for whom the priest and the deacon are hitherto unsurpassed and unsurpassable ideals, from those who have undergone and endured all the tempestuous emotions of the heart to those who, because the sight of a jongleur once moved them, now inform us with a self-satisfied smile that "they have outgrown these childish pranks," etc.—through *this*, I say, the idea dawns on him that he him-

self is using much too relative a criterion, as well as the fear of sinking down and losing himself in a petit bourgeois standpoint. He hears tell of a discovery which opens vistas upon a whole unknown world, which may force him to graduate his criterion in quite another way, making vanishing magnitudes also of his heroes, his sufferings. He sees how the most gifted of his contemporaries scrape together a small yield (speculative concentrating or historical sketching), and he has a secret fear that this possibly might not be quite what they profess it to be—something supremely important—but merely what *they* manage to comprehend and fathom.—He longs for a vision that suspends all relativities and which shows him the absolute worth of even the most insignificant thing, since for the true (i.e., div.) vision all things are equally large. That such a Faust does not lack for Wagners is indeed certain and true. This now is where the despair lies. The way in which all of life now changes for him also shows his difference from the first Faust. For while with his activist tendencies the first Faust sank into sensuality, this Faust will withdraw from everything, forget, if he can, that he ever knew anything, and become a cowherd—or perhaps, out of curiosity, transport himself into another world.

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In this regard Xnty has in some respect a very reassuring influence, that is, by making the highest degree of relativity operative, by presenting an idea, an ideal, which is so great that all others disappear beside it (the romantic and humorous aspect of Xnty). It is therefore always much more enjoyable to converse with a Xn, since he has a standard which is definite; he has a fullness in comparison with which the infinite differences in ability, occupation, etc. are nothing. Hence the stance which, as long as it does not degenerate into arrogance, is so worthy of respect.—

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51 *Writings whose titles I have come across at various places and which might have significance for my studies.*

Jacob *Thomasius*: *Disputatio de vagantibus scholasticis.*

Rukopf's Geschichte des Schul- und Erziehungs Wesen im Mittelalter.

"Das Buch, Schimpf und Ernst genannt, welches durchläuft der Welt Handel mit viel schönen und kurzweilichen Exempeln und Gleichnissen, Parabeln und Historien," etc. Augsburg 1536. Fol. (Dies ist eine spätere Ausgabe, die aeltere ist, nach der Vorrede, vom Jahre 1519.)

"Ueber Burgenbau und Burgeneinrichtung in Deutschland v. 11–14. Jahrhundert," in von Raumer *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 8th volume, 1837.

Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt v. J. Görres. 1ster Band: "hinterasiatische Mythen;" 2ter Band: "vorderasiatische Mythen;" Heidelberg, 1810.—(I have had this home from the University Library, where they have them, but since G. entered far too much into the historical apparatus in this work, and this would take me too far into a new world, where the very number of names would be disturbing, I have not gone further into it.)

Irische Elfenmärchen, übers. von den Gebrüdern Grimm. Leipzig, 1826. (The Student Society owns it; cf. its catalogue, p. 29.)

Møller, Dr., Georg, *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst*, 1. und 11. Band. Zweite Auflage. Der erste Band auch unter dem Titel: *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der deutschen Baukunst des Mittelalters*. Fol. Cart. 1836.

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1 Prima verba fecimus, o Theophile, de omnibus, quæ Jesus facere atque docere incepit, in eum diem usque quo institutis, quos elexerat, per spiritum sanctum apostolis in coelum receptus est. Quibus etiam, postquam passus est, viventem sese præbuit, in multis signis, per dies quadraginta conspiciendum, dum exposuit, quæ pertinent ad regnum Dei. Et cum illis conveniens præcepit, ne Hierosolymâ decederent, exspectarent vero promissum a patre, *quod*[b] a me audivistis; quod scilicet Johannes baptizavit aquâ, vos vero baptizati eritis in spiritu sancto, non multis post diebus. Illi igitur convenientes quæsiverunt: jamne Domine restitues regnum Israeli. Ille vero: non vestrum est, inquit, cognoscere temporis rationem, quam constituit in potestate propria. Sed accipietis vim spiritus sancti super vos venientis et eritis martures mihi Hierosolymæ et in tota Joudæa et Samaria atque usque ad ultimam terram. His dictis, cum illi viderent, sublatus est, et nubes subduxit illum ab oculis ipsorum. Atque cum intentis oculis coelum aspicerent, cum ille abiit, ecce viri duo adstiterunt illis in vestimento albo, qui etiam dixerunt: Viri Gallilæi cur adspicitis coelum; ille Jesus qui sublatus est in coelum, eodem modo veniet, quo vidistis illum in coelum abeuntem.— Tum illi Hierosolymam redierunt ex monte, cui est ex olivis nomen, qui est prope Hierosolymæ,

[a]Acta apostolorum.

[b]græce : ἣν ἠκουσατε μου. Anakolouton orationis ???

Atque cum venissent, conscenderunt conclave, ubi commorati sunt: Petrus atque Jacobus, Johannes atque Andreas, Phillipus atque Thomas, Bartholomeus atque Matheus, Jacobus Alphæi atque Simon selota, atque Judas Jacobi filius. Illi omnes erant assidui una[c] precibus (atque cum mulieribus atque Maria, matre Jesu, atque cum fratribus ejus. Atque hisce diebus resurrexit Petrus inter medios discipulos (erat autem numerus nominum una ad centum et viginti) hisce verbis: Viri fratres oportet impleri scriptum illud, quod prædixit spiritus sanctus per os Davidis de Jouda, qui factus est dux illorum, qui comprehenderunt Jesum, quod erat numero nostro adscriptus atque accepit munus hujus ministerii. (Ille igitur comparavit agrum pro mercede injustitiæ et præceps factus medius disruptus est,[d] atque diffusa sunt omnia viscera ejus, atque cognitum est ab omnibus illis, qui inhabitant Hierosolymam ita ut vocarent locum illo proprio dialecto Ακελδαμα h: e: locus sanguinis) scriptum enim est in libro psalmorum: factum est domicilium ejus desertum, ne sit, qui habitet in illo" atque "munus ejus accipiat alter." Opportet igitur eorum, qui nobiscum convenerunt per omne
146 id tempus, quo introiit atque exiit apud nos dominus Jesus, incipiens a baptismo Johannis usque ad diem, quo susceptus est a nobis, eorum

[c]uno animo, unanimi consensu.

[d]λασκαζω s. λαςκω (aut: λακω) propr: crepo, disrumpor cum crepitu.—

unum martyrem fieri resurrectionis ejus nobiscum. Atque sisterunt duo Josephum, cognomine Barsaba, cui nomen inditum est "Justus" atque Mathiam. Atque orantes dixerunt, Tu, domine qui omnium corda cognoscis, ostende, utrum elegam, qui accipiat munus hujus ministerii atque apostolatus, ex quo decessit Joudas, ut abiret in locum suum. Atque sortem misserunt, atque incidit sors in Mathiam, atque suffragiis adscriptus est numero duodecim apostolorum.—

Cap: II.

Atque sub finem dierum pentecostis erant omnes unanimes eodem loco. Atque subito venit strepitus, ut flatus venti vehementis, super illos, atque implevit totum domum, ubi consederant. Atque apparuerunt illis flamulæ discissæ quasi ignis, atque consedit super unumquemque eorum, atque omnes completi sunt spiritu sancto; atque inceperunt sua quisque lingua loqui, prouti spiritus cuique dedit loqui. Erant autem Hierosolymæ habitantes Joudæi, viri pii ex quavis gente, quæ est sub coelo. Edita vero illa voce, convenit multitudo atque diffusa est, propterea quod sua quisque eos dialecto loquentes audivit. Stupefacti admirati sunt ita inter se loquentes nonne ecce omnes illi, qui loquuntur, sunt Judæi; atque quomodo audimus nos, quemque nostro proprio dialecto, quo nati sumus, loquentem—Parthi atque Medi, atque Elamitæ, atque qui inhabitant Mesopotamiam, Joudæam atque Kappadociam, Pontum atque Asiam, Phrygiam atque Pamphyliam, Ægyptum atque partem Libuæ, quæ est apud Cyrenen, atque peregrini Romani, Judæi, proselutæ, Kretes atque Arabes. audimus eos prædicantes præclare a Deo facta nostris linguis? Obstupefacti omnes hæsitaverunt, alter alterum alloquens: quid hoc sibi velit? Alii vero, irridentes, dixerunt: mero pleni sunt.

Petrus vero in medio consistens una cum undecim, voce sublata, respondit illis: Viri Judæi, atque omnes, qui inhabitant Hierosolymam scitote atque animum intendite ad verba mea. Neque enim illi, ut vos statuitis, inebriati sunt; est enim hora tertia diei; sed hoc est id, quod dictum est per prophetam Joelem: Atque erit ultimis diebus, ait Dominus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem; et vaticinabuntur filii vestri et filiæ vestræ, atque juvenes vestri visiones videbunt, atque senes vestri somnia somniabuntur; atque super servos, atque super servas meas illis diebus effundam de spiritu meo, atque vaticinabuntur; atque patrabo portenta in coelo supra, et signa in terra infra, sanguinem et ignem, et vaporem fumi. Sol commutabitur in tenebras, luna in sanguinem, usque dum venerit dies Domini magna atque illustris (horribilis). Atque erit: quicunque invocaverit nomen Dei, ille servabitur." Viri Israelitæ audite hæc verba: Jesum Nazarenum, virum a Deo

vobis vi, portentis et signis comprobatum (quæ fecit Deus per illum inter medios vos, ut ipsi scitis) illum vos constituto antea consilio et præscientia Dei traditum accipientes, manibus injustis cruci affixum interfecistis. Quem Deus, solutis mortis doloribus,[e] suscitavit, propterea quod non fieri potuit, ut ille imperio ejus subjiceretur. Davides enim dicit illi: prospicio in Dominum oculis meis semper obversantem, quod adest mihi e dextra, ne (occeltem) de statu dejiciar; ideo lætatum est cor meum et exsultavit lingua mea; etiam caro mea acquiescet in spe; quod non relinques animam meam in Tartaro, neque permittes, ut sanctus tuus videat putretudinem. Ostendisti mihi viam vitæ, implebis me lætitia coram facie tua." Viri fratres licet libere ad vos loqui de patriarcha Davide eum etiam mortuum esse, mortuumque sepelitum, et monumentum (sepulchrum) ejus est inter nos ad hunc usque diem. Cum igitur esset propheta et bene gnarus, deum sibi jurejurando obstrinxisse, facere ut ex fructu lumbi ejus considat in throno ipsius; providens igitur locutus est de resurrectione Christi, non relicta est anima ejus in Tartaro, neque caro ejus vidit putretudinem. Hunc Jesum suscitavit Deus, cujus omnes nos sumus testes. Ad Dextram igitur Dei sublevatus, promissione de spiritu scto a patre accepta, effudit hoc, quod nunc vos videtis atque auditis. Neque enim Davides adscendit, loquitur vero: Dominus dixit Domino meo: sede ad dextram meam usque dum fecero hostes tuos scabellum tuum." Firmiter igitur omnis domus Israelis cognoscat, Deum hunc Jesum, quem vos cruci affixistis, et dominum et Christum fecisse.—

Qua re audita illi vehementer sunt commoti[f] animo, dixerunt ad Petrum: quid faciemus, fratres? Petrus vero respondit: Convertite et baptizamini quisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Chr:, ad remissionem peccatorum; atque accipietis donum sp. s:. Vobis enim est promissio et filiis vestris et omnibus, qui sunt procul, quotquot dominus Deus noster convocabit. Multis aliis verbis testatus atque cohortatus est, ita loquens: salutem admittite ex perversa hac generatione. Qui igitur libenter acceperunt verbum ejus, baptizati sunt, atque additi sunt illo die animorum ad tria millia. Erant assidui doctrinæ apostolorum, atque comunioni, atque fractioni panis, atque precibus.

Omnem vero animam metus invasit, multa portenta atque signa per apostolos patrata sunt. Omnes vero credentes erant eodem loco, atque habebant omnia communia, et vendiderunt possessiones et opes, et
148 distribuerunt hæc omnibus prouti cui opus erat. Diu erant una assidui in templo, domi pane fracta fructi sunt cibo in lætitia et simplicitate[g] cordis, orantes Deum atque gratiam ineuntes cum toto populo. Deus vero ecclesiæ servatos quotidie addidit.

[e] ωδιν-ος. חֶבֶל 1

[f] κατανυσσω s. νυττω. 1) compungo 2) passiv vehementer commoveor, afficior.

[g] αφελοτης. απαξ λ. (ex αφελης propr: lapidibus carens, ex α pr: et φελλευς terra saxosa) simplicitas, integritas i: q: απλοτης.

Cap III.

Sub idem tempus Petrus et Johannes ascenderunt ad sanctum hora precum nona. Atque vir quidam claudus ex utero matris portatus est. Illum proposuerunt diu ad portam templi, quæ dicitur pulchra, ut precaretur stipes ab illis, qui introibant in templum. Ille videns Petrum et Johannem introituros templum, rogavit accipere stipes. In quem quum Petrus cum Johanne oculos intendissent, dixit nos adspice. Ille vero observavit illos, exspectans quid ab illis accipere. Dixit Peter: argentum et aurum non habeo, quod vero habeo id do tibi: in nomine Jesu Chr: Nazareni surge et ambula. atque comprehendens manum ejus dextram erexit. Mox (planta pedis) pes et malleolus pedis firma facta sunt, atque exsultans exsiliens constitit atque ambulavit; et introiit una cum illis templum, ambulans, exsiliens, prædicans Deum. Atque vidit totus populus eum ambulantem et celebrantem Deum. Atque agnoverunt eum esse eundem, qui ut stipes compararet ad portam pulchram templi consederat; et omnes impleti sunt pavore et stupore ob id, quod ei evenerat.—

Quum ille manu comprehenderet (alii sectaretur) Petrum et Johannem, concurrit populus ad illos in porticum, quæ dicitur Salomonis, stupefacti. Hoc videns Petrus, respondit populo: Viri Israelitæ cur hoc admirationem vestram movet; aut cur nos intentis oculis adspicitis vos, quasi propria vi et pietate fecerimus, ut ille ambularetur? Deus Abr:, I. et J., Deus patrum nostrorum celebravit filium suum Jesum, quem vos quidem tradidistis, et repudiastis coram Pilato judicante debere eum interire. Vos autem sanctum et justum repudiastis, et rogastis, ut latro donaretur vobis, principem vero vitæ interfecistis. Quem Deus ex mortuis suscitavit, cujus nos martyres testes sumus. Atque per fidem in nomen ejus, hunc, quem vos videtis et scitis, nomen ejus corroboravit; et fides per illum dedit illi hance integritatem coram vobis omnibus. Atque nunc fratres scio vos per ignorantiam egisse ut etiam principes vestri. Deus vero, quæ prædixerat per os omnium prophetarum, fore ut Christus pateretur, ita eventu comprobavit. Resipiscite igitur et convertite, ut remittantur peccata vestra, ut veniant tempora recreationis ab illo, atque demittat Jesum Chr: vobis antea delectum, quem oportet coelum possidere[h] usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium rerum, quæ commemoravit Deus per os sanctorum ejus prophetarum. Moses enim dixit ad patres: prophetam vobis excitabit ex fratribus vestris, ut me, illum audietis in omnibus rebus, quascunque ad vos dixerit. Fiet vero ut, quæcunque anima non audiverit, exterminetur illa e populo." Atque omnes prophetæ inde a Salomone atque deinceps, quotquot locuti sunt, etiam dies ejus nuntiarunt. Vos vero estis filii prophetarum, atque foederis, quod proposuit Deus patribus vestris

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[h] I have taken pains to include an ambiguity in my translation. One can say either: "whom it behoves to take heaven" (as it is in the Danish), or "whom it behoves heaven to take," which

ad Abrahamum dicens: atque in semine tuo beneficiis afficiuntur omnes gentes[i] terræ". Ad vos primos Deus resuscitatum filium suum misit vos beneficiis afficientem, ut redeatis (convertatis) a sua quisque pravitate.

Cap: IV.

Quibus verba ad populum facientibus institerunt sacerdotes, et præfectus templi et Sadducæi, ægre ferentes, quod docerent illi populum, et nuntiarent in Jesu resurrectionem mortuorum. Atque injecerunt manus in illos, atque publicis vinculis tradiderunt in diem sequentem, erat enim jam vesper. Multi vero eorum, qui audiverant verba crediderunt, atque evasit numerus virorum usque ad quinque millia. Accidit vero, ut postridie principes atque presbyteri, atque legis periti colligerentur in Hierosolymam, atque Annas, pontifex maximus, atque Johannes et Alexander et quot quot erant ex genere pontificali. Quos in medio positos quæsiverunt: qua vi aut quo nomine hoc fecistis? Tum Petrus plenus sp. sct: dixit ad illos: principes populi et presbyteri Israelis si hodie rei facimur beneficii adversus hominem imbecillem, in quo ille salvus factus est. Scitote igitur vos omnes et totus populus Israelis: in nomine Jesu Chr: Nazareni, quem vos cruci affixistis, quem Deus suscitavit e mortuis, in hoc ille sanus inter vos constitit. Ille est lapis, a vobis ædificantibus parvi habitus, qui factus est caput anguli. Neque est in ullo alio salus; neque enim est nomen aliud sub coelo datum hominibus, in quo opportet nos servari. Videntes vero Petri libertatem atque Johannis, et percipientes eos esse homines litterarum imperitos et tirones, mirati sunt, agnoverunt quidem, eos fuisse cum Chr:. Videntes vero hominem adstantem illis sanatum illum, non habuerunt, quæ responderent. Cum autem jusissent, eos exire extra synedrium, consilium inierunt (consultabant) hisce verbis: quid faciemus cum hisce hominibus, miraculum enim omnibus notum (insigne) factum est per illos, apertum omnibus, qui inhabitant Judæam; neque possumus negare; sed ne magis divulgetur in vulgus, minis deterrebimus, ne cui hoc alloquantur nomine. Atque vocatis illis præceperunt, ne omnino loquerentur, neve docerent in nomine Jesu. Petrus vero et Johannes responderunt: num justum sit coram Deo vobis magis obedire quam Deo, dijudicate. Neque enim possumus nos, quæ vidimus et audivimus, non loqui. Illi vero, minis insuper adjectis, dimiserunt illos, non invenientes, quomodo poenas illis infligerent propter populum; omnes enim celebrabant Deum ob id quod factum erat. Erat enim ille, in quem hoc signum sanationis incidit, amplius quadraginta annos natus.

Dimissi venerunt ad suos, atque nuntiarunt, quæ illis pontifices et presbyteri dixerant. Illi, hac re audita, una vocem sustulerunt his ver-

seems to have more of a meaning for dogmatics, since the work of Christ was not completed before his return, and to that extent heaven takes him up, i.e, he returned to where he was before, in order subsequently to take dominion over heaven.

[i] מְשֻׁפָּחָה ,אָב

bis: Domine tu es Deus, qui fecisti coelum et terram et mare et omnia, quæ sunt in illis loquens per os Davidis filii tui: Cur fremuerunt[j] gentes, et populi vanis operam dederunt, resurexerunt reges terræ et principes in unum locum congregati sunt adversus Dominum et adversus unctum ejus." Congregati enim vere sunt in hac urbe adversus filium tuum sanctum, quem unxisti, Herodes et Pontius Pilatus cum gentibus et populo Israelitico, ut facerent, quæ manus tua et consilium antea fieri constituerat. Atque nunc Domine irritas fac minas eorum et da servis tuis omni animi libertate loqui verbum tuum eo, quod extendis manum tuam ad sanationem, et signa et portenta fiunt per nomen sancti tui filii. Atque cum illi precati sunt commotus est locus, ubi erant congregati; et omnes impleti sunt sp. scto, et nuntiarunt verbum Dei omni libertate.—

Et omnium credentium erat unum cor et una anima, neque quisquam quid opum suarum suum esse contendit; sed omnia erant communia. Et magna vi apostoli testimonium resurrectionis J: Chr: ediderunt, et gratia magna erat super omnes. Neque enim erat quis indigens inter illos; quotquot enim erant possessores prædiorum vel domiciliorum hæc vendentes protulerunt pretium venditorum, et deposuerunt ad pedes apostolorum, et divisum est cuique prouti ei opus erat. Joses vero, qui ab apostolis vocatus est Barnabas (h: e: interpretatum filius consolationis) Levita, Cyprius genere, cum ei esset ager, vendidit illum et protulit pretium et deposuit ad pedes apostolorum.

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Cap. VI.

συζητεω 1) quæro aliquid una cum aliquo 2) vicissim quæro, colloquor, disputo, προς τινα.—seque: Dat. pers. est disputo contra aliquem.

Act: 22, 5 τιμωρεω (a τιμωρος contr: pro τιμαορος honorans, æstumans, adjuvans, vindicans, ulciscens, puniens) 1) vindico aliquem ab

[j] φρυασσομαι, αξομαι. depon: med: proprie de equis frementibus. fremo ferocio. In N. T. legitur semel et quidem Aor: 1. act.

[k] εψευσω 2 sing: Aor 1. med.

[l] συστελλω simul cum aliis paro, ordino; alii obvolvebant fasciis et linteis.

[m] αφιστημι—seorsum colloco. deinde seduco semel.

injuria illata cum Dativ. personæ 2) punio ob injuriam, castigo seq: acc: personæ sic semel scilicet h: l: 3) ex adjuncto torqueo, crucio Act: 26, 11.—*22, 25* ἱμας, ἱμαντος lorum.
Act. 23, 3 κονιαω (a κονια pulvis) calce obduco, dealbo.—bis: Math. 23, 27. et hic.
Act. 23, 23 δεξιολαβος. Hanc vocem, quam profani ignorant, Act 23, 23 militum genus indicare certissimum quidem est, qualenam autem et cur ita appelletur, incertum. Alii satellites vel regis vel tribuni, alii legentes: δεξιοβολος i: e: funditores sagittarios. Vulgata: lancearios.—

Cap. 24.

Post quinque dies descendit pontifex Ananias cum presbyteris et oratore quodam Tertyllo, qui comparuerunt coram principe adversus Paulum. Qui quum provocaretur, incepit Tertyllus accusare, dicens: Magna pace usi sumus per te et instituta tua in utilitatem hujus populi disposita semper et ubique disposita amplectimur præstantissime Felix omni gratiarum actione Ne igitur longius te detineam, rogo te, ut audias nos tua humanitate. Nacti enim sumus hunc hominem pestiferum, et concitantem tumultum omnibus Judæis, qui sunt super totum orbem, ducem sectæ Nazareorum, qui etiam conatus sanctum profanare. Quem etiam comprehendimus et voluimus secundum legem nostram judi-
152 care. Veniens vero Lysias, tribunus, magna vi eduxit illum e manibus nostris, jubens accusatores ejus ire ad te, a quo tu ipse investigans poteris de hisce omnibus rebus cognoscere, quarum nos eum accusamus. Judæi etiam eum ingressi sunt[n] dicentes: hæc sese ita habere. Respondit Paulus, annuente tribuno, sciens te a multis jam annis fuisse judicem hujus populi meliore animo verba pro me facio, cum tu possis intelligere mihi non esse amplius duodecim dies, ab illo usque, quo adscendi adoratum Hierosolymam. Neque me in templo invenerunt cum aliquo colloquentem, aut portionem multitudinis facientem neque in synagogis neque in urbe, neque quidquam eorum possunt comprobare, quorum me accusant. hoc tibi profiteor, me secundum viam, quam sectam vocant, me ita colere deum paternum, credens omnibus in lege et in prophetis scriptis, habens spem ad Deum, quam etiam illi exspectant, resurrectionem mortuorum futuram esse, proborum et improborum. In hoc autem incumbo ut habeam conscientiam inculpatam erga Deum et erga homines semper. Post vero plures annos perveni misericordias præstaturus adversus gentem meam et oblationes., in quibus invenerunt me purificatum in sancto non turba non tumultu, nonnulli ex Asia Judæi, quos opportet opportebat apud te adesse, atque accusare si quid habeant haberent adversus me. Aut illi ipsi dicant, si quid deprehenderunt in me injustitiæ, cum starem in synedrio, nisi de hoc

[n] συνεπιτιθημι 1) simul impono 2) simul aggredior, una infesto aliquem. 1

uno verbo, quod clamavi inter illos stans, ob resurrectionem mortuorum ego hodie condemnor a vobis. Felix illos distulit, accuratius institutus de via eorum, dicens, ubi Lysias tribunus descenderit ego etiam decernam vestram causam. præcepit vero centurioni ut custodiret illum, et vincula solveret—sineret vincula relaxari., neve quemquem prohiberet, quo minus quis suorum eum administraret aut accederet ad illum.

Post autem nonnullos dies cum advenisset Felix cum Drysilla uxore, quæ erat Judæa, arcessivit Paulum, et audivit illum de fide ejus in Jesum Chr:. Cum vero illa verba faceret de justitia, de abstinentia, de judicio futuro tremefactus Felix respondit: in præsentia abi, opportunitatem nactus, arcessam te, simul sperans, fore, ut sibi a Paulo pecunia daretur, ut solveret illum, quare etiam frequentius eum advocans, collocutus est cum illo. Biennio autem expleto accepit Felix successorem Porcium Festum. Cum vero vellet gratiam[o] præstare Judæis Felix, reliquit P. vinctum.—

1 [o]χαρις ut h: l: ex metonymia, documentum favoris, gratum—

Cap 25. 153

Cum autem Festus suscepisset provinciam, post tres dies descendit Hierosolymam Cæsareâ. Apparuerunt vero coram eo pontifex et primores Judæorum adversus Paulum, et rogaverunt eum precantes gratiam adversus illum, ut accesseret illum Hierosolymam, insidias struentes, ut interficerent illum in via. Festus autem respondit: debere eum servari Cæsareæ, ipsum quam celerrime exiturum esse. Qui igitur, inquit, inter vos sunt potentes, una itinere facto, si quid est in illo homine, accusent illum. Commoratus autem inter illos non amplius dies octo vel decem descendit Cæsaream, postero vero die sedens in tribunali, jussit Paulum produci. Incedenti illi circumstiterunt Judæi, qui Hierosol. descenderent, multa et gravia crimina adversus Paulum præferentes, quæ non potuerunt ostendere, illo sese defendente: neque adversus legem Judæorum, neque adversus sanctum, neque adversus Cæsarem quid peccavi. Festus vero, ut gratiam exhiberet Judæis, respondit: Visne tu, Hierosoly: adscendens ibi a me de hisce rebus judicari: respondit Paulus: coram tribunali Cæsaris sto, ubi opportet me judicari. Judæis nil mali intuli, ut etiam tu bene intellexisti: si enim injuste ago, aut morte dignum quod feci, non deprecor mori, si vero nihil est eorum, quorum illi me accusant, nemo potest me illis largiri, Cæsarem invoco. Tum Festus, collocutus cum concilio Cæsarem invocavisti—ad Cæsarem ibis.

Nonnullis vero diebus interjectis Agrippas rex et Berenice pervenerunt Cæsaream, salutaturi Festum. Cum vero plures dies ibi commorarentur Festus regi proposuit causam Pauli dicens: vir quidam est

vinctus mihi a Felice relictus, de quo, quum pervenissem Hierosolymam apparuerunt pontifices et presbyteri Judæorum (causam ei dicentes.) judicium rogantes adversus eum. Quibus respondi: Non est Romanorum mos tradere quemquam in interitum, antequam accusatus habeat præsentes accusatores, atque accipiat locum defensionis adversus crimen Qui cum inde exiissent, paulisper causam differens, cum deinceps sederem in tribunali, jussi eum produci. Cui circumstantes accusatores nullam culpam protulerunt, quam ego suspicabar. Nonnullas quæstiones de propria religione habuerunt adversus illum atque de Jesu quodam mortuo, quem Paulus dixit vivere. Cum hæsitarem de hac quæstione quæsivi, num ire vellet Hierosolymam, et ibi judicari de hisce rebus. Cum autem P. rogaret[p] ut servaretur in Augusti cognitionem (sententiam, judicium) jussi eum custodiri, donec mitterem illum ad Cæsarem. Agrippa vero dixit: volui et ipse hunc hominem audire, ille vero cras, inquit, audies illum.

[p] επικαλεω Act. 7, 59. 1

Postero vero die cum Agrippa et Berenice magna pompa venissent, et auditorium introissent cum tribunis et viris præstantissimis urbis, jubente Festo, productus est Paulus. Atque dixit Festus: Agrippas, rex, atque omnes, qui adestis, viri, videte hunc, super quem tota multitudo Judæorum intercesserunt apud me Hierosolymis et hic, clamantes non opportere eum amplius vivere. Cum autem ipse perciperem, eum nihil morte dignum fecisse, cumque ille provocarit ad Augustum, statui eum mittere. De quo, ratum quod scribam non habeo, quare produxi eum ad vos, et maxime ad te, rex Agrippa, ut, examinatione instituta, habeam quod scribam. Ineptum enim mihi videtur mittere vinctum et crimina adversus eum prolata non significare.—

Cap. 26.

Agrippa Paulo dixit: permissum est tibi verba facere, tum P., extenta manu, se defendit: de omnibus rebus, quorum reus a Judæis factus sum, rex Agrippa, statuo me beatum, qui ad te hodie causam dicturus sim. Quare rogo te, ut æquo animo me audias. Vitam igitur meam inde ab juventute, quæ ab initio fuit in populo meo Hierosolymæ, omnes Judæi sciunt. Qui etiam, quum antea me cognorint, si velint, testimonium etiam edere possunt: me Pharisæum secundum sectam profundissima nostri cultus cognitione institutam vixisse. Et nunc ob spem in promissionem patribus nostris a Deo datam, constiti hic judicandus, cujus duodecim tribus nostræ, uno tenore die nocteque colentes, sperant sese futuros participes, ob quam spem ego accusor rex Agrippa, ab Judæis—cur incredibile habetur apud vos, si Deus suscitat mortuos. Et ego quidem putavi me opportere adversus nomen Jesu Nazareni multa adversa facere. Quod etiam feci Hierosolymæ et multos sanctos

carceribus inclusi a Sacerdotibus potestate, et cum illi interficerentur approbavi. Et per omnes synagogas sæpe cruciavi illos, et coegi illos ut maledicerent, vehementius etiam furens adversus illos, persecutus sum eos ad in urbes usque extra positas (in exteras civitates). In quibus etiam (quarum rerum studio) cum iter facerem Damascum cum potentia et mandato ab pontificibus meridie via vidi, rex, lumen super lucem solis circumfulgens me et qui una iter fecerunt. Quum omnes concideremus humi audivi vocem me alloquentem: et dicentem lingua hebræa: Saul, Saul cur me persequeris, durum erit tibi adversus stimulum calcitrare[q] Ego vero dixi, quis es domine? ille vero respondit: ego sum Jesus, quem tu persequeris, sed surge et consiste pedibus tuis. Ad hoc enim apparui tibi, ut eligerem te ministrum et testem eorum quæ vidisti, et quæ tibi ostendam.[r] Eligens te ex gente tua et ex gentilibus, ad quos te mitto, ad aperiendos oculos eorum, ut redeant ex tenebris in lucem atque ab imperio satanæ ad deum, ut accipiant illi remissionem peccatorum et sortem cum sanctis fide in me habita. Unde rex Agrippa non fui immoriger coelesti visioni, sed illis, qui sunt Damasci primum, deinde Hierosolymæ per totam regionem Judeæ et gentilibus prædicavi resipiscere et convertere se ad deum facta digna resipiscentia patrantes. Quam ob causam Judæi me in templo comprehensum, conati sunt interficere. Auxilium igitur nactus a deo ad hunc diem usque steti, testimonium edens parvo et magno, nihil prædicans, nisi quod prophetæ futurum locuti sunt et Moses.

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1 [q] calcitro.

[r] οφθησομαι. h: l: transitive ita Bretschneider.

Hæc autem cum pro se diceret: Festus magna voce clamavit insanis Paule, multæ tuæ litteræ ad insaniam te vertunt; Ille vero: non insanio, inquit, præstantissime Feste, sed verba[s] veritatis et moderationis facio. Nam de omnibus hisce rebus rex scit, ad quem etiam libere loquor, neque enim persuadeor quid horum eum latere, neque enim hoc est factum in angulo factum. Credis rex Agrippa, prophetis. Agrippas vero dixit Paulo, haud multum abest et me persuades, ut Christianus fiam. Paulus vero. Orarem deum, si multum abest si parum, non solum ut tu sed etiam omnes qui me hodie audiunt, fieretis tales, qualis ego sum, exceptis hisce vinculis. Surexit rex et præfectus et Berenice atque qui cum illis consederunt et secesserunt inter se loquentes hisce verbis: hice homo nihil morte vel vinculis dignum fert. Agrippas dixit Festo: dimitti poterat ille vir, si non appellasset Cæsarem.—

5 [s] αποφθεγγομαι (φθεγγομαι—φθεγμα sonus

Cap. 27.

Postquam autem decretum est, ut navi veheremur in Italiam, tradiderunt Paulum et nonnullos alios vinctos Centurioni, nomine Julio, ex

cohorte Augusta. Adscendentes igitur navem Adramutenam, navigaturam juxta loca Asiæ, solvimus, et erat nobiscum Aristarchus, Macedonicus, Thessalonicensis. Sequente die vecti sumus Sidonem. Et Julius humane
tractavit Paulum et permisit, ut amicos adiret, ut curaretur. Atque solventes præternavigavimus Cyprum ob ventum infestum, mare autem
156 secundum Ciliciam et Pamphiliam pernavigantes pervenimus Muram in Lyciam. Ubi cum centurio navem Alexandrinam, in Italiam navigantem invenisset, deduxit nos in illam. Cum Nonnullos vero dies tarde navigaremus, vix qui devenissemus contra Cnidum non permittente vento, præternavigavimus Cretam juxtim Salmonem, et vix præterlegentes eam, pervenimus in locum quendam, qui dicitur bonus portus, cui prope erat urbs Lasaea. Satis magno temporis spatio interjecto, cum jam navigatio periculosa[t] esset propterea quod jejunium jam præteriisset cohortatus est illos Paulus: Viri, video hance navigationem cum injuria et magno detrimento non solum oneris et navis sed etiam animarum nostrarum. Centurio vero magis obedivit gubernatori et nauclero quam a Paulo dictis. et Cum portus non esset ad hiemandum aptus,[u] plerique consilium dederunt solvendi inde si forsan profecti Phoenicem, ibi hiemem agere possent, portum spectantem Libanum et Chorum Leniter vero spirante Noto, rati se propositi compotes, Cretam propius præterlegebant Non multum post irruit[v] adversus illam ventus procellosus, qui vocatur Euroclydon (Eurus procellosus). Cum autem correpta esset navis, neque posset obniti vento

Insulam vero quandam prætervehentes ægre potuimus compotes fieri scaphæ.[w] Qua sublata omnibus adjumentis utebantur, circumcingentes navem, metuentes autem, ne inciderent in Syrtim, demissis velis ita ferebantur. Cum vero vehementer tempestate[x] vexaremur, postero die jacturam fecimus, et tertio die apparatum nostris manibus projecimus. Cum vero neque coelum, neque sidera per plures dies apparerent, tempestate non exigua imminente, ceterum omnis spes salutis nobis eripiebatur. Quum magna ciborum penuria esset, tum Paulus in medio stans, dixit opportebat vos mihi obedientes non solvisse a Creta, et evitasse hanc jacturam et poenam. Et nunc cohortor vos, ut bono animo sitis, neque enim erit jactura ulla animarum nostrarum, sed tantum navis. Adstitit enim mihi hac nocte angelus dei, cujus sum, quem colo dicens: noli metuere: opportet te Cæsari sisti et ecce largitus est Deus tibi omnes tecum navigantes. Quare bono animo estote viri, fidem enim habeo Deo hoc fore eo modo quo mihi dictum est. In insulam aliquam opportet nos incidere. Cum vero esset nox decima quarta, atque circumvagantibus nobis per mare Adriaticum media nocte opinati sunt nautæ aliquam terram sibi appropinquare; et bolidem demit-

[t] επισφαλης (επι et σφαλλω supplanto, everto) ad cadendum pronus 2) periculosus.

[u] ανευθετος (α pr. ευθετος) non appositus, non aptus, incommodus.

[v] εβαλε sc: εαυτον (cfr Mth. 4, 6) irruit

[w] ex σκαπτω.

[x] χειμαζω tempestati expono, pass: tempestate vexor.—

tentes invenerunt passus viginti et paululum progressi et rursus bolidem demittentes invenerunt passus quindecim, metuentes autem, ne 157
forte in loca scopulosa incideremus, ex puppi ancoris quatuor projectis, rogaverunt, ut dies oriretur. Cum vero nautae conarentur fugere ex
nave, et demitterent scapham in mare, præ se ferentes se ex prora 5
ancoras demissuros, dixit Paulus Centurioni et militibus, nisi illi permaneant in nave vos non possitis servari. Tum milites vincula scaphæ
absciderunt, atque passi sunt eam excidere. Sub diluculo vero Paulus
commonebat omnes, ut cibum caperent dicens: hodie diem decimam quartam, exspectantes, perfecistis jejuni, nil capientes. Quare co- 10
hortor vos, ut cibum capiatis; hoc enim opus est ad vestram salutem,
nullius enim vestrum capillus cadet. Quod cum dixisset cepit panem et
gratias egit deo coram omnibus et frangens incepit comedere. Ipsi vero
recreati omnes etiam cibum ceperunt. Eramus autem omnes animæ in
nave ducentæ septuaginta sex. Satiati vero cibo leviorem fecerunt 15
navem, ejecto tritico in mare. Cum autem dies esset terram non agnoscebant observarunt autem sinum quendam littus habentem, in quem
voluerunt, si liceret, navem propellere. Et cum ancoras sustulissent,
tradiderunt mari, etiam relaxantes vincula[y] gubernaculorum, et tollentes artemonem vento, cursum dirrexerunt (tendebant) in litus. Cum 20
vero incidissent in locum bimarem, allidebant navem, et prora infixa
manebat immobilis, puppis vero solvebatur vi undarum. Militum autem
erat consilium, ut vinctos interficerent, ne quis natando aufugeret.
Centurio autem, cum vellet servare Paulum, impedivit consilium eorum, jussit vero, qui potuerunt natare, primos se dejicientes in conti- 25
nentem exire, ceteros autem alios in tabulis alios in reliquiis naviculi. Et ita factum est, ut omnes salvi pervenirent in terram.

1 [y]ζευκτηριος, ια, ιον (a ζευκτηρ copulans) aptus ad copulandum substantive vinculum.

5 [z]φρυγανον. (a φρυγω torreo. torrefacio) virgultum aridum, sarmentum.

[z1]συστρεφω (συν et στρεφω) verto, verso i:
10 e convolvo in fascem, colligo.

[z2]πιμπραω usitatius πιμπρημι fut: πρησω 1) incendo 2) ad tumo-
15 rem, qui ex inflamatione oritur, transfertur, tumescere facio, med: intumesco

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2 Epistola ad Philippenses.

Paulus et Timotheus, servi Jesu Chr:, omnibus sanctis in Chr. Jesu qui sunt Phillipis, cum episcopis et diaconis gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Jesu Chr.

Gratias ago Deo meo in omni mea vestrum memoria, semper in omnibus precibus meis super vos omnes—cum lætitia imprecans—ob participationem vestram in evangelium a primo die usque ad nunc hoc ipsum persuasus, qui inceperit in vobis bene factum, perfecturum eundem ad diem usque Jesu Chr:. Ut justum est me hoc sentire super vos omnes, propterea quod habeo vos in corde meo, in vinculis meis, nec non in evangelio et defendendo et confirmando, omnes vos mecum participes gratiæ Testis enim meus est Deus, quomodo desidero vos omnes in visceribus Jesu Chr. Atque hoc insuper rogo, ut amor vester magis atque magis abundet in cognitione atque omni perceptione, ut vos diversa exploretis, ut sitis integri et inculpati ad diem Christi, impleti fructu justitiæ qui est per Jesum Chr: in gloriam et laudem Dei.—

Volo enim vos scire, quæ mihi acciderunt, magis in profectum evangelii cessisse, ita ut vincula mea in Christo aperta facta sint in toto prætorio et reliquis omnibus locis atque plurimi fratres in domino confisi vinculis meis locupletius audeant sine metu verbum facere Nonnulli quidem ob invidiam et contentionem, alii autem etiam per benevolentiam Chr: prædicant, qui ex amore gnari, me ad evangelium defendendum jacere, qui ex invidia Chr: prædicant non pure rati sese afflictionem vinculis meis illaturos. Quid? utique quovis modo sive per simulationem sive per veritatem Christus prædicatur atque in hoc laetor imo—laetabor. scio enim hoc me in salutem evasurum ob preces vestras, et auxilio sp. Je: X, secundum exspectationem et spem meam, quod in nulla re pudore suffundar sed in omni libertate, ut semper, sic nunc etiam celebrabitur Chr: in nomine meo sive per mortem sive per vitam. mihi enim vivere est Chr:—mori lucrum. si vero in carne vivere hoc mihi fructus facti nescio, quid eligam ex duobus illis constringor, cupiens solvere et esse cum Chr.—multo enim melius est—apud vos vero in carne manere—ob vos magis est necessarium. atque hoc persuasus scio me mansurum et una cum vobis omnibus permansurum in progressum vestrum et lætitiam fidei, ut gloriatio vestra superabundet in Xsto Jesu in me ob præsentiam meam denuo apud vos.

Modo vitam Ev. Xsti dignam agite ut sive veniens et videns vos sive
159 absens audiam, vos in uno spiritu consistere unanimi certantes fide evangelii, nec in ulla re ab adversariis perterriti, quæ illis est appari-

tio interitus vobis autem salutis et hoc a deo, quod vobis largitum est ob Chr., non solum in eum fidem habere sed etiam ob eum pati eandem pugnam habentes, quam videtis in me, et nunc auditis in me.

Cap. II.

si quæ igitur est in Christo consolatio, si quod amoris solatium si quæ spiritus cōunio si qua viscera—et misericordiæ—hanc mihi gratiam implete ut idem cogitetis, eundem amorem habentes, unanimi, idem cogitantes, nil ad contentionem aut vanam talem gloriam, sed humilitate alii alios habentes se ipsis superiores, non sua quisque spectans sed quisque quod est aliorum—hic enim sit in vobis animus qui etiam in X., qui quamquam erat in similitudine Dei, non furtum habuit similem esse deo, sed sese exinanivit, servi forma suscepta, in similitudine hominum constitutus, et figura inventus est ut homo, exinanivit sese metipsum, obediens factus ad mortem usque ad mortem in cruce. Quare deus etiam eum superexaltavit, et largitus est ei nomen super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur—coelestium et terrestrium et eorum qui sunt sub terra, et omnis lingua profiteatur, dominum esse Jesum Chr, in gloriam Dei patris. Ita fratres mihi dilecti ut semper mihi obedivistis, ne quasi in præsentia mea solum sed nunc multo magis in absentia mea, cum metu et timore in salutem vestram incumbite; deus est enim qui operatur in vobis et esse et perficere prouti ei placitum fuerit. Omnia facite sine turba et disceptationibus ut fiatis inculpati et integri sinceri, filii Dei irreprehensibiles in media generatione prava et perversa; in quibus apparetis lucete ut lumina in mundo verbum vitæ habentes, in gloriationem meam in diem Christi, quod non in vanum cucurrerim neque in vanum laboraverim, quod si etiam exhaurior hostiâ et sacrificiô fidei vestræ gaudeo et congaudeo vobis ob hoc ipsum vos gaudete et mihi congaudete.

Spero autem in domino Jesu, me mox Timotheum ad vos missurum, ut ego etiam bono animo fiam, de rebus vestris certior factus. Neminem enim ego habeo pari animo, qui res vestras sincere curaturus sit, omnes enim quæ sua sunt quærunt non quæ sunt Jesu Christi. Virtutem ejus autem cognoscite, quod ut cum patre filius cum me servivit in Evangelium, illum igitur spero me missurum statim, ut primum res meas perspexerim; persuasus sum in domino me quoque mox venturum Necessarium vero statui Epaphroditum, fratrem et cooperatorem et commilitonem, apostolum autem vestrum et ministrum necessitatis meæ ad vos mittere quoniam desiderabat vos videre, et anxius erat, propterea quod audivistis eum ægrotum fuisse. Atque ægrotus fuit ad mortem usque, sed Deus ejus misertus est, non solum ejus sed etiam mei, ne tristitiam super tristitiam haberem. Eo diligentius eum misi, ut

rursus eum videntes letemini, et ego magis sine cura sim (vacem dolore). Accipite igitur eum in domino omni lætitia, et tales in honore habete, proptereaquod ob munus Chr: ad mortem usque appropinquavit vitæ periclitatus, ut impleret quod deerat vestro erga me ministerio.

Cap. III

Ceterum fratres mihi dilecti, lætamini in domino. idem ad vos scribere mihi non est molestum (me non piget) vobis autem firmum est. Videte canes, videtis pravos operatores, videte concisionem. Nos enim sumus circumcisio, spiritu Deum colentes, et gloriantes in Chr: Ies., neque in carne confidentes, quamquam ego quoque habeo in carne fiduciam. Si quis alius videtur confidere in carne ego magis. circumcisus die octavo, ex genere Israel, ex tribu Benjamin, Hebræus ex Hebræis, secundum legem Pharisæus, studio persequens ecclesiam, secundum justitiam, quæ est in lege, factus irreprehensibilis. Sed quæ erant mihi lucra, hæc statuo damnum per ob Xst. Quin etiam statuo omnia jacturam esse ob præstantiam cognitionis Jesu Christi domini mei. ob quem omnium rerum jacturam feci, atque omnia quisquilias habeo, ut Xstum lucrer atque inveniar in illo non meam justitiam, quæ est ex lege habens, sed quæ est ex fide in Christum, justitiam ex deo per fidem, ut cognoscam illam, et vim resurrectionis ejus, et communionem passionum ejus, similis ei etiam morte cruenta, si forsan perveniam in resurrectionem mortuorum. Non quasi jam acceperim aut jam perfectus sim, quæro vero si comprehendam, quoniam ego quoque a deo sum comprehensus. Fratres mei non statuo me comprehendisse, unum vero, quæ retro sunt oblitus, adeo, quæ ante sunt, me extendens, ad metam contendo, ad præmium superioris vocationis, quæ est in Chr: Jesu. Quotquot igitur perfecti sumus, hoc cogitemus, et si forsan aliter cogitetis, etiam hoc vobis revelabit dominus. Modo ad quod pervenimus, eadem incedere regula, idem cogitare; latores mei estote, et observate qui ita ambulant, ut habetis nos typum—Multi enim ambulant,
161 quos sæpe vobis dixi, et nunc lacrimans dico, inimicos cruci Christi, quorum finis est interitus, quorum deus venter est eorum, et gloria in turpitudine ipsorum, terrestria cogitantes. Nostra enim civitas est in coelis, unde etiam exspectamus servatorem nostrum dominum Jesum Chr:, qui transformabit corpus humilitatis nostræ ut fiat illud conforme corpori gloriæ ejus, secundum potestatem ejus, ex qua potest omnia sibi subjicere.

Cap. IV.

Ita fratres mihi dilecti et desiderati, lætitia et corona mea, ita consistite in domino—dilecti.—Euodiam cohortor et Suntuchen cohortor, ut

idem cogitent in domino. Imo rogo te, socie germane, amplectere illos, qui in evangelio una pugnarunt, una cum Clemente et ceteris cooperatoribus, quorum nomina sunt in libro vitæ. Gaudete in domino ubique, rursus dico gaudete. probitas vestra perspiciatur ab omnibus hominibus, dominus prope adest. de nulla re anxii sitis, sed in omni precatione et oratione cum gratiarum actione rogationes innotescant apud Deum et pax Dei, quæ superat omnem mentem, custodiet[a] corda vestra et cogitationes vestras in Chr: Jes. Ceterum fratres quæcunque sunt vera, quæ sunt honesta, quæ sunt justa, quæ sancta, quæ amabilia, quæ laudabilia, si qua virtus si qua laus hæc cogitate, quæ didicistis et accepistis, audivistis et vidistis in me, hæc facite et deus pacis erit vobiscum.

quem etiam cogitavistis sed deerat[c] opportunitas. Quod non dico Non quod sc: loquar ob penuriam, ego enim didici contentus esse iis, in quibus sum, scio et humilis esse et scio abundare, in omni et in omnibus initiatus sum, et saturari et essurire, et abundare et penuria laborare. Omnia in me corroborante[d] Chr. Ceterum bene fecistis, quod participes[e] facti estis meæ afflictionis. Scitis etiam vos, Phillipenses, in initio evangelii cum venirem ex Macedonia, nullam ecclesiam in societatem mecum venisse quod attinet ad data et relata, nisi vos solos, vos etiam Thessalonicam ad me semel et bis in usum meum misisse. Non quod quæram donum, sed quaero fructum redundantem in rationem vestram. Accepi omnia et abundo impletus sum accipiens ab Epaphrodito quæ a vobis missa sunt, suffimentum suavissimum, victimam acceptam, gratum deo. Deus meus implebit omnem usum vestrum secundum divitias ejus in gloria, in Chr: Jesu. Deo et patri nostro gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Salutate quemvis sanctum in Chr: Jesu, salutant vos fratres, qui sunt mecum, salutant vos omnes sancti, maxime ex domo Cæsaris. Gratia 162
domini Jesu Chr: cum omnibus vestris.

Epistola ad Colossenses. 3

Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi secundum voluntatem Jesu et Timotheus frater iis, qui sunt Colossis sancti et fideles fratres in Chr: Gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro (et domino Jesu Chr:).
Gratias agimus deo et patri domini nostri Jesu Chr: semper, super vos orantes, audientes fidem vestram in Chr: Jesu, et amorem adversus omnes sanctos, ob spem vobis propositam in coelis, quam antea audivistis in verbo veritatis evangelii, quod adfuit apud vos ut etiam per to-

1 [a]φρουρεω (ex φρουρος pro προορος providens, custos urbis) *custodio*

5 [b]αναθαλλω fut αλῶ (ex ανα et θαλλω germino, viresco) 1) progermino reviresco 2) transitive produco v: c: 10 καρπους, largiter produco efficio, ut sit. In N. T. semel Phill. 4, 10 resuscitastis curam mei.

[c]ακαιρεομαι (ab ακαιρος importunus) tempus 15 opportunum non habeo, deinde opportunitate facultate destituor.

[d]ενδυναμοω.

20 [e]συγκοινονεω—ησω una cum aliis particeps fio, in societatem alicujus rei venio.

tum mundum et est fructum ferens et increscens ut etiam inter vos, a die, quo audivistis et cognovistis gratiam dei in veritate, ut etiam didicistis ab Epaphra dilecto nostro conservo, qui est fidelis super vos diaconus Xsti, qui etiam significavit nobis amorem vestrum in spiritu. Quare etiam nos ab illo die inde, quo audivimus, non cessavimus super vos precantes et rogantes, ut impleatis cognitionem voluntatis ejus in omni sapientia et intellectu spirituali ut ambuletis digne domino ad omne obsequium in omni opere bono fructum ferentes et increscentes ad cognitionem Dei. omni robore roborati secundum vim gloriæ ejus ad omnem patientiam et misericordiam cum lætitia. gratias agentes patri, qui nos aptos constituit ad participationem hæreditatis sanctorum in luce, qui eripuit ex potentia tenebrarum, et translocavit nos ad regnum filii amoris ejus, in quo habemus redemptionem sanguine ejus, remissionem peccatorum, qui est imago dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturæ (quod in illo creata sunt omnia, quæ sunt in coelis, et quæ in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus sive potestates, omnia per illum et ad illum creata sunt; et ipse est ante omnia et omnia in illo consistunt. et ipse est caput corporis, ecclesiæ. Ille est principium, primogenitus ex mortuis, ut fiat in omnibus ille primus. quod in illo placuit omnem plenitudinem habitare, atque per eum omnia ad illum reconciliare, pacem constituens per sanguinem crucis ejus, per illum sive sunt in terra, sive in coelis. et vos, qui antea fuistis abalienati et inimici cogitatione in male factis, nunc reconciliavit in corpore carnis ejus ob mortem, ad præstandos vos sanctos et inculpatos et irreprehensibiles coram illo. si permanetis in fide stabiliti et fundati neque semoti a fide in evangelium, quod audivistis, quod prædicatum est per totum mundum, qui est sub coelo, cujus ego Paulus factus sum diaconus.

163 Nunc lætor in afflictionibus super vos et superimpleo ea quæ desunt afflictionibus Christi in carne mea super corpus ejus, quæ est ecclesia. cujus factus sum ego diaconus secundum dispensationem dei, quæ data est mihi ad vos, ad implendum verbum dei, mysterium absconditum a saeculis et generationibus, nunc apertum sanctis ejus, quibus voluit deus significare, quæ sit copia gloriæ hujus mysterii inter gentes, qui est Chr: in vobis, spes gloriæ. quem nos prædicamus, admonentes quemque hominem et docentes quemque hominem in omni sapientia, ut præbeamus omnem hominem perfectum in Chr:, ad quod ego quoque laboro, pugnans secundum efficaciam ejus operantem in me potentia.

Cap. II.

Volo enim vos scire, qualem pugnam habeam super vos atque illos, qui sunt Laodiceæ atque quicunque nondum viderunt faciem meam in carne., ut consolationem accipiant corda eorum, bene edocti in amore, atque ad omnem copiam certitudinis intelligentiæ ad cognitionem mysterii dei et patris et Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et cognitionis absconditi. Hoc dico ne quis decipiat vos verbis ad persuadendum aptis—si enim carne absum, in spiritu vobiscum sum cum lætitia videns vestrum ordinem et firmitatem fidei vestræ in Chr:—Ut igitur accepistis Chr: Jesum dominum in illo ambulamini constantes et exstructi in illo et conformati in fide, ut edocti estis abundantes in illa in gratiarum actione. Videte, nequis vos servos faciat per philosophiam et vanam fraudem, secundum traditionem hominum, secundum principia mundi, non secundum Chr:, cum in illo habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter, et estote in illo impleti, qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis, in quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione manibus non facta, in exuendo corpore (peccatorum) carnis, in circumcisione Christi, sepiliti cum illo in baptismo; in quo etiam erecti estis per fidem efficaciæ dei, qui suscitavit illum ex mortuis et vos, qui mortui eratis in peccatis et præputio carnis vestræ vivificavit vos, largiens nobis omnia peccata; exstinguens quod est adversus nos manuscriptum dogmatibus, nobis contrarium, et sustulit illud e medio, affigens illud cruci exspolians principatus et potestates proposuit propalam, triumphum transportavit in illo. Ne quis igitur vos judicet in cibo aut potu aut quod attinet ad festos dies, ad novilunium, ad sabbatha, quæ sunt umbra futurorum, corpus vero Chr:. Ne quis vobis palmam eripiat volens in humilitate et cultu angelorum, quæ non vidit, exquirens, vane elatus a mente carnis ejus, neque amplectens caput, unde totum corpus per juncturas et connexiones sublevatum et confirmatum crescit incremento dei. Si mortui estis cum Chr: a principiis mundi, 164
cur, ut viventes in mundo, leges vobis imponi patimini ne tangas, ne gustes, ne contrectes. quæ omnia sunt ad vanitatem usu, secundum præcepta et doctrinas hominum, quæ sunt habentes speciem veritatis in superstitione, et humilitate et neglectu corporis, non cum honore aliquo, ad expletionem carnis.

Cap. III

Si igitur cum Xsto resuscitati estis, superna quærite, ubi est Xstus sedens ad dextram dei; quæ sursum sunt cogitate non quæ sunt in terra. Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita cum Chr: in deo. ubi Xstus apparuerit, vita nostra tum etiam vos cum illo apparebimus in gloria.

Sepilite igitur membra ad terram pertinentia, stuprum, impuritatem,

affectus, libidinem, et avaritiam, quæ idolorum cultus. Ideo incedit ira dei super omnes filios immorigeros, inter quos vos etiam aliquando ambulavistis, dum vivebatis in illis; nunc vero deponite vos omnia, iram, indignationem, malitiam, maledictionem, sermones obscoenos; ne mentiamini invicem, exuentes veterem hominem cum operibus ejus, et induentes novum, renovatum ad cognitionem secundum imaginem ejus, qui eum creavit; ubi non est Græcus et Judæus, circumcisio et præputium, barbarus, Schytha, servus, liber sed omnia et in omnibus Xstus. Induite igitur ut electi Dei sancti et dilecti viscera misericordiæ, probitatem, humilitatem, benignitatem, patientiam (perferentes vos invicem et condonantes, si quis habeat adversus alium litem, ut etiam Chr: nobis condonavit sic etiam vos.) et pax Chr: præmia sua largiatur in animis vestris, ad quam vocati estis in uno corpore; et accepti evaditis. Verbum Chr: habitet in vobis diviter; in omni sapientia docentes et admonentes, psalmis et hymnis et carminibus spiritualibus gratia psallentes in cordibus vestris deo; et omne, quod agatis, in verbo vel in facto, omnia in nomine domini Jesu Chr:, gratias agentes deo et patri per illum.

Mulieres subditæ sint propriis maritis ut oportet in domino. Mariti amate uxores, et ne adversus illas acerbos vos præbeatis. Filii obedite parentibus in omnibus, hoc enim est acceptum deo, patres ne provocetis liberos vestros, ut ne animum despondeant (ne nimis perterreantur) servi obedite in omnibus dominis secundum carnem, non obsequio ad oculos exhibito tanquam aliorum favorem captantes sed in sinceritate cordis, metuentes dominum. Et quodcunque feceritis ex animo operate ut domino non hominibus, scientes vos a domino accepisse retributionem hæreditatis, domino enim Xsto servitis. Qui vero injuste egit accipiet mercedem suæ iniquitatis, neque est personarum ratio.—

Cap. IV

Domini præbete justum et æquabilitatem, scientes vos etiam habere dominum in coelis.

Precibus vacate, vigilantes in illis, in gratiarum actione, preces etiam super nos fundentes, ut deus aperiat nobis januam verbi ad prædicandum mysterium Christi, cur ego vinctus sum, ut ostendam hoc, quomodo opportet me loqui.—In sapientia ambulate adversus exteros, tempus redimentes. Verbum vestrum semper sit in gratia, sale conditum, ut sciatis, quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere. Quod ad me pertinet omnia vobis nuntiabit Tuchicus, dilectus frater, et fidelis diaconus et conservus in domino; quem misi ad vos ob hoc ipsum ut cognosceret res vestras, et consolaretur corda vestra cum Onesimo fideli et dilecto fratre, qui est e vobis, omnia vobis patefaciunt, quæ hic sunt.

Salutat vobis Aristarchus commilito meus et Marcus affinis Barnabæ, de quo accepistis litteras (si ad vos venerit accipite illum) et Jesus, qui dicitur Justus, qui sunt ex circumcisione illi soli cooperatores ad regnum dei, qui fuerunt mihi solatium Salutat vobis Epaphras qui est ex vobis, servus Xsti, semper in precibus super vos pugnans, ut sistatis perfecti et impleti in omni voluntate dei. Attestor enim illi eum magnum habere studium super vos et qui sunt Laodiceæ et qui sunt Hierapoli. Salutat vos Lucas, medicus, dilectus, et Demas. Salutate fratres, qui sunt Laodiceæ et Nympham et ecclesiam in domo ejus et ubi perlecta est a vobis epistola, curate, ut etiam in eccl. Laodicensi perlegatur; et ut vos etiam perlegatis quæ est ex Laodicæa. et dicite Archippo vide ministerium, quod accepisti in domino, ut eum impleas. Salutatio mea manu recordamini vincula mea, gratia vobiscum.—

1 Thess. **4**

Paulus et Silanus et Timotheus ecclesiæ Thessalonicensium in deo patre et domino Jesu Chr. Gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Jesu Chr.

Gratias agimus deo semper super vos omnes, memoriam vestri facientes in precibus nostris semper recordantes vestrum factum fidei et laborem amoris et patientiam spei domini nostri Jesu Chr: coram deo et patre nostro; cognoscentes, fratres a deo dilecti, electionem vestram, 166 evangelium nostrum non fuisse ad vos in verbo solo sed etiam in vi et in spiritu sancto, et in certitudine multa, quemadmodum scitis, quales fuerimus in vobis ob vos. Et vos facti estis immitatores domini, accipientes verbum in magna afflictione cum lætitia sp. sancti, ut facti sitis vos typus omnibus, qui fidem habent in Macedonia et Achaia. A vobis enim personuit verbum dei non solum per M. et A. sed in quemvis locum fides in deum pervenit, ut non opus habeamus quidquam loqui. Ipsi enim de nobis nuntiant, qualem introitum habuerimus apud vos et quomodo reversi sitis ad deum ab idolis, ad serviendum deum viventem et veracem, et exspectandum filium ejus de coelis, quem suscitavit ex mortuis, Jesum, eripientem nos ex ira futura.

Cap II.

Ipsi enim scitis, fratres, introitum nostrum ad vos non eum fuisse vanum. sed antea multa perpessi et superbe tractati, ut scitis, Phillipis, animum sumsimus in deo nostro loqui ad vos evangelium Dei cum magno certamine. Consolatio enim nostra non erat ex vanitate neque ex impuritate neque in dolo; sed quemadmodum digni habiti sumus

quibus a Deo evangelium committeretur, ita loquimur non ut hominibus placere studentes, sed deo, exploranti corda nostra. Neque enim unquam in verbo adulationis fuimus, quemadmodum nostis, neque in occasione avaritiæ, deus testis; neque quærentes ex hominibus gloriam, neque a vobis neque ab aliis, cum possimus esse in afflictione, ut Chr: apostoli; sed facti sumus mites inter vos medios, amore vestrum flagrantes, volumus vobis distribuere non solum evangelium dei; sed etiam animas nostras, quod cari nobis facti estis. Recordamini enim fratres laborem et operam; die nocteque laborantes, ne cui vestrum oneri essemus, prædicavimus vobis evangelium dei. Vos testes estis et deus, quam sancte et juste et inculpate fuerimus vobis fidem habentibus. quemadmodum scitis, quomodo unumquemque vestrum ut pater filios suos cohortantes et consolantes et obtestantes, ut ambularetis vos digne deo, qui vocavit vos ad regnum suum et gloriam. Ideo nos quoque semper gratias agimus deo, quod percipientes verbum dei a nobis prædicatum, accepistis non verbum hominum sed ut vere est verbum dei, qui etiam operatur in vobis fidem habentibus. Vos enim imitatores facti estis, fratres, ecclesiarum dei, quæ sunt in Judæa in Chr: Jesu, quod idem passi estis etiam vos a propriis tribulibus, ut etiam illi ab Judæis, qui etiam dominum Jesum interfecerunt et prophetas, nos persecuti sunt et deo placere non student, et omnibus hominibus adversi
167 sunt, qui prohibent, quo minus alloquamur gentilibus, ut salvi fiant, ut impleantur semper peccata ipsorum, pervenit autem ira super illos usque ad finem.

Nos vero fratres ad temporis spatium a vobis segregati, facie non corde, vehementius intendimus, ut videamus faciem vestram in magna cupiditate. Quare voluimus venire ad vos ego Paulus semel et bis, Satan autem nos impedivit. Quæ enim nostra spes, aut lætitia aut corona gloriationis an non etiam vos coram domino nostro Jesu in adventu ejus.

Cap III.

Quare non amplius sustinentes maluimus soli Athenis relinqui, et misimus Timotheum, fratrem nostrum et diaconum dei et cooperatorem nostrum in evangelio Christi, ut confirmaret vos et cohortaretur vos de fide vestra, ne quis concuteretur (turbaretur) hisce afflictionibus (ipsi enim scitis, me ad hoc jacere. et cum apud vos fuimus essemus, prædiximus vos affligendos esse, ut etiam factum est et scitis, quare ego non amplius sustinens misi, qui cognosceret fidem vestram, ne forte tentasset vos tentator, et in vanum labor noster factus esset. Cum jam veniret T. ad nos a vobis lætum nuntium afferens de fide vestra et amore, et vos læte nos semper recordari, desiderantes nos videre, ut etiam nos vo-

s.Inde consolationem accepimus de vobis , in omni afflictione et tribulatione ob fidem vestram. Quod nunc vivimus si vos consistitis in domino. Quam enim gratiarum actionem possumus deo retribuere super vos in omni gaudio, quo gaudemus ob vos coram deo nostro? die et nocte supra modum rogantes, ut videam faciem vestram, et impleam, quæ desunt fidei vestræ. Ipse deus et pater noster et dominus noster Jesus Chr: dirigat viam nostram ad vos. Vos vero dominus ditet faciat et abundantes amore in vos invicem et in omnes, ut etiam nos in vos, ad firmanda corda vestra inculpata in sanctitate coram deo et patre nostro in adventu domini nostri Jesu Chr: cum omnibus sanctis ejus.

Cap. IV.

Ceterum fratres rogamus nos et cohortamur in domino Jesu, quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere deo, ut magis abundetis. Scitis enim quæ præcepta dedimus vobis per dominum Jesum. Hæc enim est voluntas Dei sanctitas vestra, ut abstineatis a scorto, sciat suum quisque vas possidere in sanctitate et honore non in affectu libidinis, ut gentiles, qui non cognoverunt deum. Ne quis defraudet (nimii sitis) et circumveniat in negotio fratrem, quoniam deus est vindex omnium talium rerum, ut etiam antea diximus vobis et attestati sumus. Neque enim vocavit nos ad impuritatem sed in 168 sanctitate. Qui igitur negligit non hominem negligit sed deum, qui etiam dedit spiritum suum sanctum super vos.

De vero amore fraterno non opus est nos scribere ad vos, ipsi enim edocti estis ad vos invicem amandos, atque facitis hoc adversus omnes fratres, qui sunt per totam Macedoniam. Cohortamur vos, ut magis abundetis, ut quietem colatis, res vestras agatis, et operetis propriis manibus, ut vobis præcepimus, ut ambulemini decenter ad externos, neque ullius rei usum habeatis.

Nolo vero vos ignorare fratres de mortuis ne lugeatis, ut qui nullam spem habent. Si enim credimus Chr: mortuum esse et resurexisse, ita etiam deus qui mortui sunt per Jesum, feret cum illo. Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo domini nos viventes, relictos superstites in adventum domini, non præventuros mortuis,. Ubi ipse dominus in voce archangeli, cum tuba dei descendet e coelo, et qui mortui sunt in Chr: prius resurgent, deinde nos viventes superstites, una cum illis rapiemur in nubibus ad obviam eundum domino in aerem, et ita semper cum domino erimus. Ita cohortamini vos invicem hisce verbis.

Cap V.

De vero tempore et ratione temporis, fratres, non opus habemus ad vos scribere. Ipsi enim accurate scitis, diem domini, ut furem, nocte venire. Ubi dicant: pax et securitas, tum repentinus illis adstabit (superveniet) interitus, ut dolor parturientium gravidæ neque effugient. Vos vero fratres non estis in tenebris, ut dies illa vos ut fur comprehendat Omnes enim vos filii estis lucis et filii diei, non sumus noctis aut tenebrarum. Igitur ne dormiamus ut ceteri sed vigilemus et sobrii simus, qui enim dormiunt nocte dormiunt, et qui ebrii sunt nocte ebrii sunt. Nos vero, qui sumus diei vigilemus, induentes thoracem fidei et amoris, et galeam, spem salutis, quod non posuit nos deus ad iram sed ad comparationem salutis per dominum nostrum Chr:, qui mortuus est super nos, ut sive vigilemus sive dormiamus, cum illo vivamus Ideo cohortamini vos invicem et exstruite in unum ut etiam facitis.

Rogamus vos, ut agnoscatis eos, qui laborant in vobis et prosunt vobis in domino, et admonent vos, et habeatis illos supra modum in amore, propter opus ipsorum, pacem invicem habete. Cohortamur vos, fratres, admonete dissolutos, consolamini pusillanimos, suscipite infirmos, patientes estote erga omnes. Cavete ne quis malum pro malo cui retribuat; sed semper in bonum intendite et invicem et adversus omnes. semper lætamini assidue preces fundite, in omni re gratias agite,
169 hæc est enim voluntas dei in Xsto ad vos Spiritum ne exstinguatis, prophetias ne contemnatis, omnia explorate bonum retinete, ab omni specie mali abstinete. Ipse deus pacis santificet vos totos, et integer vester spiritus, et anima et corpus inculpate in adventum domini nostri Jesu Chr. custodiatur. Fidelis, qui vos vocavit, qui et faciet.

Fratres rogate super nos. Salutate omnes fratres osculo sancto. Per deum vos obtestor, ut prælegatur epistola omnibus sanctis fratribus. Gratia domini nostri Jesu Chr: sit vobiscum.

5 2 Thess.

Paulus et Silanus et Timotheus ecclesiæ Thessalonicensium in deo patre nostro et domino Jes. Chr:. Gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Jesu Chr:.

Gratias agere deo semper debemus super vos fratres, ut decet, quod fides vestra incrementum capit et augetur amor unius cujusque omnium vestrum invicem, ita ut nos ipsi in vobis gloriemur in omnibus ecclesiis dei ob patientiam vestram et fidem in omnibus persecutionibus et afflictionibus vestris, quas perfertis, indicium justi dei judicii, ut digni vos habeamini regno dei, super quod etiam patimini. si quidem

justum est coram deo retribuere vos affligentibus afflictum, et vobis afflictis relaxationem nobiscum, in revelatione domini Jesu de coelo, cum angelis potentiæ ejus, in flama ignis, ultionem infligentis illis, qui non cognoverunt deum, et qui non obediverunt evangelio domini nostri Jesu Chr:, qui poenas dabunt, interitum æternum a facie domini et a gloria potentiæ ejus ubi venit glorificandus in sanctis suis et admirationem moturus in omnibus credentibus (quia fides habita est testimonio nostro apud vos—illo die. Propterea quod etiam rogamus semper super vos, ut deus noster vos dignos reddat vocatione, et impleat omnem benignitatem bonitatis et opus fidei cum potentia, ut celebretur nomen domini nostri inter vos et vos in illo, secundum gratiam dei nostri et domini Jesu Chr:

Cap. II.

Rogamus vero vos fratres ob præsentiam (adventum) domini nostri Jesu Chr:, et nostrum introitum ad illum, ne citius vos commoveamini a mente, neve perturbemini, neque per spiritum neque per verbum, neque per epistolam quasi a nobis, quasi nunc instet dies domini. Ne quis vos decipiat ullo modo, quia, nisi prius venerit defectio, et apparuerit homo peccati, filius interitus, adversarius et extollens se super omne, 170 quod dicitur deus aut numen, ut ille in templo dei ut deus sedeat, ostendens sese metipsum, quasi esset deus. Nonne recordamini me cum adhuc essem apud vos hæc dixisse? Atque nunc, quid detineat, scitis donec appareat ille suo tempore. Mysterium enim injustitiæ jam operatur, solum tenens modo donec e medio tollatur, et tum apparebit injustus, quem dominus Jesus exstinguet spiritu oris sui et finem faciet splendore præsentiæ ejus—cujus est præsentia, secundum efficaciam Satanis, in omni vi et signis, et portentis mendacii, et in omni fraude injustitiæ, in perditis, quod non ceperunt amorem veritatis, ut illi salvi fierent. Et ob hoc mittet illis deus efficaciam fraudis, ut credant illi mendacio, ut judicentur omnes fidem non habentes veritati et oblectati sunt injustitia. Nos vero debemus semper gratias agere deo super vos, fratres a domino dilecti, quod eripuit vos deus ab initio ad salutem in sanctitate spiritus et fide veritatis; ad quod vocavit vos per evangelium nostrum ad comparandam gloriam domini nostri Jesu Chr: Fratres igitur sistite et retenete traditiones, in quibus edocti estis, sive per verbum sive per epistolam nostram. Ipse vero dominus noster J X. et deus et pater noster, qui adamavit nos et dedit consolationem æternam et spem bonam in gratia, consoletur corda vestra et confirmet vos in omni bene dicto et bene facto.

Cap. III

Ceterum, rogate fratres, de nobis, ut verbum domini currat (sine dubio per varias regiones propagetur) et celebretur, ut etiam apud vos, atque liberemur ab hominibus importunis et malis, neque enim omnium est fides. Fidelis vero est dominus, qui confirmabit vos et servabit a malo. persuasi vero sumus in domino vos, quæ vobis præcepimus, et facere et facturos. dominus vero dirigat corda vestra in amorem dei et in patientiam Xsti. Præcipimus vero vobis, fratres in nomine domini nostri Jesu Chr: ut avocetis vos ab omni fratre dissolute vivente, non secundum traditionem, quam acceperunt a nobis. Ipsi enim scitis, quomodo oporteat vos nos imitari. Quod non inordinate egimus inter vos, neque gratuitum panem comedimus apud quemquam, sed in labore et opera die et nocte operantes, ut ne cui oneri essemus. Non quo non habeamus potestatem, sed ut nos metipsos præbeamus vobis typum ut nos imitemini. Nam cum essemus apud vos hoc vobis præcepimus, ut, si quis non vult laborare, idem ne comedat. Audimus enim nonnullos inter vos dissolute ambulantes, nihil operantes sed supervacaneum facientes. 171 Talibus præcipimus, et cohortamur per dominum nostrum Jesum Chr:, ut quiete operantes, suum panem comedant. Vos vero fratres ne defatigemini bene agendo. Si quis vero non obediat verbo nostro per epistolam hunc significate, et ne commisceamini illi, ut pudore suffundatur, (pudefiat), et ne adversarium habeatis illum sed admoneatis ut fratrem. Ipse vero dominus pacis det pacem semper quovis loco, dominus cum vobis omnibus.
Salutatio mea manu Pauli, quod est signum in omni epistola. ita scribo. Gratia domini nostri Jesu Chr: sit cum vobis omnibus.

6 1 ad Timotheum.

Cap I.

Paulus apostolus Jesu Chr: secundum decretum dei salvatoris nostri et Chr. Jesu, spei nostræ, Timotheo genuino filio in fide. Gratia, misericordia, pax a deo patre nostro et Chr. J., domino nostro. Quemadmodum rogavi te, ut maneres Ephesi, in Macedoniam iter faciens, ut preciperes nonnullis, ne false docerent, neve animum adverterent mythis et genealogiis infinitis, quæ disquisitiones magis præbeant quam ædificationem dei, quæ est in fide.—Finis vero præcepti est amor ex puro corde et bona conscientia et fides non simulata. Quorum nonnulli aberrantes[a] conversi sunt in vaniloquium, volentes esse legis doctores, non intelligentes, neque quæ dicunt, neque de quibus palam affirmant. scimus vero legem bonam esse, si quis ea legitime utatur, hoc sciens, justo

[a]αστοχεω (ab αστοχος aberrans a scopo a στοχῳ) aberrare 1

legem non jacere, injustis vero et imorigeris, impiis et peccatoribus, irreligiosis et profanis, parricidis et matricidis homicidis, adulteris, cinaedis plagiariis, mendacibus, perjuris, et si quid aliud sanæ doctrinæ adversetur, secundum evangelium gloriæ beati dei, quod mihi concreditum est, et gratiam habeo, qui me potentem reddidit Christo Jesu Domino nostro, quod fidelem me habuit, constituens me ad ministerium, qui antea fuit maledictus et persequens, et superbus, sed veniam adeptus sum, quod insciens feci in incredulitate, superabundavit gratia domini nostri cum fide et dilectione amore, quæ est in Xst Je. Fidele est verbum et dignum omnino, quod accipiatur, Chr: venisse in mundum, ut peccatores servaret, quorum primus ego sum. Sed ideo veniam accepi, ut in me primo ostenderet Jesus Chr: omnem misericordiam exemplar eorum, qui post me fidem habituri sunt ei in vitam æternam. Regi vero sæculorum, immortali, invisibili soli deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen. Hoc præceptum propono tibi, fili Timothee, secundum prophetias super te præcedentes, ut in illis bonam pugnam pugnes, habens fidem et bonam conscientiam, quam nulli 172
repudiantes, de fide naufragium fecere, quorum sunt Hymeneus et Alexander, quos tradidi Satanæ, ut discant non maledicere.

Cap. II

cohortor igitur primum omnium, ut faciatis deprecationes—preces—supplicationes, gratiarum actiones pro regibus et omnibus qui altiori loco positi sunt, ut vitam quietam et tranquillam degamus in omni pietate et honestate. Hoc enim est bonum et acceptum coram salvatore nostro deo, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad cognitionem veritatis pervenire, unus est enim deus, unus etiam mediator dei et hominum, homo Xst. Jes., qui dedit se metipsum redemtionem super omnes; testimonium suis temporibus, ad quod ego positus sum præco et apostolus (veritatem dico non mentior) doctor gentilium in fide et veritate. Volo igitur orare homines quovis loco tollentes sanctas manus sine ira et disceptatione Ita etiam mulieres in vestitu modesto cum verecundia et moderatione sese ornent non tortis crinibus, aut auro, aut margaritis aut vestitu pretioso, sed ut oportet mulieres profitentes pietatem per bona opera. Mulier quiete discat in omni submissione. Docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominium exercere[b] in virum sed esse in quiete. Prior enim Adam creatus est, deinde Eva. Neque Adam deceptus est, mulier vero decepta, transgressionis rea facta est. Servabitur vero per procreationem liberorum, si manserint in fide et amore et puritate cum temperantia.

1 [b]αυθεντεω (ex αυθεντης pro αυτοεντης ex αυτος et εντεα armatura, instrumentum,) qui ipse instrumento utitur qui ipse sibi manum infert apud seriores impero alicui, dominium exerceo

Cap. III

Fidele est verbum, si quis episcopatum appetat, præclarum opus desiderat. Opportet igitur episcopum esse inculpatum, unius uxoris maritum, sobrium, moderantem, honestum, hospitalem, aptum ad docendum, non vinolentum, non furacem, non turpis lucri cupidum, sed æquum, a pugna alienum, non avarum; qui domui suæ bene præsit, qui filios habeat in subjectione cum omni honestate Si quis domui suæ præesse nesciat, quomodo ecclesia dei ei curæ erit? non novitium, ne occoecatus in judicium cadat diaboli. Oportet etiam illum bonum testimonium habere ab extraneis ne in opprobrium incidat et laqueum diaboli. Diaconos eodem modo honestos (graves) non bilingues, non vino multo dediti, non lucri turpis studiosos, habentes mysterium fidei in pura conscientia, et ita primum examinentur, deinde ministerio fungantur, irreprehensibiles, item mulieres honestas, non calumniatrices, sobrias fideles in omnibus. Diaconi sint unius uxoris mariti, liberis bene præsint et domibus suis. Qui enim bene ministerio fungantur, bonum gradum sibi comparant, et magnam libertatem, quæ est in Xst Jesu.

Hoc tibi scribo sperans ad te mox venire, si vero morer, ut scias quomodo oporteat in domo dei versari, quæ est ecclesia Dei. Columna et fundamentum veritatis et revera magnum est pietatis mysterium: deus apparuit in carne, justificatus est in spiritu, visus est ab angelis, prædicatus est inter gentiles, fidem obtinuit in mundo, receptus est in gloria.

Cap IV.

Spiritus autem clare dicit, ultimis temporibus nonnullos a fide defecturos, attendentes spiritibus impostoribus et doctrinis dæmonum, in hypocrisi falsorum doctorum, cauterio notatam habentes propriam conscientiam, prohibentes matrimonia contrahere, abstinere cibis, quæ deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus et qui cognoverunt veritatem. Nam omnis creatura bona, nec ullum rejiciendum acceptum cum gratiarum actione, santificatur enim per verbum Dei et supplicationem. Hæc proponens fratribus bonus eris diaconus J.X:, innutritus verbis fidei, et bonæ doctrinæ, in qua ingressus est, profanas vero et ineptas fabulas evita Exerce te metipsum ad pietatem. Exercitio enim corporea ad nihil est utilis, pietas vero ad omnia utilis est, habens promissionem hujus vitæ et futuræ. Fidele est verbum et omnino quod accipiatur dignum, ad hoc enim operamus, et opprobrio afficimur quod fidem habuimus deo viventi, qui est servator omnium hominum, maxime credentium. Hoc præcipe et doce.

Ne quis te ob juventutem despiciat, sed sis exemplar fidelium in verbo, in vivendi ratione, in spiritu, in fide, in sanctitate. Usque dum venero incumbe in lectionem, consolationem et doctrinam. Ne negli-

gas donum in te, quod tibi datum est per prophetias cum manuum impositione presbyterii. Hæc cura in his esto. Attende tibi ipsi et doctrinæ, permane in his, hoc enim faciens servabis te ipsum et qui te audiunt.

Cap. V.

Presbyterem ne objurges sed cohortare ut patrem, juniores ut fratres, mulieres seniores ut matres, juniores ut sorores in omni sanctitate. Viduas honora re vera scilicet viduas. Si vero quæ vidua liberos habeat vel nepotes, discant illi primum propriam domum pietate prosequi et remunerationem tribuere majoribus hoc enim acceptum coram deo. Re vera autem vidua et desolata fidem habuit deo et vacat orationibus et 174 precibus die nocteque, luxoriose autem vivens viva mortua est. Hoc præcipe ut sint irreprehensibiles. Si vero quis suis et maxime familiaribus non providet, fidem denegavit ille et est infideli deterior. Vidua eligatur non minus sexaginta annos nata, unius viri uxor, in bonis operibus testimonium habens, si liberos educavit, si hospitalis fuit, si sanctorum pedes lavit, si afflictis subministravit, si in omni bono opere ingressa est. Juniores vero viduas evita ubi enim luxoriose vixerint in dominum Chr:, nubere volunt, habentes crimen, quod priorem fidem neglexerint, simul etiam otiosæ discunt peragrare domus (circuire), non solum otiosæ sed etiam futiles et curiosæ, loquentes, quæ non oportet. Volo igitur juniores nubere, liberos procreare, domui præesse, nullam ansam præbere adversario ob criminationem. Jam enim nonnulli conversi sunt post Satanam, Quodsi quis aut si quæ fidelis viduas habet, provideat illis et ne oneri sit ecclesiæ, ut re vera viduis occurrat. Presbyteri, qui bene præsunt, duplici honore digni habeantur, maxime vero operantes in verbo et doctrina. dicit enim scriptura bovem triturantem non obturabis, et dignus est operator præmio suo. Adversus presbyterum accusationem non accipe nisi duobus vel tribus testibus. Qui peccaverint, coram omnibus reprehende, ut etiam ceteri metum habeant. Obtestor coram deo et Xsto Jes. et electis angelis, ut hæc observes sine præjudicio, nihil faciens in hanc vel illam partem inclinans. Manus cito ne cui imponas, neque particeps fias peccatorum alienorum Serva te ipsum sanctum, ne aquam bibas sed vino paululo utere propter stomachum et crebras tuas infirmitates. Nonnullorum hominum peccata antea aperta sunt, festinantia (ducentia) in judicium, in quibusdam prosequuntur. ita etiam bona opera antea aperta sunt, et quæ secus habent latere nequeunt.

Cap. VI.

Quotquot sunt sub jugo servi suos proprios dominos omni honore dignos habeant, ne nomen dei et doctrina blasphemetur. Qui vero habent fideles dominos ne negligant propterea quod fratres sunt, sed magis serviant, quod fideles sunt et dilecti et beneficientiæ participes Hoc doce et præcipe.

Si vero quis aliter docet neque amplectitur (accedit ad) sana verba domini nostri Jesu Chr: et doctrinam, quæ ducit ad pietatem, occoecatus est nihil intelligens, sed ægrotans de quæstionibus et pugnis verborum, unde oritur invidia, controversia, maledictiones, cogitationes malæ, supervacuæ conflictationes hominum mente perditorum, qui veritate privati sunt, statuentes, pietatem esse quæstum, abstine a talibus (sejunge te) Est autem pietas magnus quæstus cum animo contento. Nihil enim in mundum tulimus. Apertum igitur est, nos nihil educere posse, habentes autem alimenta et tegimina contenti erimus, qui vero divites esse volunt incidunt illi in tentationem et laqueum, et cupiditates multas incognitas et noxias, quæ demergunt homines in interitum et exitium. Nam avaritia est radix omnium malorum. quam nonnulli appetentes aberrarunt a fide et sese metipsos perfoderunt multis doloribus. Tu vero homo dei hæc fuge incumbe vero in justitiam, pietatem, fidem, amorem patientiam, benignitatem, pugna bonam pugnam fidei, apprehende vitam æternam, ad quam vocatus es, profitens bonam professionem coram multis testibus. Præcipio tibi coram deo omnia vivificanti et Xsto Jesu testimonium edenti apud P. P. bonam confessionem, ut serves hanc epistolam immaculatam, irreprehensibilem usque ad apparitionem domini nostri Jesu Chr:, quam suis temporibus ostendet beatus et unus despota rex regum, et dominus dominorum, qui solus habet immortalitatem, lumine habitans, ad quod aditus non est, quem nemo hominum vidit, neque videre potest, cui gloria et potentia æterna Amen.

divitibus in hoc mundo præcipias, ne efferantur, neve sperent in divitiarum incertitudine sed in deo vivente, qui præbet nobis omnia diviter ad usum., bene agere, divites esse in bonis operibus, faciles ad largiendum, communicantes, cumulantes sibi thesaurum bonum in futurum, ut accipiant vitam revera sic dictam.

O Timothee observa foedus fugiens profanum vaniloquium oppositiones falso nominatæ scientiæ quam nonnulli professi aberrarunt Gratia tecum.

2 ad Timoth. 7

Cap I

Paulus apostolus Jesu Chr: secundum voluntatem dei secundum promissionem vitæ, quæ est in Chr: J:, Timotheo, dilecto filio. Gratia, misericordia, pax a deo patre nostro et Chr: Jesu domino nostro.

Gratias ago deo cui servio a majoribus in bona conscientia (quomodo assiduam habeo tui memoriam in precationibus meis die nocteque desiderans te videre, recordatus lacrymas tuas, ut lætitia implear, memoria repetens fidei tuæ non simulatæ, quæ primum habitavit in mamma tua Loide et in matre tua Eunica, et persuasus sum etiam in te. 176
Quare commoneo te, ut resuscites donum dei, quod est in te ob impositionem manuum mearum neque enim dedit deus nobis spiritum timiditatis sed potentiæ et amoris et sobrietatis; ne igitur te pudeat martyrii domini nostri, neque mei, qui vinctus sum ipsius, sed dolores subi una cum evangelio secundum vim dei, qui eripuit nos et vocavit vocatione sancta, non secundum opera nostra sed secundum propositum suum et gratiam nobis in Chr: Jesu datam ante tempora saecularia, nunc apertam per apparitionem salvatoris nostri J. X., qui destruxit mortem, illuminavit autem vitam et immortalitatem per evangelium, ad quod ego constitutus sum præco, et apostolus et doctor gentilium.
Quam ob causam etiam hoc patior sed non animum despondeo, scio enim, cui fidem habui, et persuasus sum, eum posse depositum meum servare in illum diem usque. Formam habe sanorum verborum, quæ a me audivisti, in fide et dilectione, quæ est in X. J. bonum depositum serva per sp. s., qui inhabitat in nobis Scis hoc, omnes, qui sunt in Asia, me deseruisse, quorum sunt Phygelles et Hermogenes. Misericordiam præstet deus domui O., quod sæpe me recreavit neque eum vinculorum meorum puduit, sed cum esset Romæ, diligentius me quæsivit et invenit. det illi dominus invenire gratiam apud dominum illo die. et quot mihi Ephesi administraverit, accuratius tu nosti.

Cap. II

Tu igitur, fili mi, fortis esto in gratia, quæ est in Chr: J. Et quæ a me audisti per multos testes hoc propone fidelibus hominibus, qui apti erunt ad alios docendos. Tu igitur mala perfer ut bonus milites J. Chr:
Nemo pugnans implicatur[a] vitæ negotiis, ut duci placeat. Si vero etiam quis pugnet, non coronatur, nisi legitime pugnaverit. Agricolam operantem demum primum oportet fructus percipere. Intellige, quæ dico, det enim tibi facultatem omnia intelligendi. Recordare Jesum Chr: resuscitatum ex mortuis, ex semine Davidis secundum evangelium meum. in quo malis affligor ad vincula usque ut maleficus, sed verbum

1 [a]εμπλεκω (ex εν et πλεκω plico) implico.

dei non est vinctum. Ideo omnia perfero ob electos ut etiam illi participes fiant salutis, quæ est in Chr: J, cum gloria æterna. Fidele est verbum, si enim una mortui sumus, etiam una vivemus, si permanemus etiam una regnabimus, si negamus, ille etiam nos negabit, si increduli sumus ille fidelis, neque enim potest non sibi ipsi constare (negare se ipsum.). Inculca hæc, attestans coram deo, ne verbis pugnent, ad nihil utile, ad subversionem audientium. Operam da, ut te ipsum præbeas deo exploratum (probatum) operatorem non erubescentem, recte
177 secantem verbum veritatis. Profana vero vaniloquia vita, magis enim provocant impietatem, et verbum eorum gangraenæ instar pastionem habebit (ulterius progredietur), quorum sunt Hymeneus et Philetus, qui de veritate aberrarunt, dicentes resurrectionem jam factam esse, et pervertunt nonnullorum fidem. Firmum tamen fundamentum dei stat, hoc sigillum habens "Cognovit Dominus, qui sunt ejus" et "decedat ab injuria quicunque invocat nomen domini" In magna vero domo non solum sunt instrumenta aurea et argentea, sed etiam lignea et fictilia et nonnulla in honorem alia ad in contumeliam. Si igitur quis se expurgaverit ab his, erit vas in honorem, sanctum, utile domino, ad omne bene factum paratum. Juveniles cupiditates fuge, sequere autem justitiam, fidem, amorem, pacem cum iis, qui in puro corde invocant dominum, vanas vero et insipientes disquisitiones fuge, sciens, eas certamina procreare, Servum domini non opportet pugnare, sed benignum adversus omnes, ad docendum aptum tolerantem malum, in benignitate instituens adversarios, si forte det deus illis recipi scientiam ad veritatem cognoscendam, ut expediant se ex laqueis diaboli, a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem—.

Cap. III

Hoc cognosce ultimis temporibus instatura tempora difficilia. Erunt enim homines sui amantes, avari, arrogantes, superbi, maledici, parentibus immorigeri, ingrati, impii, immisericordes, implacabiles, calumniatores, immoderati, immites, bonorum inimici, traditores, temerarii, magis libidinem quam deum amantes, habentes speciem pietatis, vim vero negantes, et hos fuge. Ex illis enim sunt, qui penetrant in domus et captivas ducunt mulierculas peccatis obrutas, variis cupiditatibus vexatas; semper discentes nunquam ad cognitionem veritatis pervenire possunt. Quomodo Jannes et Jambres restiterunt Mosi, ita hi resistunt veritati, homines mente corrupti, reprobi circa fidem Non tamen longe proficient, nam temeritas ipsorum aperta est, ut etiam illorum facta est. Tu autem secutus es me doctrina, institutione, proposito, fide, tolerantia, amore, patientia, persecutionibus afflictionibus, quales mihi evenerunt Antiochiæ, Iconio, Lystris. Tales persecutiones sustinui et ex

omnibus me eripuit dominus. Et omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Chr:, persecutiones subibunt. Mali homines vero et deceptores proficient in malum, decipientes et decepti. Tu vero mane in illis, quæ didicisti— sciens, a quo didiceris, teque a pueritia sacras litteras novisse, quæ possunt te sapientem reddere ad salutem per fidem, quæ est in Chr:. Omnis scriptura est divinitus inspirata et utilis ad doctrinam, ad refutationem, ad correctionem ad institutionem in justitia ut sit ille dei homo 178
perfectus ad omne bonum opus instructus.

Cap. IV.

Attestor igitur coram deo et domino nostro Jesu Chr:, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos secundum apparitionem suam et regnum suum, prædica verbum, insta tempestive et intempestive, refuta, objurga cohortare in omni patientia et doctrina. Erit enim tempus, quo sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, sed secundum suas cupiditates cumulabunt doctores, quoniam aures illis pruriunt[b] et a veritate auditum amovebunt et ad fabulas sese convertent. Tu vero in omnibus vigila mala patere, opus fac evangelistæ, munus tuum perfice. Ego enim jam exhaurior et tempus abitus mei instat. Bonam pugnam pugnavi, cursum perfeci, fidem servavi. Ceterum manet mihi justitiæ corona, quam dabit mihi dominus illo die, justus judex, non solum mihi, sed etiam omnibus, qui amaverunt apparitionem ejus.

1 [b]κνηθω (s. κναω, ησω) scalpo frico titillo—κνηθομαι pruritu laboro

Festina ad me venire. Demas enim me reliquit, amans hoc sæculum, et profectus est T. K. in G. T. in D. Lucas solus est mecum, Marcum assume, ut tecum adducas, est enim mihi ad ministerium utilis Tychicum misi Ephesum. Paenulam, quam Troade reliqui apud Carpum veniens adfer, et libros, maxime membranas. Alexander faber multa mihi mala attulit, det illi dominus pro operibus ejus., quem etiam tu observa, multum enim restitit nostris verbis. In prima defensione nemo mecum apparuit (nemo mihi affuit) sed omnes me deseruerunt (ne illis imputetur). Dominus vero adfuit mihi, et corroboravit me, ut per me præconium (confirmeretur) perficeretur. et audirent omnes gentiles, atque ereptus sum ex ore leonis, et eripiet me deus ex omni male facto, et servabit in regnum suum coeleste, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Saluta P. et A. et domum O. E. mansit K. T. reliqui Mileti ægrotum. Festina ad me ante hiemem venire. Salutat te E. et P. A. et K. Dominus J. Chr. cum sp. t: Gratia vobiscum.

8 **Ep: ad Titum.**

P. servus dei, apostolus J. X. (secundum fidem electorum et cognitionem veritatis, quæ ad pietatem ducit, in spe vitæ æternæ, quam nuntiavit deus verax ante tempora sæcularia et ostendit suis temporibus verbum suum, in præconio, quod mihi concreditum est secundum
179 ordinationem *salvatoris nostri dei*. v. 3) Tito genuino filio secundum communem fidem. Gratia et pax a deo patre et domino *nostro Jesu Chr:, servatore nostro* v. 4.

Ideo te in Creta reliqui ut, quæ deerant, (reliqua a me relicta) ordinares (ordines) et constitueres per urbem presbyteros, ut ego tibi præcepi. Si quis est inculpatus, unius uxoris vir, habens liberos fideles, non in accusatione lasciviæ (non infames ob lasciviam) aut immorigeros. Oportet enim episcopum esse inculpatum, ut dei ministrum, non arrogantem, non iracundum, non vinolentum, non furacem, non turpis lucri studiosum, sed hospitalem, bonorum amicum, temperantem, justum, sanctum, moderatum, amplectentem tenacem verbum secundum doctrinam fidele, ut possit et cohortari doctrina sana, et refutare contradicentes. Sunt enim multi inobedientes vana loquentes et mentem decipientes, maxime ex circumcisione, quibus opportet silentium imponere (quos opportet obmutescere facere) Qui totas domus pervertunt, docentes quæ non oportet turpis lucri causa. Dixit quis propheta proprius eorum: Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri. Testimonium hoc est verum, ideo refuta illos acriter, ut sanentur in fide, non attendentes fabulis Judaicis, et præceptis hominum, pervertentium veritatem. Omnia pura sunt puris; inquinatis vero et infidelibus nil purum sed inquinata est eorum et mens et conscientia. Deum profitentur se cognoscere, abnegant vero eum operibus, cum sint detestabiles et ad omne bene factum reprobi.—

Cap II

Tu vero loquere quæ decent sanæ doctrinæ, senes sobrios esse, honestos, temperantes, sanos fide, amore, patientia, anus similiter, in vestitu honestas (vestitus pium decens) non calumniatrices, non vino multo laborantes, boni magistras, ut juniores temperantiam doceant, ut sint illæ maritos amantes et liberos, temperantes sanctæ, domi assiduæ bonæ, obedientes suis maritis, ne verbum dei blasphemetur. Juniores item sapere jube, super omnia te præbens exemplar bonorum operum in doctrina sanitatem, gravitatem verbum sanum, quod accusari nequeat, ut adversarius pudefiat, nil pravi habens, quod de nobis dicat. Servi suis dominis obediant, in omnibus placere studentes, non contra dicentes, non defraudantes, sed ostendentes omnem bonam fidem, ut

doctrinam *salvatoris nostri dei* v. 10 honorent in omnibus. Apparuit enim gratia dei salutaris omnibus hominibus, instituens nos, ut abnegantes impietatem et mundanas cupiditates, temperanter, et juste et pie vivamus in hoc mundo, exspectantes beatam spem, et apparitionem gloriæ magni dei et *salvatoris nostri Jesu Chr* v. 13. qui dedit sese metipsum super nos ut redimeret nos ab omni injustitia et purificaret sibi populum peculiarem, bonorum operum studiosum. Hæc loquere et cohortare et argue cum omni auctoritate Ne quis te despiciat.

Cap III

Commone illis, ut subjiciant se principatibus et potestatibus, ut obediant, ut ad omne bene factum parati sint, ne cui maledicant, sint mites, faciles, omnem ostendant benignitatem adversus omnes homines. Eramus enim nos quoque aliquando inepti, immorigeri, vagantes, servientes variis cupiditatibus, in malitia et invidia ambulantes, abominandi, invicem odio prosequentes. Cum vero bonitas appareret et in homines amor *servatoris nostri dei* v. 4. non ex operibus, quæ sunt in justitia, quæ nos fecimus, sed secundum misericordiam suam servavit nos per lavacrum regenerationis, et renovationis sp. s., quem effudit super nos diviter, per *Jesum Chr: servatorem nostrum* v. 6, ut justificati gratia ejus hæredes fieremur secundum spem vitæ æternæ. Fidele est verbum, et volam ut quam maxime inculces, ut curent in bona opera incumbere qui fidem habeant deo. Hæc sunt bona et utilia hominibus. Vanas vero disquisitiones et genealogias et lites et controversias legales vita, sunt enim inutiles et vanæ. Hæreticum hominem post primam vel secundam admonitionem evita, sciens, talem eversum esse et peccare, a se ipso condemnatum.
Ubi misero Artemam v. Tychicum festina venire ad me Nicopolin. Ibi enim constitui hiemare. Senam legisperitum et Apollon studiose deduc, ne quid eis desit. Discant etiam vestri bonis operibus operam dare ad usus necessarios, ut ne sint sine fructu. Salutant te omnes qui sunt mecum. Saluta amantes vos in fide. Gratia vobiscum omnibus.

Ad Philemonem 9

Paulus vinctus Xst. J. et Timotheus frater Philemoni dilecto et cooperatori nostro, et Aphiæ dilectæ et Archippo, commilitoni nostro et ecclesiæ quæ est in domo tua. Gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino J. X.

Gratias ago semper deo meo, memoriam tui faciens in precibus meis, audiens dilectionem amorem tuam et fidem, quam habes adversus domi-

num Jesum et adversus omnes sanctos. Quomodo comunicatio tua fidei efficax sit in cognitione omnis boni, quod est in nobis in Xst. J. Magnam enim habemus lætitiam et consolationem amore tuo, quod viscera sanctorum recreata sunt per te, frater. Quare, quamvis magnam habeam tibi imperandi, quod opportet, in Chr: Jes. libertatem, ob amorem magis cohortor (rogo) cum talis sim, nempe Paulus senex et nunc etiam vinctus J. X., rogo te de filio meo, quem genui in vinculis meis, Onesimo, antea tibi inutili nunc et tibi et mihi utili, quem remisi. Tu vero illum h: e: viscera mea amplectere. Quem ego volui apud me retinere, ut pro te mihi ministret in vinculis evangelii. sine vero sententia tua nihil facere volui, ut ne quasi secundum necessitatem bonum tuum sit sed secundum libertatem. Fortasse enim ob hoc separatus est ad tempus, ut in æternum eum retineres, non ut servum, sed magis quam servum, fratrem dilectum maxime mihi, quanto magis tibi et in carne et in domino. Si igitur me amicum habes suscipe eum ut me, si qua in re te laesit, aut quid debet, id mihi imputa. Ego P. scripsi mea manu, ego restituam, ne dicam tibi te ipsum te mihi debere. Certe frater, velim a te juvari in domino, recrea viscera mea in Xst. persuasus de obedientia tua hoc scripsi, sciens te quoque facturum esse, de quo loquor. Simul etiam para mihi hospitium, spero enim fore ut ob vestras preces vobis doner. Salutat te Epaphras, commilito meus in X..

Ep. ad Hebræos.

Cap I

Multifariam et multis modis olim deus locutus est patribus per prophetas, ultimis vero diebus hisce allocutus est nobis in filio, quem hæredem omnium constituit, per quem etiam tempora constituit qui—quum esset imago (splendor) gloriæ (dei) perfectissima et character substantiæ ejus, portans omnia verbo potentiæ ejus—per se ipsum sanctificatione peccatorum nostrorum instituta, consedit ad dextram majestatis in coelo; tanto præstantior factus angelis, quanto præ illis excellentius hæreditavit nomen. Cui enim angelorum quondam dixit, "filius meus es, hodie te genui" et rursus "ego ero tibi in patrem, et ille erit mihi in filium" Ubi vero rursus introduxerit primogenitum in mundum, dicit: "et adorent eum omnes angeli dei." et ad angelos dicit "qui facit angelos suos spiritus, et ministros ignis flamam"; ad filium vero: thronus tuus, o deus, in sæculum sæculi; baculus rectus est baculus regni tui. Amavisti justitiam et odisti injustitiam, ideo unxit te deus, deus tuus unguento oleo lætitiæ præ illis, qui sunt fiunt tecum participes" Et "Tu domine ab initio terram fundasti, facta manuum tuarum sunt coela.

illa peribunt, tu vero permanes, et omnia ut vestimentum inveterascent, et ut amictum volves illa, et commutabuntur, tu autem es, neque te anni relinquent." Ad quem vero Angelorum dixit aliquando sede ad dextram meam, usque dum posuero inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum" Nonne omnes sunt spiritus ministrantes in ministerium emissi ob illos, qui salutem hæreditate accepturi sunt.—

Cap. II

Ideo oportet nos studiosius attendere auditis, ne forte excidamus[a] (salute promissa). Si enim verbum per angelos nuntiatum ratum factum est, et omnis transgressio et inobedientia accepit justam repensionem mercedis; quomodo nos effugiemus, tali neglecta salute? quæ ab initio ab ipso domino nuntiata (quæ cum initio coepisset enarari per D.), ab audientibus ad nos confirmata est, simul attestante deo signis et portentis et prodigiis variis, et sp. s. distributionibus secundum voluntatem suam. Neque enim angelis mundum futurum, de quo loquimur subjecit. Testatus est quis quondam his verbis: Quid est homo, quod recordaris illum, aut quid filius hominis, quod despicis (visitas) illum, inferiorem eum quid fecisti post angelos, gloria et honore eum coronasti (et præficiens eum super facta manuum tuarum) omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus. In enim subjiciendo ei omnia, nihil reliquit ei non subjectum. Nunc vero minime videmus ei omnia subjecta—illum vero parum angelis inferiorem factum videmus Jesum, per passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum, ut gratia dei super omnem gustaret mortem. decuit enim illum, ob quem omnia et per quem omnia, multos filios in gloriam ducentem, ducem salutis nostræ per afflictiones passiones consummare (perfectum facere servatorem) Nam sanctificans et santificati ex uno omnes; ideo eum non pudet vocare illos fratres dicens: "nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis in media ecclesia canam te" et rursus "ego ero confidens in illo" et rursus: "ecce ego et filii, quos mihi dedit deus." Cum igitur filios participes faceret carne et sanguine, et ipse 183
proxime particeps fuit illorum, ut per mortem aboleret illum, qui habet habuit vim mortis, id est diabolum; et liberaret illos, quotquot metu mortis per totam vitam participes erant servitutis. Neque enim omnino angelos amplectitur sed semen Davidis. Unde oportuit eum fratribus similem esse in omnibus, ut misericors esset et fidelis pontifex in iis, quæ sunt erga Deum, ut expiaret peccata populi. ex quo—quoniam (In quo) enim ipse, tentatus perpessus est, potest tentatis succurere.

Cap III

Unde fratres mihi dilecti, vocationis coelestis participes, observate apostolum et pontificem confessionis nostræ Jesum; qui fidelis ei fuit,

1 [a]παραρεω (quod tempora deducit ex formis inusitatis παραρυω, et παραρυεω.)

qui eum constituit (creavit) ut etiam Moses in tota domo ejus. Majore enim ille gloria præ Mose dignus habitus est, quo majorem habet honorem domus , qui paravit illam (Omnis enim domus ab aliquo paratur, omnia vero parans est deus.) Et Moses quidem fidelis fuit in tota domo, ut minister, ad testimonium dicendorum; Chr: vero ut filius super domum suam. Cujus domus nos sumus, si (libertatem) fiduciam et gloriationem fidei ad finem usque habeamus. Quare ut dicit sp. s. "hodie, si vocem ejus audiatis, ne obduretis corda vestra ut in exacerberatione, post diem tentationis in deserto, ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri; explorarunt me et viderunt facta mea quadraginta annos. Quare ira incensus sum adversus hanc generationem et dixi: semper vagantur corde. Ipsi vero non cognoverunt vias meas. Ita juravi pro ira mea: si ingressuri sint in requiem meam. Videte fratres, ne insit cui vestrum cor pravum incredulitatis, ut deficiat a deo vivente. Sed cohortamini vos invicem quotidie, quamdiu hodie dicitur, ne obduretur quis vestrum fraude peccati (omnes enim participes facti sumus Chr:, si fundamentum, quo initium fecimus ad finem usque firmum retineamus) in hoc quod dicitur "hodie si vocem ejus audieritis, ne obduretis corda vestra ut in exacerberatione." Nonnulli enim audientes exacerberarunt sed nonne omnes qui exierunt ex Ægypto per M.; quibus vero infensus fuit quadraginta annos nonne qui peccaverunt quorum ossa ceciderunt in deserto? Quos vero juravit non introituros in quietem suam nisi immorigeros? Atque videmus eos introire non posse ob incredulitatem.

184 Cap IV.

Metuamus igitur ne, relicta promissione introeundi in quietem ejus, qui reliquus factus esse videatur. Nam nos sumus evangelium adepti ut etiam illi, sed non profuit verbum auditum illis, cum non esset conjunctum cum fide in mente audientium. Introimus enim in requiem fidem habentes, ut dixit: ita juravi in ira mea, si introituri sint introibunt illi in requiem meam, quamvis opera ante creationem mundi facta. dixit enim alicubi sic de die septimo: et requievit d. die septimo ab omnibus operibus suis, et in hoc loco rursus "si introibunt in requiem meam." Quoniam igitur relinquitur nonnullis introire in illam et qui antea evangelium adepti sunt non introierunt ob inobedientiam. Rursus quem constituit diem Hodie, in Davide dicens, post tantum temporis spatium ut dictum est: hodie, si vocem meam audieritis, ne obduretis corda vestra. Si enim illos Jes. ad quietem duxit non de alio loquitur postea die. Igitur relictus est sabbatismus populo dei. Qui enim introivit in quietem ejus, et ille quievit ab operibus suis ut a suis deus. Festinemus igitur intrare in illam requiem, ne quis in eodem exemplo cadat inobedientiæ. Vivum est enim verbum dei, et efficax et—

penetrantius quam omnis gladius anceps et intrans ad divisionem usque animæ et corporis et pervestigans cogitationes et intentiones cordis, neque est ulla creatura invisibilis coram illo, contra omnia sunt nuda et resupinata occulis ejus, de quo sermo noster.

Cum igitur habeamus pontificem magnum qui coelos ingressus est, Jesum filium dei, retineamus confessiones Neque enim habemus pontificem, qui non possit consentire imbecillitati nostræ, tentatum in omnibus rebus ad similitudinem sine peccato. Accedamus igitur fiducia ad thronum gratiæ, ut accipiamus misericordiam, ut inveniamus gratiam in auxilium tempestivum.

Cap. V.

Omnis enim pontifex ex hominibus captus super homines proficitur rebus divinis ut proferat dona et victimas super peccata, qui potest ex parte pati cum inscientibus et errantibus, quoniam ipse undique premitur infirmitate, et ob eam oportet ut pro populo ita pro se ipso offerre pro peccatis. Neque sibi quis capit honorem sed vocatus a deo ut etiam Aron. Ita etiam Chr: non sese ipsum extulit pontificem sed qui locutus est ad eum "Tu es filius meus, hodie te creavi" ut etiam alio loco dicit "Tu es pontifex in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedeci". Qui in diebus carnis ipsius—precationes et supplicationes ad illum, qui eum ex morte potuit servare cum clamore magno et lacrimis proferens, exauditus ex timore—quamvis esset filius dei, didicit ex illis, quæ passus est obedientiam et perfectus factus est omnibus ei obedientibus auctor (causa) æternæ salutis, declaratus a deo pontifex secundum ordinem Melchisedeci. 185

De quo nobis est copiosus sermo et interpretatu difficilis, quoniam segnes facti estis auribus, et qui debetis esse doctores ob tempus, rursus opus habetis, ut quis vos doceat, quæ sunt principia initii verborum dei et facti estis indigentes lacte, non solido cibo. Quicunque enim fruitur lacte imperitus verbi justitiæ infans enim est. Perfectorum vero est solidus cibus, habentium, ex usu, sensus exercitatos ad distinctionem boni et mali.

Cap VI

Quare relicto sermone de principio X. feramur ad perfectionem, ne rursus fundamentum jacientes conversionis a mortuis factis, et fidei in deum, doctrinæ baptismatum, impositionis manuum, resurrectionis mortuorum, et judicii æterni. Etiam hoc faciemus si deus permiserit, imposibile enim est, qui semel illuminati fuerunt, gustaveruntque donum coeleste et participes facti sp. s., et bonum dei verbum gustaverunt, et vires sæculi futuri—deficientes rursus revocare ad (reno-

vari in) resipiscentiam, cruci affigentes sibi filium dei et ignominiæ exponentes. Terra enim bibens pluviam sæpe super se descendentem et proferens herbam utilem illis, ob quos etiam colitur, particeps fit benedictionis divinæ, proferens vero spinas et tribolos, reproba et condemnationi prope, cujus finis est ad combustionem—Persuasi vero sumus de vobis, dilecti, meliora et quæ habent salutem, tametsi ita loquimur. Neque enim injustus est deus, qui obliviscatur factum vestrum, et amorem, quem ostendistis in nomen ejus, cum administravistis et administratis sanctis. Desideramus autem unumquemque vestrum idem ostendere studium ad confirmationem spei ad finem usque ne segnes sitis, immitatores autem eorum, qui per fidem et patientiam promissiones hæreditate accipient. Abrahamo enim Deus promittens, quoniam per quem juraret majorem haberet neminem, per se juravit: certe benedicens benedicam tibi et multiplicans multiplicabo. et ita cum patienter spectasset particeps factus est promissionis Homines enim per majorem jurant et est illis omnis contradictionis finis ad confirmationem jusjurandum. Ideo cum deus vellet uberius ostendere hæ-
186 redibus promissionis immutabilem voluntatem suam, jusjurandum interposuit, (jurejurando spopondit) ut per duas res immutabiles, in quibus imposibile est deum mentiri, habeamus firmam consolationem, qui aufugimus ad amplectendam spem nobis propositam, quam ut ancoram animæ habemus tutam et firmam, et quæ introit in interiori pallam tabernaculi, quo præcursor super nos introiit Jesus, secundum ordinem M. pontifex factus in æternum.

Cap VII

Nam ille Melchisedecus, rex Salemi, sacerdos dei excelsi—qui obviam ivit Abrahamo redeunti ex labore regum et benedixit illi, cui etiam Abr: decimam partem omnium distribuit, primum quidem ex interpretatione dicitur: rex justitiæ, deinde rex Salemi h: e: rex pacis. 3) sine patre sine matre, sine generatione, neque initium dierum neque vitæ finem habens, similis factus filio dei; manet sacerdos in æternum. Videte qualis sit ille, cui etiam decimam dedit Ab. patriarcha ex manubiis. Et qui ex filiis Levi sacerdotium accipiunt, habent præceptum a populo decimas sumere secundum legem h: e: a fratribus suis, quamvis exierint illi ex lumbo Davidis; qui vero non natus fuit ab illis (non ab illis originem duxit) decimas cepit ab Ab:, et benedixit ei qui habuit promissiones. Sine vero omni controversia inferiori a superiore benedicitur. Et ibi quidem decimas capiunt homines mortales, ibi autem, de quo testatum est, eum vivere. Et si ita dicere licet per Abraham et Levi, qui decimas capit, decimatus est ipse, jam enim erat in lumbis patris, cum Melch. ei obviam factus est Si igitur perfectio per leviticum

sacerdotium (populus enim sub illo legem accepit) Quid opus est secundum ordinem Melchisedeci alium excitari sacerdotem nec secundum ordinem Aronis dici? (cum enim transferretur sacerdotium necesse est etiam, ut fiat translatio legis). de quo enim hæc dicuntur, ad aliam tribum pertinuit, ex qua nemo occupabatur in sacris faciendis. Apertum enim est, ex Juda dominum nostrum ortum esse, ad quam tribum Moses nihil de sacerdotio locutus est. Et amplius etiam apertum est, si secundum similitudinem M. excitatur sacerdos alius, qui non factus est secundum legem præcepti carnalis sed secundum vim vitæ quæ exstingui nequit. Testatur enim: Tu eris sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem M:. Abrogatio enim fit præcedentis præcepti, ob infirmitatem et inutilitatem ejus (nil enim perfecit lex) introductio vero melioris spei, per quam appropinquamus deo. Et non sine jurejurando (qui enim sunt sine jurejurando sunt sacerdotes qui antea fuerunt, ille vero cum jurejurando, propterea quod dixit illi: juravit d., neque eum poenitebit (neque mutabit sententiam suam) tu sacerdos eris in æternum secundum ordinem M:; tanto præstantioris foederis sponsor factus J. Et illi quidem plures facti fuerunt sacerdotes, morte vero prohibiti, quo minus permanerent. Ille vero, propterea quod manet in æternum, habet immutabile sacerdotium; unde etiam prorsus servare potest illos, qui per illum ad deum accedunt, semper vivens ad intercedendum pro illis. Talis enim nos decebat pontifex, sanctus, innocens, impollutus abalienatus a peccatoribus, et excelsior factus coelis. Qui non opus habet quotidie, ut pontifices, primum super propria peccata victimas proferre, deinde super p. populi, hoc enim semel fecit, quum proferret sese ipsum. Lex enim homines constituit pontifices, infirmitate laborantes, verbum vero jurisjurandi post legem, filium in æternum perfectum.

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Cap. VIII.

Summa vero dictorum, talem habemus pontificem, qui consedit ad dextram throni majestatis in coelis, sanctorum minister et tabernaculi veri, quod deus non homo fixit. Omnis enim pontifex ad dona proferenda constituitur, unde necessarium est eum habere, quod proferat. Si enim esset in terra, non esset pontifex, cum essent sacerdotes, qui secundum legem dona proferrent, qui exemplum et umbram colunt coelestium, ut vaticinio institutus est M. perfecturus tabernaculum "Vide, inquit, facias omnia secundum exemplum tibi in monte ostensum, nunc vero adeptus est præstantius ministerium, quanto etiam præstantioris foederis est mediator, quod sancitum est melioribus promissionibus. Si enim prius illud fuisset inculpatum non locus quæreretur alteri. Reprehendens enim illis dicit: Ecce dies venient, inquit D. et

perficiam super domum Israelis et super domum Judæ novum foedus, non secundum foedus, quod feci cum patribus eorum illo die, quo manus eorum comprehendens, ad educendos illos ex Ægypto, quod illi non manserunt in foedere meo et ego neglexi eos inquit d. Nam ipsum illud foedus, quod pangam cum domo I. post illos dies, inquit d, ponam leges meas in cogitatione eorum, et in cordibus inscribam illas. Atque ero illis deus, et illi erunt mihi in populum. Neque doceat quisque civem suum, et quisque fratrem suum dicens: cognosce dominum, nam scient omnes me a minimo usque ad maximum. Nam misericors ero injustitiis eorum et peccatorum eorum et iniquitatum non
188 amplius recordabor Ubi vero dicit novum, antiquavit prius, antiquatum vero et inveteratum, est prope, ut evanescat.

Cap. IX

Habebat quidem prius (sc: foedus) præcepta cultus, et sanctum terrestre. Tabernaculum enim primum compositum erat, in quo candelabra, et mensa et propositio panum,—quod dicitur sanctum. Deinde vero secundum tabernaculum, quod dicitur sanctum sanctorum habens aureum altare suffimenti et arcam foederis undique auro obvolutam, in qua urceus aureus continens manna et virga A. virescens, et plances tabulæ foederis, super illam vero Cherubim gloriæ, obumbrantes propitiatorium, de quibus singulis non nunc est dicere. Quibus ita comparatis, in tabernaculum prius semper introeunt pontifices, perficientes cultus, in posterum semel quotannis pontifex, non sine sanguine, quem profert pro suis et populi delictis, hoc indicante sp. sancto, nondum apertam esse viam sanctorum, cum adhuc prius tabernaculum consistat, quod erat similitudo in tempus nunc instans, quo oblationes et victimæ proferuntur, quæ non possunt quoad conscientiam perficere cultorem solum in cibis et potibus et variis baptismatibus, præcepta carnis, in tempus correctionis imposita. Chr: vero cum pervenisset, pontifex futurorum bonorum, per majus et perfectius tabernaculum manibus non factum (i: e: non hujus creationis) neque per sanguinem hircorum aut vitulorum, sed per sanguinem suum proprium introivit semel in sancta, inveniens redemtionem æternam. Si enim sanguis taurorum et hircorum et cinis vitulæ adspersa super pollutos purificat ad puritatem carnis, quanto magis sanguis Chr:, qui per sp. æt. sese ipsum immaculatum protulit deo, lustrabit conscientiam nostram ab mortuis factis ad serviendum deo viventi., et ideo foederis novi factus est mediator, ut, morte intercedente in redemtionem transgressionum in foedere priori, promissionem accipiant, vocati, hæreditatis æternæ Testamentum enim in mortuis ratum est, quoniam minime valet, quamdiu vivit testator. Quare etiam prius non sine sanguine con-

secratum est. Nam cum omnia præcepta prælecta essent secundum legem a Mose toti populo, cepit sanguinem hircorum et vitulorum, cum aqua et lana coccinea et hysopo et ipsum librum et totum populum adspersit, dicens: Hic est sanguis foederis, quod vobis præcepit mandavit deus. et tabernaculum et omnia instrumenta ministerii sanguine simul aspersit, et fere sanguine omnia purgantur secundum legem, et sine effusione sanguinis non fit remisio. Necesse igitur erat, ut exempla eorum, quæ sunt in coelis, illis purgari, ipsa vero coelestia melioribus victimis præ illis. Neque enim in manu facta santa introit X:, ad exemplar formata verorum, sed in ipsum coelum, ut nunc appareat faciei domini, neque ut se ipsum sæpius proferat, ut pontifex introit in sancta quotannis sanguine alieno (quoniam oportet illum sepe pati inde ab creatione mundi) nunc vero semel in consummatione temporum, ad peccatum destruendum per victimam suam apparuit. Et quatenus manet hominibus semel mori, et deinde judicium. Ita etiam Chr: semel oblatus ad multorum perferenda peccata, iterum sine peccato apparebit illis, qui eum exspectant in salutem. 189

Cap. X

Lex enim umbram habens futurorum bonorum non ipsam imaginem rerum, non potest victimis quas quotannis continenter (continue, semper) proferunt perficere accedentes. Alioqui annon cessassent proferre, quoniam cultores conscientiam nullam amplius peccatorum haberent , semel purgati? sed in illis fit recordatio peccatorum quotannis. Impossibile enim est ut sanguis taurorum et hircorum tollat peccata Quare mundum intrans, dicit "Victimam et oblationem noluisti, corpus vero mihi parasti; holocausta pro peccatis non probasti. Tum dixi: Ecce venio (in capite libri scriptum est de me) ut faciam, deus, voluntatem tuam. Antea dicens: Victimam et oblationem et holocausta super pro peccatis noluisti, neque probasti (quæ secundum legem proferuntur) tum dixit: Ecce venio, ut faciam deus voluntatem tuam." Tollit prius ut secundum constituat. In qua voluntate sanctificati sumus per oblationem corporis J: Chr. semel factam. Et quisque sacerdos stabat quotidie administrans, et easdem sæpe proferens victimas, quæ omnino non possunt tollere peccata, ille vero unam pro peccatis nostris proferens victimam in æternum, consedit ad dextram dei, ceterum exspectans, donec ponantur inimici ejus scabelum pedum suorum. Una enim oblatione perfecit in æternum sanctificandos. Attestatur etiam nobis sp. s. Cum enim hæc antea dicta essent: ipsum foedus, quod pangam cum illis post dies illos, dicit dominus: dabo leges meas in cordibus eorum, et in cogitationibus inscribam illas, et peccatorum eorum et injustitiæ ne

amplius recorder." Ubi vero horum remissio, non amplius est oblatio pro peccatis.—

Cum igitur habeamus, fratres, libertatem introeundi in sancta in sanguine J., qui initiavit nobis viam recentem et vivam per velum (i: e: per carnem ejus) et sacerdotem magnum super domum dei. Accedamus igitur cum vero corde in certitudine fidei, lustratis cordibus a mala conscientia, et abluto corpore aqua pura amplectamur confessionem fidei firmam inflexibilem (fidelis enim est promissor) et observemus nos invicem ad amorem incitandum et bona opera, non relinquentes coetum mutuum ut mos nonnullorum, sed cohortantes, et tanto magis, quod videtis instantem diem. Voluntarie enim nobis peccantibus postquam accepimus cognitionem veritatis, non relinquitur pro peccatis victima. Sed terribilis exspectatio judicii et ignis ardor, qui comessturus est adversarios. Si quis neglexerit legem M. sine misericordia duobus vel tribus testibus moritur, Quanto, putatis, graviore poena dignus habebitur ille, qui filium dei conculcaverit et sanguinem foederis communem habuit, in quo santificatus est, et sp. gratiæ superbe tractavit. Novimus enim, qui dicit: mihi ultio, ego retribuam" et rursus: dominus judicabit populum suum. Horribile est incidere in manus dei viventis. Recordamini dies antecedentes, in quibus illuminati magnum certamen afflictionum passi estis, partim opprobriis et afflictionibus (contumeliis et vexationibus) expositi, partim consortes facti eorum, qui ita vivunt. Et vinculis meis compassi estis et rapinam bonorum vestrorum sustinuistis, intelligentes, vos habere meliores opes in coelo manentes, ne rejiciatis igitur fiduciam vestram, quæ habet magnam mercedem. Patientia enim vobis opus est, ut voluntatem dei facientes, accipiatis promissionem. Adhuc enim parum parum, qui venturus est veniet neque cessabit. justus vero ex fide vivet, et si quis sese subduxerit, non oblectabitur anima mea in illo. Nos vero non sumus subtractionis in interitum, sed fidei ad animam servandam.

Cap XI

Est autem fides substantia sperandarum, demonstratio rerum, quæ non videntur. In illa enim comprobati sunt seniores. Fide intelligimus saecula parata esse verbo dei, ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent. Fide meliorem victimam præ Caino Abelus deo protulit, qua testimonium
191 justitiæ accepit, attestante deo donis ejus, et per ipsam mortuus adhuc loquitur. Fide Enochus transpositus est, ita, ut mortem non videret, neque inventus est, propterea quod deus eum translocavit. Ante enim translocationem testimonium editum erat, eum placuisse deo. sine vero fide impossibile est placere. Oportet enim, qui ad deum accedit credere eum esse et eundem remuneratorem illis, qui eum quærunt.

Fide institutus Noe de iis, quæ nondum apparuerunt, veritus apparavit arcam in salutem domus suæ, per quam condemnavit mundum, et hæres factus est justitiæ secundum fidem. Fide vocatus Abr: obedivit ut exiret in locum, quem accepturus erat in hæreditatem, et exivit, non intelligens, quo iret. Fide peregrinatus est in terram promissionis ut alienam, in tentoriis habitans, cum I. et J. cohæredibus promissionis ejusdem. Accepit enim urbem fundamenta habentem, cujus opifex deus et artifex. Fide et ipsa S. vim ad concipiendum (al: facultatem prolis faciendæ) accepit et præter tempus ætatis (peperit) quoniam fidelem habuit qui promiserat. Quare etiam ex uno et quidem effeto nati sunt ut sidera coeli multitudine, ut arena, quæ est ad litus maris— innumerabilis. Secundum fidem mortui sunt illi omnes, non accipientes promissiones, sed e longinquo videntes illas et salutantes et profitentes, sese in terra esse hospites et peregrinos. Talia enim docentes ostendunt, sese patriam quærere., et si illam cogitarent, e qua exierunt, habebant tempus redeundi Nunc vero meliorem expetunt, i: e: coelestem. Quare non eorum puduit deum, neque vocari deum eorum. Paravit enim illis urbem. Fide Abrah: protulit I. tentatus, etiam unigenitum proferre, qui promissiones acceperat, ad quem dictum est: In Isaco vocabitur tibi semen ratiocinans reputans, etiam ex mortuis deum enim posse resuscitare; unde etiam in discrimine recuperavit. Fide de futuris benedixit I. J. et E. Fide J. moriens unicuique filiorum J. benedixit; et adoravit ad ultimam partem virgæ suæ. Fide J. moriens de exitu Is. cogitavit et de ossibus suis præcepit. Fide M. natus tres menses occultabatur a parentibus, quia videbant puerum urbanum, neque metuebant jussum regis. Fide Moses magnus factus abnegavit, quo minus diceretur filius filiæ P., potius eligens, mala pati una cum populo dei, quam ad breve tempus durans oblectamentum carnis. Majores divitias Ægyptorum thesauris habens ignominiam Chr: Respexit enim repensionem mercedis. Fide reliquit Æ., non metuens iram regis, invisibilem enim ut videns sustinuit. Fide instituit festum paschale et profusionem sanguinis, ne trucidator primogenitorum tangeret illos. Fide transierunt mare rubrum ut per aridam. Cujus rei periculum faciens 192
Ægyptii absorpti sunt. Fide conciderunt muri J:, circumdata per septem dies. Fide R. adultera non una interiit cum immorigeris, accipiens speculatores in pace. Et quid ad huc dico? Tempus deficiet me disserentem de G., B. S. J. D. et S. et prophetis qui fide debellaverunt regna, operati sunt justitiam, adepti sunt promissiones, obturarunt ora leonum, exstinxerunt vim ignis, auffugerunt ora gladii, corroborati sunt ex infirmitate, firmi facti sunt in bello, in fugam conjecerunt aciem alienorum. Receperunt mulieres ex resurrectione mortuos suos, alii tympano adhibito mortui sunt, non accipientes redemtionem, ut melio-

rem resurrectionem adipiscerentur. Alii experti sunt ludibria flagella, etiam vincula et carceres, lapidibus obruti sunt, dissecati sunt, tentati sunt, occisione gladii mortui sunt, oberrabant in melotis, in pellibus hircinis, destituti, afflicti, mala perferentes (quibus mundus non dignus erat) in desertis vagantes et in montibus, et in speluncis et cavernis terræ. Et illi omnes testimonium consecuti per sp. s. non adepti sunt promissiones, deo melius quid super nos prospiciente, ne sine nobis perficerentur.

Cap XII.

Cum igitur habeamus tantam nobis circumjacentem nubem martyrum, omni mole objecta et peccato circumstante, per patientiam curramus in propositum nobis certamen; respicientes fidei nostræ principem et perfectorem J. X., qui pro proposita ei lætitia, sustinuit crucem, despiciens ignominiam; ad dextram vero dei consedit. Ac reputate qui sit ille, qui talem a peccatoribus adversus se contradictionem passus est, ut ne fatigemini animis vestris, soluti.

Nondum ad sanguinem usque resistitis adversus peccatum pugnantes, et obliti estis consolationis, quæ vobis ut filiis alloquitur: Fili mi ne despicias disciplinam dei, neve animum despondeas ab illo reprehensus, quem enim dominus amat, castigat, flagellat omnem filium, quem suscipit. Si disciplinam perfertis ut filiis vobis deus offertur, quis enim est filius, quem non castigavit pater? Si vero estis sine disciplina, cujus omnes participes sunt, spurii estis non filii. Si igitur patres nostros secundum carnem habuimus magistros castigatores, et reveriti sumus, non multo magis nos subjiciemus patri spirituum et vivemus. Illi enim ad breve temporis spatium, prouti placet illis, castigant, ille vero in utilitatem nostram, ut adipiscamur sanctitatem ejus. Omnis vero disciplina ad præsens non videtur esse lætitiæ sed tristitiæ, postea vero fructum pacificum justitiæ dat per illam exercitatis. Quare relaxatas manus et soluta genua erigite, et vias rectas facite pedibus vestris, ut ne claudum magis detorqueatur sed sanetur potius. in Pacem cum omnibus incumbite et sanctitatem, sine qua nemo deum est visurus. spectantes ne quis deficiat a gratia dei, ne qua radix amaritudinis sursum se producens perturbet, et illa multi polluantur. ne quis scortator aut profanus ut E., qui pro uno edulio vendidit primogenituram suam. Scitote enim, eum postea voluisse hæreditate accipere benedictionem, repudiatus autem est, resipiscentiæ enim locum non invenit, quamvis lacrymis quæsivit illam. Non enim accessistis ad montem a deo palpatum et ignem incensum, caliginem et tenebras et procellam, et sonum tubæ, et sonitum verborum, quæ qui audiebant deprecabantur, ne adderetur verbum illis (neque enim portaverunt mandatum: si bestia attigerit

montem lapidibus obruetur. et tam horribile erat visum M. dixit., terrore perculsus sum et tremefactus, sed accessistis ad montem Sionem, et urbem dei viventis, Hierosolymam coelestem, et myriadas, et angelorum coetum, et ecc. primogenitorum, qui conscripti sunt in coelis, ad judicem deum omnium, et sp. justorum mortuorum, et mediatorem novi foederis J. et sanguinem aspersum, melius loquentem præ Abelis, Videte ne deprecemini loquentem Si enim illi non effugerunt, qui deprecati in terra vaticinantem, quanto magis nos repudiantes illum de coelo. Cujus vox terram commovit olim, nunc vero annuntiavit dicens: Adhuc semel et commovebo non terram sed etiam coelum. Hoc vero, semel, significat transpositionem mutatorum, ut factorum, ut maneant quæ commoveri nequeunt. Quare regnum quod commoveri nequit, accipientes habeamus gratiam, per quam placeamus illi cum verecundia et metu.

Cap. XIII

Amor fraternus maneat. Hospitalitatis ne obliviscamini, ob illam enim nonnulli inscii angelos hospitio acceperunt. Recordamini vinctos ut una vincti, mala perferentes, ut qui et ipsi in corpore estis. honestum sit matrimonium in omnibus et torus impollutus, adulteros et scortatores judicabit deus. Ne avara sit vivendi ratio, contenti præsentibus iis (quæ adsunt); ipse enim dixit: non te deseram neque te derelinquam, ita ut vos bono animo dicere possitis: Dominus est mihi auxilium, non metuam, quid mecum facturus est homo. Cogitate præfectos vestros qui vobis nuntiarunt verbum dei, quorum exitum vitæ intuentes, immitamini fidem. J. X. heri et hodie idem et in æternum. Variis doctrinis et peregrinis ne circumducamini, bonum enim est cor gratia confirmari, non 194
cibis, e quibus auxilium non redundat illis, qui in iis ambulati sunt. Habemus altare, inde comedere non licet in tabernaculo administrantibus. Eorum enim animantium, quorum sanguis super peccata a pontifice in sancta inducitur, eorum corpora comburuntur extra castra. Quare etiam J, ut suo proprio sanguine sanctificaret populum extra portam passus est. Exeamus igitur ad illum extra castra, ignominiam ejus perferentes. Neque enim habemus hic urbem manentem sed futuram quærimus. Proferamus igitur semper victimam cantationis deo, id est fructum labiorum, confitentium nomen ejus. Bene vero facere et communicare ne obliviscamini, tales enim hostiæ placent deo. Obedite præfectis vestris et cedite. Illi enim vigilant super animos vestros, prout rationem reddituri, ut lætitia hoc faciant, non gementes, hoc enim vobis inutile est Orate super nos, persuasi enim sumus, nos habere bonam conscientiam, in omnibus bene vivere volentes. Magis autem vos hortor ut id faciatis, quo celerius vobis restituar.

Deus vero pacis, qui eduxit ex mortuis pastorem ovium magnum in sanguine foederis æterni, dominum nostrum J, paret vos in omni bene facto, ut faciatis voluntatem ejus, efficiens in vobis, quod placet coram illo, per J. X. cui gloria in saecula saeculorum.

Cohortor vos fratres, ut amplectamini verbum consolationis, brevibus enim ad vos scripsi Scitote fratrem T. solutum esse, quocum, si celerius venerit, videbo vos. Salutate omnes præfectos vestros et omnes sanctos. Salutant vos, qui sunt ex I. Gratia cum vobis omnibus.

11 E. Jacobi

Cap. I

Jacobus dei et domini J. Chr: servus duodecim tribubus, quæ sunt in dispersione, salutem. Omnem lætitiam habete, fratres mei, ubi in tentationes varias incideritis, scientes, virtutem fidei vestræ efficere patientiam; patientia vero bonum opus habeat, ut perfecti sitis et integri, in nulla re derelicti. Quod Si quis vestrum careat sapientia, roget a deo qui dat omnibus simpliciter, neque erubescere facit, et dabitur illi. Roget vero in fide non hæsitans. Qui enim hæsitat est similis undæ aquæ a vento commotæ et flando excitatæ. Ne credat ille vir se quid a domino esse accepturum. Vir duplex et inconstans in omnibus viis suis. Glorietur vero frater humilis in excelsitate sua, dives vero, in humilitate sua, nam ut flos herbæ præteribit. Oritur enim sol cum aestu, et arefecit herbam et decidit flos ejus, et pulchritudo vultus ejus perdita est. 195 Ita etiam dives in viis suis flaccescet. Beatus homo, qui sustinet tentationem, nam probatus factus accipiet coronam vitæ, quam promisit deus illis, qui amant ipsum. Ne quis tentatus dicat: a deo tentor, deus enim a malis tentari nequit, ipse vero neminem tentat. Quisque vero tentatur, a suis cupiditatibus abreptus et deceptus. Mox enim cupiditas concipiens procreat peccatum, peccatum vero perfectum procreat mortem. Ne erretis fratres mei dilecti. Omnis donatio bona et omne donum perfectum superne desuper descendit a patre lucis, apud quem non est mutatio aut umbra vicissitudinis. Volens genuit[a] vos verbo veritatis, ut sitis primitiæ quædam eorum, quæ sunt ab illo creata. Ita fratres mei dilecti, sit quisque homo celer ad audiendum tardus ad loquendum tardus ad iram. Ira enim viri justitiam dei non operatur. Quare deponentes omnem turpitudinem et abundantiam malitiæ cum benignitate accipite sermonem insitum, qui animas vestras potest servare.

Estote operatores verbi non solum auditores, vos ipsos decipientes. Nam si quis est auditor verbi non operator ille similis est viro, qui observavit faciem nativitatis suæ in speculo. Consideravit enim sese ip-

[a] αποκυεω 1

[b]παρακυπτω

sum, et abiit, et mox oblitus est, qualis esset. Qui vero incumbit[b] in legem perfectam libertatis et in illa permanet, ille non est factus auditor oblivionis obliviosus, sed operator verbi, ille beatus erit in operibus suis. Si quis vero statuit sese probum esse, neque cohibet ⌜compescit⌝[c] linguam suam, sed defraudans decipiens cor suum, vana est illius cultura (religio). Purus vero et impollutus cultus coram deo et patre, hic est, visere pupillos et viduas in afflictionibus suis, sese ipsum immaculatum a mundo servare.

[c]χαλινος

Cap II

Fratres mei dilecti ne fidem d. J. Chr: ex gloria habeatis in ratione personarum. Si enim introiverit in synagogam vestram vir opulentus in vestimento fulgente, introiverit pauper in vestimento sordido, et inspexeritis in illum, qui portat vestimentum fulgens et dixeritis Tu sede hic quæso, et pauperi dixeritis sta ibi aut sede hic sub scabellum meum.

Audite fr. d., nonne deus elegit pauperes mundi, divites in fide et hæredes regni, quod promisit illis, qui amant eum, vos vero despexistis pauperem. Nonne divites dominium in vos exercent, et vos ad tribunalia trahunt? Nonne illi maledicunt bono nomini, quod vobis inditum est. Certe si legem perficitis regiam, secundum scripturam: diliges vicinum ut te ipsum, bene facitis, si vero rationem habetis personarum, injustitiam operatis, ut transgressores a lege arguti. Qui enim totam legem servet servavit, in uno vero offendat, reus factus est omnium. Qui 196
enim dixit ne stuprum comittas, idem dixit ne fures, si vero, non stuprum commisisti, furasti autem, factus es transgressor legis, ita loquimini et ita facite ut qui secundum legem libertatis judicandi sunt. Judicium enim immisericors illi, qui non facit misericordiam, Misericordia adversus deum se jactat.

Quæ est utilitas, fr., si quis dicat sese habere fidem, opera vero non habeat? num potest fides eum servare? Si frater aut soror fuerint nudi et eguerint cibo quotidiano, et dixerit qui vestrum illis: Abite in pace, calescite et satiamini, non vero dederitis illis necessaria corporis, quæ utilitas? Ita etiam fides, nisi habeat opera, mortua est per se, sed dixerit quis: Tu fidem habes et ego bona opera, ostende mihi fidem sine operibus tuis et ego ostendam tibi fidem meam ex operibus meis. Tu credis, deum unum esse, recte facis et dæmones credunt et perhorrescunt (contremescunt). Vis cognoscere o homo vane, fidem mortuam esse sine operibus. Abr. pater noster nonne ex operibus justificatus est cum proferret I. f. in altare. Vides fidem cooperari factis ejus et ex factis fides perfecta est et impleta est scriptura, quæ dicit: Credidit Abr. deo et

imputatum est ei in justitiam" et amicus dei vocatus est. Videte ex operibus hominem justificari non ex fide sola. Simili modo nonne R. adultera ex operibus justificata est, accipiens qui emissi erant nuntios, et alia via ejiciens. Ut corpus sine sp. mortuum, ita fides sine operibus mortua.

Cap III

Ne multi doctores sitis, intelligentes, gravius illos judicium accepturos. in Multis enim offendimus omnes. Si quis in verbo non offendit ille est perfectus homo, qui potest compescere totum corpus. Ecce equis frena in ora injicimus, ut obediant nobis, et ita totum corpus circumagimus. Ecce naves, quum tantæ sint et a ventis vehementibus agitatæ ducuntur minimo gubernaculo, ubi intentio dirigentis voluerit. Ita etiam lingua parvum membrum est et sese jactat. Ecce exiguus ignis quantam silvam incendit! Et lingua ignis mundus injustitiæ. Ita lingua constituta est in nostris membris inquinans totum corpus, inflamans rotam nativitatis et inflamata a Gehenna. Omnis enim natura bestiarum ferarum et volucrium et reptilium, et eorum, quæ sunt in mari a natura humana domatur et domita est. Linguam vero nemo hominum potest domare, malum, quod coerceri nequit, plena veneno mortifero. Illa
197 benedicimus deo et patri, illa exsecramur homines ad similitudinem dei factos. Ex eodem ore exeunt benedictio et maledictio Non opportet, fratres mei, hæc ita fieri. Num fons ex eodem foramine emittit dulce et amarum? Num potest, fratres mei, ficus oleas proferre aut vitis ficus; ita neque aqua salsa facere dulcem . Quis est sapiens et intelligens inter vos? ostendat ex bona vivendi ratione facta sua in mansuetudine sapientiæ. Si vero studium acerbum habetis et contentionem in corde vestro, ne vos jactetis et mentiamini adversus veritatem. Non est illa sapientia desuper descendens sed terrestris, sensualis, dæmoniaca. Ubi enim studium et contentio ibi seditio et omnis res mala Superna vero sapientia primum est sancta, deinde pacifica, facilis, obsequiosa, plena misericordia et bonis operibus, sincera, insuffocata, Fructus justitiæ seritur illis, qui pacem faciunt.

Cap. IV.

Unde bella et certamina inter vos? Nonne inde, ex cupiditatibus vestris in membris vestris pugnantibus? Affectamini concupiscitis, non potestis. Interficitis et intenditis, et non potestis adipisci, pugnatis et certatis, non habetis propterea quod non rogatis. Rogatis nec accipitis, propterea quod male rogatis, ut in cupiditatibus vestris impensas facere possitis. Adulteri et adulteræ, nonne scitis amorem mundi esse odium dei. Qui igitur voluerit esse amicus mundi, inimicus dei factus est. Aut putatis scripturam vane loqui "Num Invidiam desiderat sp., qui inha-

bitat in vobis". Majorem dat gratiam Quare dicit: deus superbis restitit, humilibus vero dat gratiam. Subjicite igitur vos deo, resistite diabolo, et fugiet a vobis. Accedite ad dominum, et appropinquabit ad vos. Purgate manus, peccatores, et sanctificate corda duplici animo. Affligimini et lugete et plorate. Risus vester in luctum commutetur et lætitia Humiles estote coram deo et eriget vos. Ne obtrectetis invicem, fr., qui obtrectat fratrem et condemnat, obtrectat legem et judicat legem, si vero legem judicas non es operator legis sed judex. Unus legislator et judex, qui servare potest et perdere, tu quis es, qui judices alterum.

Age nunc qui dicitis hodie et cras ibimus in hanc vel illam urbem, et commorabimur ibi annum et negotium agemus et lucrum faciemus. Qui nescitis cras (qualis est enim vita vestra, vapor ad breve temporis sp. apparens deinde evanescens Quin dicere debeatis.

1 [d]κατηφεια (κατηφης demissus, moestus ex κατω et τα φαη vultus facies.) moeror tristitia

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12 At the moment people are afraid of nothing so much as the total bankruptcy which seems to threaten Europe, and they thus forget the much more dangerous and apparently inevitable spiritual bankruptcy with which we are confronted. It is a linguistic confusion which is far more dangerous than the consequences of the symbolic attempt of the Tower of Babel, far more dangerous than the confusion of nations and dialects which resulted from the medieval attempt at Babel: indeed, it is a confusion in the languages themselves—the most dangerous of rebellions, namely the rebellion of words which have been torn loose from human control and rush upon one another in desperation, as it were. And out of this chaos a person reaches into a sort of grab bag, taking hold of words randomly in order to express his supposed thoughts.[1] It is in vain that prominent individuals attempt to coin new concepts and put them in circulation. It is no use. They are only used for a moment—and in any case not by many people—and thus they merely contribute to making the confusion even worse. Because it seems that this age has been dominated by one idea, and it is this: to go beyond one's predecessor. If the past can be accused of a certain lazy self-satisfaction in having enjoyed what it possessed, it would really be a sin to accuse the present age of this (the minuet of the past and the galop of the present). In a curious delusion one person continually shouts that he has got past another, just as when philosophically minded people from Copenhagen go out to the Deer Park "in order to have a look"—without remembering that in so doing they themselves become the objects for other people who also have of course merely gone out there to have a look. In this manner one continually sees one person leapfrog over another "on the basis of the immanent negativity of the concept," as I heard a Hegelian say the other day while he shook my hand and gave himself a running start in order to leap.—When I see someone rush through the streets in a great hurry I am sure that he will call over to me in triumph: "I have got

[1]) One speaks by association of ideas (the egoism of words).

beyond." Unfortunately I did not hear who it was (because what I recount here is an actual event, but I will omit the name so that 199
everyone can insert whatever name he pleases).[2] If older critics have been criticized for a crablike walk in which they constantly sought an earlier writer whom they could use as a pattern in order to find fault with a more recent writer, it would be a sin to blame the present age for this. Because now, at the moment a critic sits down to write, the author who is supposed to furnish the ideal has scarcely yet come into existence, and the publisher who is supposed to rush the critic's work through the press beholds with amazement not the critique but a counter-critique of the not-yet-written critique.[3] Most systems and views also date from yesterday, and one comes to a result as easily as one falls in love in a novel in which it is written that "to see her was to love her."[4] And by a strange coincidence philosophy has acquired a long historical tail which stretches from Descartes to Hegel. In comparison with the time which philosophy has consumed since the beginning of the world, however, this tail is merely miniscule, indeed almost comparable with the tail which natural scientists attribute to human beings. But when one observes how necessary it has become in recent years to preface every philosophical work with the sentence "There once was a man named Descartes," one is easily tempted to make comparisons with the well-known custom of monks. But even if individual gifted men could more or less save themselves, the situation looks all the more

[2]) Just as there are certain people who smooth out every little wrinkle in a sheet of paper with an instinctive vigor, so are there people who blurt out a name as soon as they hear it.

[3]) [appears to have been added later]
As a result of this haste, the generation is also lacking in any real substance. Despite its efforts, it becomes a sort of Schattenspiel an der Wand and thus becomes a myth itself. Indeed, it does not even become a critique, as Görres correctly notes (cf. *Chr. Mystik,* 1st part, foreword, p. vii bottom; the location must be cited). In the end theater becomes actuality and actuality becomes comedy.

[4]) [appears to have been added later]
Thus with most people the statement that suicide is cowardice is absolutely nothing other than leaping past a stage: these clever and proud characters who never knew that it took courage to do it! Because only someone who has had the courage to commit suicide, only he can say that it would have been cowardly to have done so.

dangerous for those who have to live on others. These people, you see, must grab hold of the terminologies which float past them at the highest speed, and as a result their expressions become so motley and varied, a sort of linguistic corsage, that—just as with the French language in which a foreigner can easily come to speak a double entendre—they can often say the same thing over and over again throughout an entire book, just by using various expressions from various systems. For this reason a situation[5] now arose which has much in common with the well-known debate between the Catholic and the Protestant who each convinced the other, because the utterly vague and indefinite meanings of words permit people to convince one another with ease. But in this wild chase of ideas it is nonetheless very interesting to observe the happy moment at which such a new system comes to power.[6] Now everything is set in motion, and the main thing presumably is to popularize the system. It seizes hold of everyone per systema influxus physici. It is well known how Kant was treated in his day, and therefore I need only point out the infinite number of encyclopedias, brief summaries, popularized versions, presentations for the general public, etc. And have not recent times also treated Hegel in this manner—Hegel, whose rigorousness of form certainly makes him, of all the modern philosophers, the one who most commands silence? Is there any foolish way in which the logical triad has not been invoked? And therefore I was not surprised when my shoemaker figured out that it could also be applied to the development of the boot. Thus he noted that the dialectic, which is always the first stage in life, makes itself heard even here, however insignificantly it might seem, with that squeaking which has surely not escaped the profound research of some psychologist. Unity, on the other hand, only comes about later—and in this respect *his* boots were vastly superior to all others, which were usually destroyed in the dialectic—a unity which attained its highest form in the pair of boots which Charles XII wore during his famous ride. And since as an orthodox shoemaker he began with the thesis that the immediate (feet without boots, boots without feet) was a pure abstraction, he incorporated it instead as

[5]) which in conjunction with rough and ready Danish outspokenness has made polemics as useless as they are cloying.

[6]) This will presumably end with the necessity of putting philosophy on the auction block. At the moment there do not actually seem to be any buyers.

the first stage of the development. And now our modern politicians! By adopting Hegel they have truly given a striking example of how one can serve two masters, for their efforts at revolution were coupled with the point of view which is the antidote for precisely these sorts of efforts, an excellent means of dispelling some of the 201
illusion which is necessary in order for their fantasy-laden efforts to prosper. And the reality of this phenomenon cannot be denied if one remembers that the phrase "immediate unity" occurs just as unfailingly in every scholarly treatise as a brunette and a blonde turn up in every tolerably well-appointed romantic household. Then, at the 10
happy moment, everyone received a holy scripture—which, however, contained only one book which was almost always very short and sometimes almost invisible, and this was, alas, the Acts of the Apostles. And it is very remarkable that an age which certainly trumpets its social endeavors is ashamed of the monks and nuns of 15
the Middle Ages, despite the fact that (to speak only of our own native land) *right here* this very age has formed a society which seems to include the entire kingdom, a society in which a speaker begins by saying "Dear Brothers and Sisters." How remarkable to see *them* find fault with the Jesuitism of the Middle Ages when it is 20
precisely the liberal movement which, like every one-sided enthusiasm, has led—and must lead—to Jesuitism. And now Christianity—how has it been treated? I entirely share your disapproval of the fact that every Christian concept has been made so nebulous, so utterly dissolved in the fog, that it is impossible to 25
recognize it. It has pleased the philosophers to assign quite different common definitions to the concepts of faith, incarnation, tradition, inspiration, which in Christianity refer to a definite historical fact. In this way faith has become immediate consciousness, which is fundamentally nothing other than the vital fluid of the mental life, its 30
atmosphere. Tradition has become the totality of a certain experience of the world, while inspiration has become nothing but the result of God's breathing the spirit of life into man, and incarnation has become nothing other than the presence of one or another idea in one or more individuals.—And I still have not even mentioned 35
the concept which has not only been made nebulous like the others but has indeed been profaned: the concept of redemption. This is a concept which journalism has adopted with a special preference and has applied to everyone, from the greatest hero of liberty all the way down to the baker or butcher who redeems his neighborhood 40
by selling his wares a tiny bit cheaper than others. And now what can be done about this? It would undeniably be best if we could get

the bellringers of the age to be quiet for a while. But since it is unlikely that we will succeed in this, then at the least we should join in with our finance experts and cry out to them: cuts, vigorous and thoroughgoing budget cuts! Because it naturally will do no good to
202 outbid one's predecessors as did the novelist who (in his anger over the supposition that a girl in a novel whose entire face blushes demonstrates a lack of decency) swore that every girl who appeared in *his* novels would blush far down her back. Instead of joining the novelist in an effort of this sort, we would rather point out some-
10 thing more gratifying: instead of swearing, to return to the straightforward assertion.—Furthermore we would wish that men who have put on their whole armor might come forward and regain for words the power and meaning they have lost, just as Luther regained the concept of faith for his age. Because the mark of the
15 invention which so typifies these times, the rapid printing press, can be detected everywhere, even in the curious reflectiveness the times have embraced, which has the effect of so limiting what the times can express that nothing ever really gets said. And this curious verbosity has also suppressed pithy proverbs and sayings which
20 save so much time and talk and has instead encouraged the emergence of a sort of oratorical chatter which indeed has even taken over our dinner conversations. Only after instituting these economies and after the return of language's prodigal sons can we hope for better times. And, to return to your letter, in this connection it
25 seems to me that Grundtvig's attempt to revive the ancient language of the church and to argue for his theory of the Living Word really has its merits, although I must not fail to remind you that just as we call sloppy writing "hack work," we also have an especially apt word to designate mixed-up talk: "hot air." So despite Pastor
30 Grundtvig's insistence that the written word is null and void—despite the fact that, by a strange irony of fate, these theories of his have been confirmed by a governmental court order declaring his (written) words null and void—despite this, I think I would dare to maintain that speech can accomplish more than the written word.

* *
*

13 I have had grief since I last wrote you. One of the signs by which you will perceive this is the black sealing wax which I have had to use—despite the fact that I generally abhor this sort of external indicator—since nothing else is to be had in our grieving family. Yes, my brother is dead. But curiously enough I am not really griev-

ing over *him*, but on the contrary I am dominated by my grief over my other brother, who died many years ago. In general I notice that my grief is not momentary but increases over time, and I am certain that if I get old some day I will be properly able to contemplate the 203
deceased, though not (as it says in the rhetoric of consolation) by finding joy in the prospect that I will meet them in the beyond, but in order genuinely to feel that I have lost them. Now, as for my deceased brother, I am quite certain that grief will only really awaken after a long time has passed.—In the first moment so many absurd circumstances arise that it is impossible for me to refrain from laughter. Here is an example. Today my brother-in-law the business agent (I have mentioned him previously and when the occasion arises I will describe him in more detail) came over in order to console his sister. With the thin, oddly grating voice, which is such a first-rate parody of the gentlemanliness he tries to impose upon his persona, he exclaimed: "Yes! Was ist der Mensch?" "A clarinet," I replied, whereupon he really fell out of his role and tried to elaborate for me the notion that a true gentleman does not have a voice like a bear but is sonorous and well-sounding. And during the entire speech he continually stood in front of the mirror and smoothed his hair or yanked out the hairs that had become a little gray or that too much called to mind their original color—red. Incidentally, on his dressing table he has a special instrument for this purpose, a pair of tweezers, and I really think that in speaking of the hairs on his head one can truly say what the gospel says of the hairs on all heads: that every one is numbered. Then the undertaker entered in order to find out whether we wanted anything else to be served along with the ham, sausages, and Dutch cheese, and he offered to take care of all necessary arrangements. My brother-in-law the business agent said he did not want this because he believed it would be good if his sister, profoundly burdened with grief as she was, had something to think about so as to forget the emptiness and silence with which she had been beset since the loss of her "sainted husband." (It is frightful how quickly people learn to say this, meaning "the husband who, because he is sainted, no longer needs me and whom I, therefore, naturally no longer need." I always notice how quickly people begin saying "my sainted husband, my sainted wife." The same thing happens in the analogous situation: the quicker a woman speaks of using the rod, the less seemly the behavior. For this reason it will probably also be noted that when, as one of those pearls of wisdom that they impart to every child, people ask children the question "What must the child have?" they

begin by having the child respond "Smack-smack." It is with such unfortunate reflections as these that the child's earliest and yet probably most innocent times begin—and nonetheless people say there is no such thing as original sin!)

Because it was moving-day just then, he advised her to move to a
204 new place, the sooner the better, in order "to get away from the sad memories." Yes, really "to get away from the sad memories!" This fits in nicely with the declaration in the Adresseavisen: "that one has lost everything."—No, in truth, for the person who has lost everything it is precisely these memories that are treasured and bring joy, because he can indeed never live as happily as he did in the past. There is one thing which you can be pretty certain most people will lose on such occasions, and that is their memory.—I will pass over the intervening days. Now comes the day of the funeral. Great quantities of the aforementioned cheese, sausages, and ham are passed around. There is no shortage of various wines and cakes. You do not see anyone eat or drink anything, alas, the grief is so great! Here the rule from the "proper etiquette" book—that no one should begin to eat or drink before the others—is actually and literally put into practice. God help us if it were fulfilled just as literally at every meal! Formerly on such occasions people were reminded by a natural association of ideas of the true saying that "without food and ale the hero is nothing," and therefore they held a wake. But look what it has come to nowadays: the gravedigger has a beer. So the undertakers, pallbearers, gravediggers, etc.—these are the people who eat for all of us. On such occasions I always get a frightful appetite, and despite good manners I start eating first—regardless, as well, of the fact that no one follows my example.

[appears to have been added later]

On the day of her wedding anniversary a letter arrived from her brother; he was a captain in the Brazilian military. It was handed to her, and since we all were eager to hear from him, I read it aloud:

"Dear sister! I will not speak of what he meant to you. You yourself surely feel it all too well. I will only say that despite the fact that I see 100 people die every day here, and despite the fact that I truly believe that death is of course everyone's fate, I also feel that I have had only one brother-in-law just as you surely also feel that he was your first and last love.

Your brother. $\frac{+}{1}$

Postscript.

Excuse the brief reply. You have probably had to put up with enough long-winded chatter, and I have just been ordered into battle

and must be off.—Farewell and remember that the brevity of time was only the apparent polar elevation—and thank God it lasted as long as it did; whatever the apparent elevation is, that is the quotient of the actual elevation.

Your—."

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2 Dec. **14**

I will not talk to the world any more, period. I will try to forget that I have ever done so. I read about a man who lay in bed for fifty years and never spoke to anyone, and just like Queen Gudrun, after having quarrelled with O., I will go to bed after having quarrelled with the world. Or I will flee to a place where no one knows or can understand my language, nor I theirs, a place where—like a Kaspar Hauser the Second—I can stand without really knowing how I got there, right in the middle of a street in Nuremberg.

It is really unfortunate that as soon as you work something out, **15** you yourself are that thing. I recently told you about an idea for a Faust, and now I am beginning to feel that *it was myself* that I described. Scarcely do I read or think about an illness before I myself have it.

Every time I want to say something, there is someone who says it at that very moment. It is as though I were a doublethinker, and my alter ego continually anticipates me. Or when I stand and talk everybody thinks it is someone else, so that I can rightly ask the question that the bookseller Soldin asked of his wife: "Rebecca, is that me talking?"—I want to run out of the world, not into a monastery—I still have my strength—but in order to find myself (that is what every fool says), in order to forget myself; nor will I go where the wandering stream / in the meadow is seen.—I don't know whether this poem has been written by some poet, but I would wish that an uncompromising irony would compel some sentimental poet to write it, though in such a way that he himself always read something else. Or Echo—yes, Echo, you Grand Master of Irony!, you, who parody within yourself the most sublime and profound thing in the world—the Word which created the world—when you give only the tag end, not the fullness. Yes, Echo, avenge all the sentimental nonsense which conceals itself in the forests and

meadows, in the church and the theater, and which breaks out *there* now and then, drowning out everything for me. I do not hear the trees in the forest telling old legends and such. No, *to me* they whisper all the nonsense to which they have been witness for so long, *to me* they plead in the name of God to be cut down in order to be freed from these nature worshipers who spout nonsense.—Yes, would that all these drivel-heads sat upon a single neck, then, like Caligula, I would know what to do. I see that you are already becoming afraid that I will end up on the scaffold. No, look: *that* is
206 where the drivel-head (I mean the one which includes them all) certainly wants to put me, but you have forgotten that no harm is done to the world. Yes, Echo—you, whom I once heard chastise a nature worshiper when he exclaimed: "Listen yonder, the lonely flute notes of an amorous nightingale," and you replied "Crazy." Yes, avenge, avenge yourself, *Thou* art the man!—

No, I won't leave the world. I will enter a madhouse and see if the profundity of madness will solve the riddle of life for me. O, what a fool, that I haven't done it long ago, that I haven't long ago understood the significance of the fact that the Indians honor the insane by stepping aside for them. Yes, into the madhouse—don't you think I could get in there?

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16 —It is really fortunate that language has a number of expressions for nonsense and chatter. If it didn't I would go mad, because what else would it prove other than that everything people say is nonsense? It is fortunate that language is so cultivated in this respect, so that one can still hope to hear some reasonable talk once in a while.

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17 When a hero loses his life for an idea, it is called a tragedy. What madness! (Thus I praise the Christians who called the death-days of the martyrs their birthdays, because for them the former brought to mind the joyful notions generally associated with the latter.)—No, a misunderstanding! On the contrary, I grieve when a child is born, and I wish: "O God, grant at least that the child not live long enough to be confirmed!" I weep when I see or read *Erasmus Montanus*. He is right and he is defeated by *the crowd*. Yes, *there*'s the rub. When every glutton who has gotten himself confirmed is entitled to vote, when things are decided by a majority of votes—doesn't one then

get defeated by the crowd, by the meatheads?—Yes, the Titans, weren't they also defeated by the crowd? And yet—and this is the only consolation remaining!—once in a while they terrify the Hottentots who tramp over them, by inhaling and then exhaling a fiery sigh, not in order to gain sympathy—no, please, no condolences—but in order to terrify.

I want——no, I don't want anything at all. Amen!

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18 And when, at twentieth remove and even more, you encounter an idea which sprang alive and fresh out of the brow of an individual—how much truth is left? At best you find yourself agreeing with the proverb: "Still, it does taste of fowl," said the old woman when she had made soup out of a twig on which a crow had perched.

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19 This is the road we all must travel—over the Bridge of Sighs into eternity.

*

20 It is these little annoyances which do so much to spoil life. I can gladly labor against a storm, so that I am ready to burst a blood vessel, but the wind which blows a bit of dust into my eye can make me so angry that I stamp my foot.

These little annoyances—as when someone wishes to do a great deed, a major work, something decisive for his life and for the lives of many others, and then a gadfly lands on his nose.

*

21 One thought succeeds another. No sooner is it thought and I want to write it down, than there is a new one: hold onto it, seize it, madness, insanity!

*

22 We used to want to make people into fractional beings; now we transform them into an abstraction. Each looks exactly like the other ("bluff, emotional, enthusiastic Danes"), and now it has become

easy for a Wehmaler to come forth and paint Hungarian and Danish national faces, portraits which are painted before seeing the individual. The whole business is of course a matter of coming up with each national face, just as we have a national costume.

*

23 I really hate these half-learned robbers. When I am at a social gathering, how often I have taken pains to sit down to talk with
208 some old spinster who lives to tell family stories, listening with the greatest seriousness to everything she can prattle about.

*

24 I prefer to talk with old ladies who retail family nonsense; next with the insane—and last of all with very reasonable people.

209
25

Something about Hamann.

Precisely in our times—when it is a generally acknowledged intellectual principle that what matters is living for one's time and that the abstract immortality in which people used to rejoice was an illusion—it is really interesting, precisely in these times, to see that there is something after all in the notion of living for posterity and of being misunderstood by one's times. We constantly move between these two extremes: while some stand alone in the world making countless supple gestures like a Simeon Stylites, or at most flapping their wings like tame geese, admired (or rather gawked at) by the bored crowd, ridiculed by the philistines, served by angels—there are on the other hand infinitely many who really do live in the present age, who are so to speak the piano keys of the body politic, touched off by the least movement without being able to persist in any definite impression. They are like those patients who always get a slight case of whatever illness is going around: they are a class of people so numerous that a sort of spiritual ventriloquism has established itself in the entire society. You hear a confused sound. You hardly know whether it is you yourself or someone else who is speaking and are easily tempted to say, as Soldin said: "Rebecca, is that me talking?" Now, to live in the times and die in the times in *that* fashion is not a particularly cheerful prospect, but there is not much else left for the majority of people who have pawned their reason for the sake of the slogan: "Live with your times." This was surely not the intention of the various great men who first expressed that view of things, but this is precisely the misfortune: that as soon as a reasonable man opens his mouth there are millions of people ready in the greatest haste—to misunderstand him. Yes, God help them if in military fashion He were to hear the password repeated to Him from the last man. (There is a password which God whispered in Adam's ear, which each generation must pass on to the next, and which will be required of them on Judgment Day.) God help him, it would be frightful!

So much with respect to that misunderstanding, and I hope furthermore that it will be abundantly evident that every man who in the real sense is to fulfill an historical epoch must always begin polemically, precisely because a subsequent stage is not the pure and simple consequence of what has gone before. Wasn't this the case with Holberg? with Goethe? with Kant, etc. etc.? And mustn't it

necessarily be the case that just as with a procession—which is precisely the new, which is to come—it is preceded by men with staffs, who make way? Naturally, here things depend in turn upon how quickly that which is new follows upon the polemical—whether it is the truth, which must be defended for years and days, or only one or another insignificant modification.

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26 How unfortunate are we human beings, and how few the things which secure us lasting and substantial enjoyment. I had hoped that by now my persistence would enable me to come into "possession of the maiden."—O, excellent Holberg! How gratifying it is to see a phrasemonger like S. T. Mr. Leander parody himself with a single phrase, his substantial enjoyments, his "possession of the maiden!"

JOURNAL DD

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1 Carl Rosenkranz (Bauer, *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*, Zweites Bandes erstes Heft), p. 1, declares as a historical-religious judgment: Gott ist Gott, meaning of course Judaism, whose abstract monotheism allowed nothing but tautological predications of God. This seems to me also indirectly expressed in the fact that the Jews never dared utter their עדוני. Just as the statement "Gott ist Gott" is an indication of the parallelism so characteristic of the Jews, so this parallelism had inversely to lead, in its wider application, to the statement "Gott ist Gott."
Cf.

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2 There is a highly speculative and, re: Daub's philosophical view, extremely interesting remark in the 3rd volume of Bauer's journal, p. 127. He has prior to this discussed the relationship between the natural and the historical sense, and shown the first to be a condition of the second, but now he explains how the individual can freely subordinate the second to the first (thereby history or freedom to nature, *completely*) or the first to the second (and thereby freedom over nature, in part), and adduces more precisely the consequence of subordinating the historical to the natural, saying that the subject thereby comes upon the idea: an dem Vergangenen sei das anschaulich-Gewesene das Unvergängliche, am Gewesenen das Naturliche das Unverwesliche (das also nicht wie doch der Apostel lehrt "verweslich gesäet wird, und unverweslich auferstehe" sondern, indem es selbst das an sich Unverwesliche sei, nur bis zu seiner Wiederveranschaulichung den Schein des Verweslichen habe)."

29 May 37

[a]the abstract polytheism on the other hand is to be found in the Jews' plural "Elohim," without any either collective or distributive predicate.

[a]Gen 3:22 מִמֶּנּוּ אֶחָד, the plural in its connection with the singular points here to the plurality's absolute unity. (Cf. Göschel.)

[b]Monotheism always conceals itself in polytheism, though not for that reason hovering everywhere above it as in an abstract [a] possibility, as with the Greeks ("the unknown god")

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[c]Cf. Daub in the same journal, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 135: "Es ist nicht der Eine, als ein drei-zeitiger Gott, oder: als der, welcher (erstens) ist, der er (zweitens) war, und (drittens) seyn wird, der er ist (wie ihn das Judenthum, dem Geschichts-Glauben den jenseits-geschichtlichen unterordnend, und mit solcher Unterordnung sich selbst corrumpirend, knechtisch verehrte), etc."—

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3 Hamann could become a good representative of the humorous direction in Xnty (more about this on another occasion), though in his case developed in a one-sidedly humorous way, a nec. consequence (a) of the humor intrinsic to Xnty as such, and (b) of the individual's isolation due to the Reformation, something that did not become evident in Catholicism, which, having a church, could set itself up against "the world," although in its pure concept as church it was probably less able to be disposed to do so, and in any case could not carry humor to an omni-oppositional and thus rather barren point, stripped at least of all luxuriant vegetation and only sparsely overgrown with dwarf-birch. (Even if this wasn't the case with Hamann, the reason must be sought in his profound temperament and great genius, which gained in depth as it was reduced in breadth—(and H. found real delight in offering his knowledge-greedy contemporary plate-lickers his narrow-necked flask—but can just the same very well represent the true core of this position), and (c) of his own naturally humorous disposition. Thus one can truthfully say that Hamann emerges as the greatest humorist in Xnty (i.e., as the greatest humorist in the life-view that is itself the most humorous world-historical view of life, the greatest humorist in the world).

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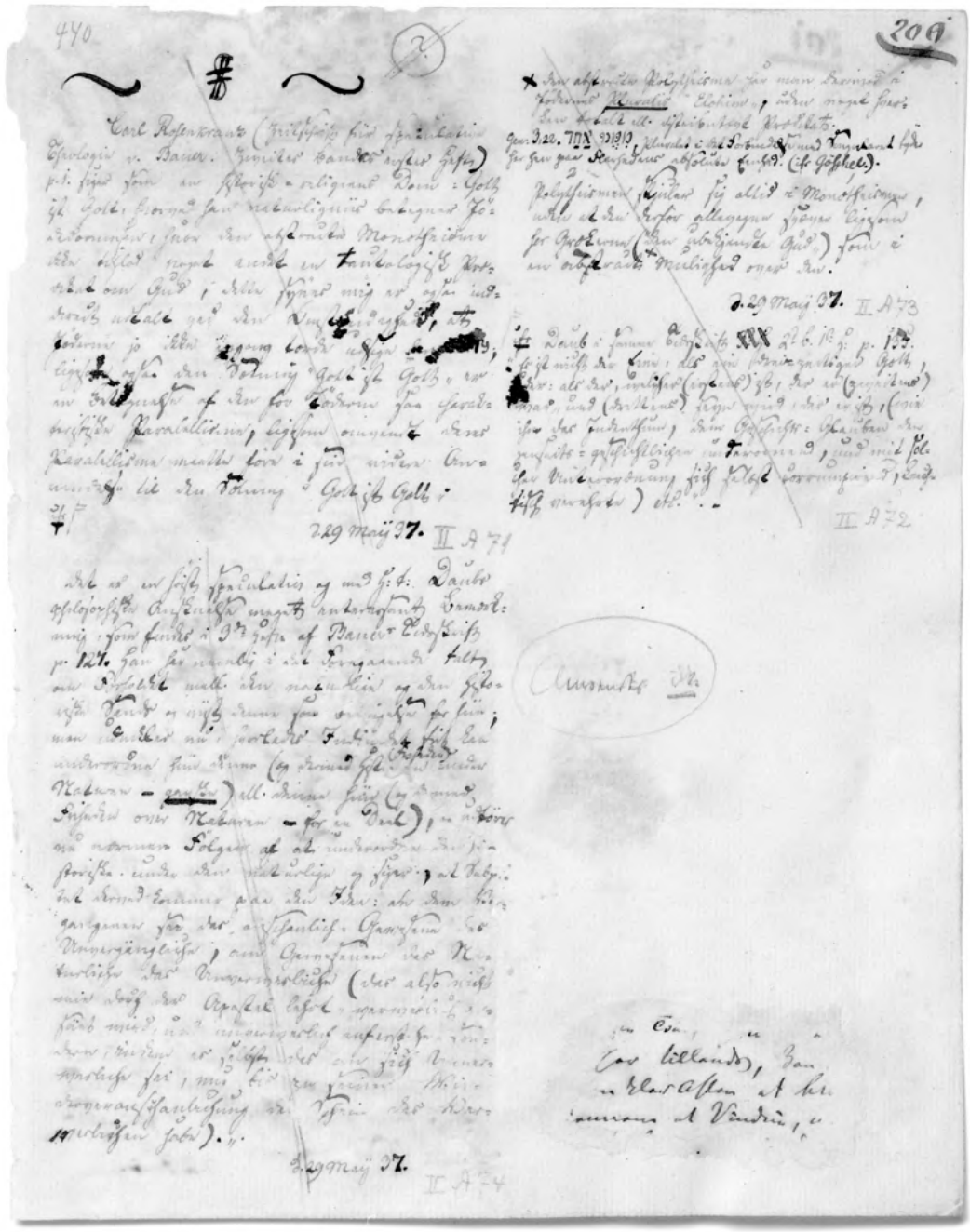
4 Acknowledgment of the Reformation's negative aspect and the *possibility* of the parties that have separated from the mother church returning to same (without having to come back as prodigal sons) is expressed, although somewhat schüchtern, by their not having had the courage to do what Catholics do to them—declare them heretics—by their not having had the courage to carry to their conclusion the premises which they have historically given themselves and which they think well of *as such*.

2 June



Journal DD : 1–2

[a]I see that Daub in his now-published lectures on anthropology quite briefly makes a similar observation on why the anc. didn't have humor. Cf. p. 482 n:

17 April 38

[b]How far humor is present in Xt's own utterances, e.g.: Consider the lilies of the field—yet I say unto you even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these; you have revealed these things to the blind, the poor in spirit; Martha, Martha. All of these are utterances which, with a touch of polemic added, would all be humorous but in Xt's mouth are reconciling. Also the saying: There is more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over 100 who do **not** need repentance (how too the irony comes out here [a]). It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.

[a]because the meaning can never be that there was a single righteous person who didn't need repentance. The same meaning is seriously expressed in the words: Let him who is without sin be the one to cast the first stone.

[c]and the concept of revelation can very well include the concept of the hidden, just as the word "door" is used to denote that one doesn't come back שַׁעֲרֵי־מָוֶת death's door.—

14 May 39

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If one doesn't strictly uphold the relationship betw. philosophy (the purely human view of the world—the *humanistic* standpoint) and Xnty but, without looking into it all that deeply, immediately begins speculating on dogma, it is easy to arrive at what look like satisfying, rich results. But what it all comes to can also be just as it once was with marl when, without making any investigation of it or of the soil, it was used on any plant at all—for some years they got luxuriant crops but then the earth was found to be barren. **5**

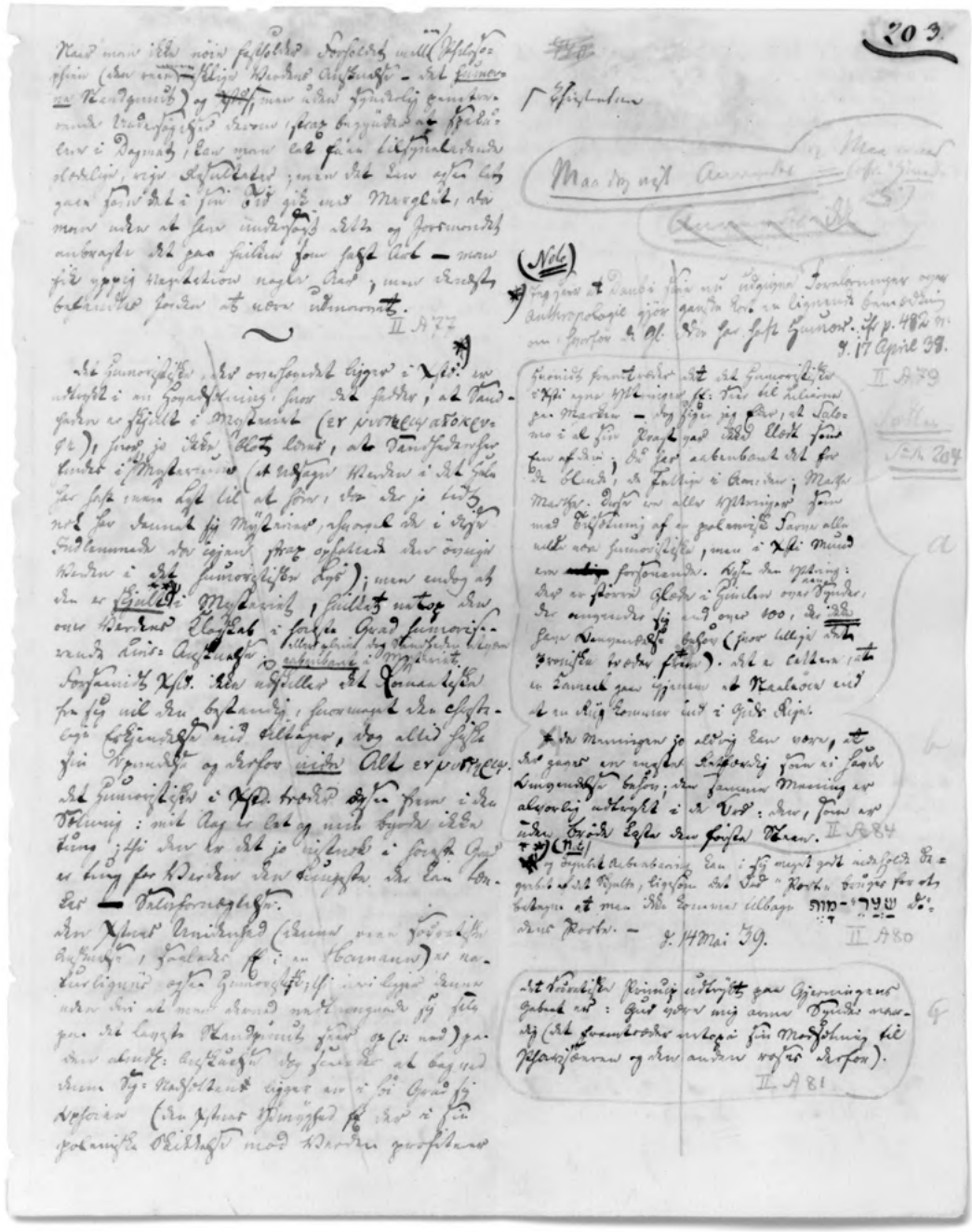
~

The humorous, which is implicit in general in Xnty.[a] is expressed in a fundamental principle which says that the truth is hidden in the mystery (εν μυστηριῳ αποκρυφη), which teaches not just that the truth is found here in a mystery (an assertion which the world on the whole has been more willing to hear since mysteries have arisen often enough in spite of the fact that those initiated into these mysteries promptly apprehended the rest of the world in a humorous light), but even that it is *hidden*[c] in the mystery, which makes it precisely the life-view that sees the most humor in worldly wisdom; otherwise, the truth is usually *revealed* in the mystery. **6**

Insofar as Xnty does not separate out the Romantic element from itself, no matter how much Christian knowledge increases, it will still always remember its origin and therefore *know* everything εν μυστηριῳ.

The humorous element in Xnty appears also in the statement: My yoke is easy and my burden is not heavy, for it is doubtless extremely heavy for the world, the heaviest that can be imagined—self-denial.

The ignorance of the Xn (this purely Socratic view, as, e.g., in a Hamann) is, of course also humorous, for what does it amount to other than thus forcing oneself down to the lowest position and looking up (i.e., 218



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[d] the Socratic principle expressed in the realm of deeds is: God be merciful to me a sinner (this presents itself precisely in its contrast to the Pharisee, and the other man is praised for it).

[e] Another feature re: the humor in Xnty is that in the Middle Ages parody developed within Xnty itself (see how superbly it is sketched in Walter Scott's *der Abbt*, Stuttgart 1828; pt II, pp. 40f.: der Narrenpapst, der Kinderbischof, der Abt der Unvernunft, where also it is conceived poetically, since here it occurs in order to mock Catholicism, as a well-deserved nemesis). This is a raw observation and must be digested in an essay.

[f] Because of the cross, they forget the profound remark that the cross is the star's element.

g and it is also the road Xnty has always taken through the world, between two thieves (for that's what we all are); only one of them was penitent and said that he suffered the punishment he deserved.—

[a] an attempted ascension, but no one ascends into heaven except the one who descended from heaven.

[b] It is therefore also very interesting to see the Mohammedans in a curiously ironical manner bearing the coat of arms which so appropriately characterizes their relationship to Xnty—the moon, which borrows

down) at the common view, yet in such a way that behind this self-degradation lies a high degree of self-elevation (the humility of the Xn, e.g., which in its polemical form against the world makes profession of its own wretchedness, while on the other hand, in its normal form, it involves a noble pride (the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist) or in its abnormal form a haughty isolation from the ordinary course of events (the historical nexus). Thus the miracle, too, plays a big primary role in this view of life, not because of the power thus gained for Xnty, but because all the most profound ideas of the sages become (in this view) as nothing compared with Balaam's prophesying donkey. So the less significant the miracle, if I may thus put it, or the less it has to do with historical development, yes, even to the point that this view, so to speak, tempts God—that is to say, wanting a miracle done only to disconcert professors of physics—the more pleased it is; indeed, this view would rejoice most of all over the changing of wine into water at Cana. Yes, when it rejoices over the miracle of Xt's resurrection, this is not the true joy of Easter, but far more the amusement at the expense of the Pharisees and their soldiers and their big stone in front of the tomb. That's why this view is so ready to dwell on the crib, on the rags in which the child was wrapped, upon the crucifixion between *two thieves*.g

3 June 37

No prophet, no historian could come up with a more apt expression for Mohammedanism than the one it has given itself in the suspension of its sacred tomb between two magnets, that is, between the divine which has not become hum. (incarnation) and the hum. which has not become divine ("brothers and coheirs in Xt"). It isn't individualized polytheism, nor is it concretized monotheism (Jehovah), but abstract monotheism— "God is one"—where it is precisely the number that must be affirmed, not as with that of the Jewish to some

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extent unpredicated, yet still more concretized: "I am who I am." It is not incarnation (Messiah), not merely prophet (like Moses), for there were many prophets among the Jews with no difference in power, if in degree; but Mohammed claimed a specific priority (approximating an incarnation, but, of course, like everything in Mohammedanism, stopping halfway).

3 June 37

8 What do the words in Gen 3:22 really mean: "Behold, Adam has become like one of us, etc.," which Erdmann (Bauer's *Journal*, II, part I, p. 205) uses to further justify his speculative view that, looked at from one side, the fall of man is a step forward?

9 That pantheism amounts to a moment in religion that is surmounted, is its foundation, seems now to be acknowledged, and thereby also the error in Schleiermacher's definition of religion as remaining in pantheism, in that he makes that moment of extra-temporal fusion of the universal and the finite into religion.—

10 *Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie, von Karl Rosenkranz.*

(Bauer's *Journal* 2nd vol. no. 1, pp. 132).

He shows that if the shapes of the different religions are reduced to the simplest expression, 3 judgments can be constructed.

(1) der Mensch ist Gott
(2) Gott ist Gott
(3) Gott ist Mensch.

The first is of course ethnicism; it does not posit unity as the sich vermittelnde, but as immed., and forgets
220 where a vermittelnde process has occurred—the one in the result. It is an assertoric judgment. Thus in pagan religions the Zauberer are themselves the power to which the elemental powers submit. In the *Indian* religion it is the *brahmin*, or whoever raises himself by penitence to being immed. one with God (thus the its light from the sun. (From a slip of paper dated 5 Jan. 37, which I found in my drawer.)

[c]In the words, "I am who I am," the personal eternal consciousness already comes to the fore and so doesn't develop a fatalism as with the cold "unity." Just as these words, "I am who I am," are also an excellent answer to unseasonable questions.

[a]cf. 1 Jn 3:2, where likeness is the outcome.

lack of any necessity of his Erscheinung's being congruent with his essence—just as, in another direction, the Catholic clergy); in the *Buddhist* religion the *lama* is God immedtly. In *dualistic* religions man is precisely, as the intermediate being, that which realizes that process; the two powers need him for their completion. Here, instead of abstract quietism, emerges the interaction betw. the positive and the negative substance; hence (1) the heroic; (2) the tragic (since action is the main thing, but death puts a limit on it). With the *Greeks* it was the *religion of art*, or the beautiful individuality. With the greater emphasis on individual freedom, the heroic and the tragic come more to the fore (Heracles), but then switch over to the opposite. The hero, who makes himself God in action, has his opposite in the atheist, who through the dialectic of thought denies the gods; the tragedy in the comic, which makes the contingent individuality into the absolute (Aristophanes). The *Romans*. Hegel describes their religiousness as "Ernsthaftigkeit." The R. resorted to madness, in the Roman emperor who made himself God: Er hat nicht, wie der chinesische Keiser, seinem Willen eine bestimmte Richtung zu geben; er lebt nicht, wie ein Lama, in einem monchischen Quietismus; er ist kein Held wie Rostem; er ist kein Künstler, der wie ein Phidias, Skopas Götterideale schafft und dadurch sich endlich als die Macht der Religion erfahrt; durch den Titel, durch den Namen weiß er sich als die unbedingte Macht. Diese Apotheose ist die Carricatur der hellenischen Apotheose, die immer als Resultat erscheint.

Monotheism. Emerges historically in *Judaism* and *Mohammedanism*, and, standing more alone, *Deism*. Judaism develops in the first books of Moses, where God appears more in his omnipotence as lawgiver (Moses 221
steps completely into the background); then in Job the detached individuality appears in a kind of opposition to God, and in the Psalms finds peace in the thought that God is after all God the Almighty, against whom man must not strive. Mohammedanism develops a caricature; God's omnipotence becomes arbitrariness, and his guidance becomes fatalism. Deism basi-

cally reverses the relationship, for while monotheism as such assumes that God is God and therefore man is man, it assumes that man is man and therefore God is God (as a necessary accessory to realizing man's deserved bliss).

Xianity. Paganism was poetic, monotheism prosaic; the former consummated itself in madness; only by means of the numerous distinctively limited individualities could a unity in essence emerge, but where substance overwhelms the particular limitation, giving rise thereby to the ugly and the unnatural. Suetonius's Vitae Imperatorum provides examples of this. Hegel: "Sich so als den Inbegriff aller wirklichen Mächte wissend, ist dieser Herr der Welt das ungeheure Selbstbewußtsein, das sich als den wirklichen Gott weiß, undem er aber nur das formale Selbst ist, das sie nicht zu bändigen vermag, ist seine Bewegung und Selbstgenuß die eben so ungeheure Ausschweifung." Xnty is the negative identity of the two judgments in monotheism which, as separate, only refer to each other, but also the abrogation of paganism's immediate assertoric judgment. Monotheism's judgment is categorical. Paganism's judgment becomes problematic and monotheism's hypothetical. Xnty's judgment is apodictic, since it contains the disjunction of the div. and the human in concrete unity. Weil Gott an sich Mensch ist so wird er es auch. It is not like the incarnations in Indian pantheism, all of which bear the stamp of contingency, as much in respect of their form as in their conclusion. But neither is it a human becoming, as if God needed man in order to come to consciousness. Xnty therefore contains the most glorious life-view.

Das tragische der Kunstreligion war der Schmerz des unbegriffenen Todes, der den Genuß der schönen Heiterkeit zwar nicht negirte, wie in Ægypten, aber unangenem störte. Das Traurige im Monotheismus war die Last des Gesetzes, welches der Mensch zwar als das des heiligen Gottes, aber nicht als sein eignes anerkannte. Selbst die Autonomie der theoretischen und Autokratie der praktischen Vernunft im Deismus ist nur eine secundäre.

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8 June 37

[a]But it was also said before man was created; it was said on the 6th day, as if to suggest that something more than "good" came.

Can't the odd remark: "No one is good but God,"[a] be seen in this connection, namely as being apart from Xt, as what Hegelians would call pure being?

23 June 37

[a]Therefore the N. T. also talks of all God's deeds being good (where the differentiations are still undeveloped) and of God perfecting *the good deed* in us (Phil 1:6).

11 November 38

11

When God had created the whole world he looked upon it and: Indeed, it was very *good*,[a] when Xt died on the cross the word was "It is *finished*."

9 June 37

12

The poverty (regarding its ability to awaken any conviction) of the miraculous in itself (thus making it in fact a contradiction, sit venia verbo), apart from its being for speculation alone an objective (gegenständliche) manifestation of eternal freedom under conditions it has given itself (time and space), is expressed in the words, "If they do not hear Moses and the prophets (and in a deeper sense Xt), neither will they be convinced if someone should rise from the dead." For they have simply pushed the question further away. For when told such a fact, they would either accept it as true, but then it would be superstition, or they would be indifferent; or accept it after having it completely proved—but then hardly as a miracle?, unless they would annul the concept the very moment it is predicated of the actual case.

Daub (in Bauer's *Journal*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 103) quite rightly observes that unbelief as well as doubt would be very well served by getting involved in a proof of the truth of biblical miracles: "Bei dieser Forderung jedoch ist in der Geschichte *die Freiheit*—denn das gewisse und wahre Factum soll, damit das Wunder zu glauben stehe, ein durch dieses auf *nothwendige* Weise bedingtes sein, und in der Natur die *Nothwendigkeit* ignorirt, denn das Wunder, eine *freie* That soll als wäre 223
es eine *Natur* Begebenheit gesehen—es soll erlebt
werden; die bei der Himmelfahrt des Weltheilands Gegenwärtigen *sahen nur*, daß er sich von der Erde entfernte, nicht aber die unbedingte Freiheit, sie, die Macht seiner Entfernung. Die Wahrheit, welche dieses Wunder ist, verwirklichte sich, und hat ihre Wirklichkeit in der *Macht*, nicht aber im vergänglichen und vergangnen *Anblick* dieser Bewegung. Der Zweifler also und der Unglaubige beweisen selbst so lange beide von jener Forderung eines auf dem Standpunkte der Geschichte oder der Natur, für die Wahrheit der Wun-

der zu führenden Beweises nicht ablassen: daß in ihnen bedingte Freiheit sich entweder unter das Gesetz der Causalität, wie in einer *pragmatisirenden* Geschichts-, oder, wie in einer *blos empirischen* Naturkunde, unter die Sinnlichkeit die ihnen mit der Thierheit gemein ist gestellt habe." …

12 June 37

13 Surely it's true what Daub says (Bauer's jour), that X's 3 statements contain his whole life story (Knew you not that I had to be about my father's business; I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work; It is finished). Yet one must also not forget 3 others: He grew and waxed strong in spirit filled with wisdom Lk 2:40; He is tempted; My God, why hast thou forsaken me?

16 June 37

14 Romans 8:19 talks about αποκαραδοκια της κτισεως, to which there correspond some poetic glimmerings in the legends e.g. about mermaids redeemed by human love, about gnomes, etc. (F. de la Motte Fouqué, Hoffmann, Ingemann, as reproducing the old legends, the other side of which is that these spirits could plunge people into ruination.)

26 June 37

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15 The legends found among various peoples also call to mind their most distinguished men, their heroes—also those words in Gen (You shall bruise its head when it wounds your heel), seeing these heroes were only vulnerable in the heel (Krishna, Hercules, Balder).

26 June 37

16 The Middle Ages, being romantic, grasped only one side of eternity—the vanishing of time (cf. poems from the Mid. Ages: many examples—the seven sleepers of Ephesus, etc.), not like the Jews who grasped

the other side, time's inwardness in eternity. The Mid. Ages can no doubt say 1000 years are as 1 day; but not 1 day is as 1000 years, because it had, qua striving, a moment of bliss but not an eternity's bliss. Besides there is more than the simple parallelism implied in the words: 1000 years are for God as one day, and one day as 1000 years—far more, it is a genuine speculative statement, in that it does not annul and annihilate the concept of time but perfects it.

30 June 37

17

How close the *immed. expression* often lies to the ironic, yet how far from it e.g. Oehlenschlaeger

O bloom, just as with thee,
With me the very same
A poor poet like a wild poppy
stands there in shame.
The *nourishing corn* he merely impedes,
He to what avail, etc.

Is it the same *immediacy*, though much more profound, that makes Xt's sayings and the N. T. as a whole lack the ironic or humorous stamp, while just a single stroke would straightaway imbue the expression with the very strongest shade of irony and humor.

30 June 37

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18

Irony can no doubt also produce a certain calm (which may then correspond to the peace that follows a humorous development), which, however, is a long way from being Christian reconciliation (brothers in Xt, where every other distinction vanishes absolutely, a nothing in proportion to being brothers in Xt—yet didn't X make distinctions? Didn't he love John more than the others (Poul Møller in a most interesting conversation on the evening of June 30)? It can produce a certain love,[b] the kind with which e.g. Socrates encompassed his disciples (spiritual pederasty, as Hamann says), but it is still egoistic, because he stood as their deliverer, expanded their anxious expressions and views in his higher consciousness, in his point of view;

[a] Socrates has a purely awakening effect—midwife that he was—not delivering except in an inauthentic sense.

30 October 37

[b] and therefore so enormously different from the more recent devil-may-care of idealist philosophy.

yet the movement's diameter is not as great as the humorist (heaven—hell—the Xn must have scorned everything—the ironist's highest polemical movement is nil admirari). Irony is *egoistic* (it combats the bourgeois mentality yet persists with it, even though in the individual it ascends into the air like a songbird, jettisoning its ballast little by little, thus running the risk of ending with an "egoistic to-hell-with-it"; for irony has not yet slain itself by seeing itself, since the individual sees himself in irony's light). Humor is *lyrical* (it is the deepest earnestness about life—profound poetry, which cannot form itself as such and therefore crystallizes in the most baroque forms—it is the hemorrhoid non fluens—the molimina of the higher life).

The whole attitude in the Greek nature (Harmony—the beautiful) was such that, even if the individual disengaged himself and the battle began, the fight still bore the stamp of arising from this harmonious view of life, and so it soon came to an end without having gone full circle (Socrates). But then a view of life appeared which taught that all nature was corrupt (the deepest polemic, the widest stretch of wings); but nature took revenge—and now I get humor in the individual and irony[f] in nature, and they meet, in that *humor* wants to be a fool in the world and the *irony* in the world assumes that is what they [men of humor] really are.

226 Some will say that irony and humor are basically the same, with only a difference of degree. I will answer with Paul, where he talks of the relationship of Xnty to Judaism: everything is new in Xt.

The χstn humorist is like a plant only the root of which is visible, whose bloom unfolds to a loftier sun.

6 July 37

19 χstn Romanticism no doubt has something oriental about it, yet it is only the 3 kings from the East who have seen its star and now bring their *gifts*, gold and precious incense (the draperies).

7 July 37

[c]Humor can therefore approach blasphemy. Haman would rather hear wisdom from Balaam's donkey or from a philosopher against his will than from an angel or an apostle.

[d]It is no heavenly ladder on which angels *descend* from the *opened* heavens, it is an assault-ladder, the giants', which from the Xn's viewpoint means taking God's kingdom by force.

[e]Jean Poul is the greatest humorous *capitalist*.

[f]Irony in nature had to be made explicit, as did its ironical juxtapositions (man and ape), etc. Several are found in Schubert's *Symbolik*; this was something the Greeks knew nothing about, as far as I know. The Middle Ages have, e.g., the man in the fairytale *Lune* who, standing 10 miles away from a windmill, makes it turn by *laying his finger on one nostril* and blowing through the other.

20 The old Christian dogmatic terminology is like an enchanted castle where the loveliest princes and princesses rest in a deep sleep—it needs only to be awakened, to be brought to life, in order to stand in its full glory.

8 July 37

21 Writing in a frame of mind adequate to Romantic themes in Latin is as unreasonable as asking someone to construct a circle with squares—the humorous hyperboles of life's paradoxes outbid every schema, burst every straitjacket; it is to put new wine in old leathern bottles. And if Latin finally masters it by a forced marriage to the youthful lover to which it is bound, that toothless old crone who can't articulate her speech had better excuse him if he looks elsewhere for satisfaction.

8 July 37

22 Why doesn't irony stand out more! I have so often thought it a world's irony when e.g. a gadfly sat on a man's nose just as he made the last leap to plunge into the Thames, when in the story of Loki and the dwarf, after Eitri has departed and Brock stands by the bellows, a fly thrice settles on his nose; for here it appears as one of Loki's tricks to prevent him from winning the wager, and in the other case it is a grandiose human plan which is so horridly ridiculed by a gadfly.

8 July 37

23 *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen vom Ursprunge dieses Glaubens bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* aus dem Englischen übersetzt v. Dr. O.L. B. Wolff. Weimar. 1828. 2 Th. 1st part. The Tale of Johann Dietrich (from Rügen) p. 319 he tells of the underworld dwellers: Ob sie auch sterben, das weiß man nicht, oder ob sie, wie Einige erzählen, wenn sie alt werden wollen sich in Steine und Bäume verkriechen und so sich verwachsen und zu wundersamen Klängen, Aechzern und Seufzern wer-

den, die sich zuweilen hören lassen ohne daß man weis woher sie kommen oder zu abentheuerlichen Knorrn und verflochtenen Schlingen, wodurch die Hexen schlüpfen sollen, wenn sie von den wilden Jäger gejagt werden.

8 July 37

24 Humor certainly existed in the Middle Ages too, but it was within a totality, within the church, directed partly at the world and partly at itself: That too is why it lacks much of the morbidity which I believe is part of this concept, and also why some of the more recent humorists became Catholics, wanting a community again, a sense of direction which they themselves lacked.

11 July 37

25 I must say I can't but wonder that Justinus Kerner (in his *Dichtungen*) is able to look so amicably at the phenomenon which from my very first experience of it has always struck me as so awful—a person saying exactly the same as me. If I wanted to grasp it, it would end 228 in the most confused and almost Mester Jakel-like nonsense, the one beginning a sentence which the other finishes, causing confusion as to who was speaking.

11 July 37

26 *Justinus Kerner* has interested me so much at this moment just because, although far more gifted than myself, I detect the same artistic helplessness in him, though I also see how something can be done even if the proper continuity is missing and can only be made good through the continuity of the mood, of which every single little idea is a bloom, a kind of novelistic aphorism, a plastic study. While his own *Dichtungen* are so full of excellent imaginative ideas, his *Reports aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* are so dry that one could almost take that to be an indirect proof of their truth.

13 July 37

That hereditary sin, made possible through Adam's fall, made actual by the kinship relations affected by it (the continuity of the race), of which it is said in Rom 5:13, 14 that all people sinned in Adam, consistently maintained in its ecclesiastical orthodoxy, eliminating every Pelagian restriction (cum hoc non ideo propter hoc— on the contrary et cum hoc et propter hoc at the same time)—does it not lead nec. to the doctrine of the church, of its superabundance of good works, of the benediction that (according to its Catholic concept and as the only adequate concept) this brings with it? Or to what extent does the parallel drawn in Rom 5 between the first and second Adam correspond in its two phases? Or is there anything corresponding to the doctrine that all sinned in Adam and that some are saved in X, if in the one case sin is placed in relation to the whole race, is seen from the standpoint of race, and in the other Xt is put in relation to every single individual? (For indeed it throws no light on anything to say that, just as individual people are declared to be sinners only insofar as they go along with the com. hum. nature and make the com. hum. nature their own, so also the children of the second Adam are acquitted only insofar as they have a share of him—for this is to forget that the one is a necessity and the other a possibility repeating itself for every single individual). Or have things in the world already come to such a pass that we are supposed already to be like angels, something usually said to occur only in another world? Or is it not the same problem that meets us along the phenomenological path, where the worried, restless individual wants as it were a middleman, precisely something we have to declare un-Protestant? Or does not original sin consistently stipulate the doctrine of the church—for what is hereditary does not otherwise follow what is given in society—or are the individuals detached and the concept of the church annulled? I believe Günther has something on this under the doctrine of works. Implied in this is the philosophical

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meaning of the doctrine of a superabundance of good works in the bosom of the church, of a christening present at the Xn's cradle, as something conditioned by the generation's development that is antithetical to Adam's relation to the race.—One can also connect this with intercession, the inexpressible need to pray for oneself, which the unhappy dead seek to satisfy through the living (the ecclesiastical doctrine of requiem for the dead); cf. Kerner, *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur*, 1836, p. 214.

11 July 37

28 I've often wondered why I am so reluctant to commit single observations to paper. But the more I come to know individual great men in whose writings there is no sign of a kaleidoscopic jostling-together of some sum of ideas (the example of Jean Paul has perhaps 230 made me prematurely anxious in this respect), and the more I bear in mind that a writer as refreshing as Hoffmann has done it, and that Lichtenberg recommends it, the greater the urge to find out just why I should find something so unpleasant, almost repellent, in a practice that is in itself innocent enough. The reason has obviously been that in each case I have imagined a possible publication, which might have called for a fuller treatment that I didn't want to bother with. And enervated by such an abstract possibility (a kind of literary hiccoughing and squeamishness), the aroma of the idea and mood evaporated.[b] I think it would be better instead, by frequent notetaking, to let the thoughts emerge with the umbilical cord of the original mood intact and, as far as possible, forgetting any concern for their possible use, which I would never realize anyway by looking up in my journals, but more as though unburdening myself in a letter to an intimate friend, so gaining on the one hand the possibility of self-knowledge at a later moment, and on the other fluency in writing, the same articulateness in written expression which I have to some extent in speaking, knowledge of many little traits to which I have given no more than a passing

[a] Resolution of 13 July 1837, made in our study at 6 o'clock in the evening.

[b] and so either the entries I have were so altogether shrunken that I now no longer make heads or tails of them, or they are quite random, whence I can also see that generally there fall a number of entries on one and the same day, which suggests it has been a sort of day of reckoning. But that's wrong.—

[c] The apparent abundance of thoughts and ideas that one feels in abstract possibility is just as unpleasant and elicits a similar anxiety to that which cows suffer when they are not milked on time. So when external circumstances won't help, the best thing is, as it were, to milk oneself.

[d] One sees something similar in scholarly matters too; there are those who read only the most important works on the most important devel-

opments and have therefore some familiarity with the scholarly King's Highway but absolutely none with the lanes and byways and their unsung views and glories; rather like Englishmen, they do their continental Grand Tour, but this is why their knowledge is also so compendious.

26 August 37

[e] these abbreviated pers.!

4 November 37

[a] they keep a list just like Leporello, but what they miss, yes, the whole point; while D. Juan seduces and indulges—Leporello notes down time, place, and the girl's description.

glance, and finally, an advantage, if what Haman says is true in another respect, in that there are ideas which one gets only once in one's life. Such backstage practice is certainly necessary for any pers. not so gifted that his development is public in some way.

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29

Thank you, Lichtenberg, Thanks! for saying there is nothing more tiresome than talking with a so-called man of letters in science who hasn't done any thinking himself yet knows 1000 historic-literary particulars:[a] "Es ist fast als wie die Vorlesung aus einem Kochbuch, wenn man hungert." Thanks for this voice in the wilderness, thanks for this thirst-slaker; like the cry of a wild bird in the stillness of the night, it sets one's whole fantasy in motion. I can imagine it was after a tedious talk with one such learned old workhorse, which perhaps deprived him of a happy moment. Even worse, in the copy I am reading a mark has been made that disturbs me; I can already picture to myself some journalist or other who has carefully perused this work in order to fill the newspaper with aphorisms, with or without Lichtenberg's name, and in doing so robbed me regrettably of some of the surprise.

What a wonderful expression Lichtenberg proposes "to describe the popular way of writing, which in a silly fashionable style writes commonplaces that at most express what sensible people have already thought, with the simple phrase: *Graduate prose*."

30

Sometimes something happens that in every way corresponds on the spiritual level with that vegetative, digestive dropping-off into a feeling of pleasant recuperation. Thus consciousness appears as an overshadowing moon that reaches from the proscenium to the backcloth. It's as though one dozed off into the whole (a pantheistic element, but without leaving behind it a strength as in the religious version), into an oriental

dreaming away into the infinite, where at the same time everything then appears a fiction—and one is attuned as in a grand poem; the whole world's being, God's being, my own being, are poetry, in which all the manifold, fearful disparities of life, indigestible for human thought, are reconciled in a misty, dreaming existence.—Ah! More's the pity, I re-awake, the unhappy relativity in everything begins just then all the more, the endless questions about *what I am*, about my joys and what other people see in me, and in what I do, while maybe millions are doing exactly the same.

—Everyone sees the parody in small market-town life, but no one sees that *the capital city parodies* a world-historical capital, and yet people talk together, and the one straightaway pirates in crabbed duodecimo the other's uncial; the world's tragedies are produced at the same time, scene for scene and with the same words, in the grandest theater and in the vaudeville theater!

14 July 37

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31 The *petit bourgeois* always skip over a component in life, hence their parodic relation to those above them.—… For them morality ranks highest, far more important than intelligence. But they have never felt the enthusiasm for the great, the gifted, even in its exceptional guise. Their *morals* are a brief summary of the various ordinances posted by the police; for them the most important thing is to be a useful member of the state and spend the evenings holding forth in a club; they have never felt nostalgia for some unknown, remote something, never the profundity of being nothing at all, of strolling out of Nørreport with four shillings in one's pocket and a slender cane in hand. They have no inkling of that life-view (which indeed a Gnostic sect made its own): getting to know the world through sin—and yet they say also that one should have a wild time in one's youth ("wer niemals hat ein Rausch gehabt, er ist kein braver Mann"). They have never had any inkling of the idea behind this when, through the hidden, mysterious door, open in all its

horror only to intimation, one has penetrated into that dark realm of sighs, when one sees the crushed victims of seduction and enticement and the coldness of the tempter.

14 July 37

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[Added in the margin] **32**

—One rebukes others for being too afraid of God. Quite right; properly to *love God* one needs also to have *feared* God. The petit bourgeois' love of God makes its entry when the vegetative processes are in full activity, when hands are folded comfortably across the stomach and, from a head reclining on a soft armchair, sleep-drugged eyes are raised in the direction of the ceiling, toward higher things, cf. the pantheistic "Velbekom's" (may it agree with *us*).

—When they talk of bringing up children, they mean by well-brought-up children trained monkeys, who so far, thank God, have not come (and who could hope, should they stay on in their parents' house all their lives, under their wise care, never to come) in touch with anything poetic that might in the least way injure their digestion—and it is *this very* system of bringing up children that *denies* the resurrection of the body! That's understandable; with *a little*, no doubt forgivable exegetic modification, they also have scriptural support regarding God's kingdom here on earth: that it does (*not*) consist of food and drink.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself," say the petit bourgeois and, in doing so, these well-brought-up children and now useful members of the state—who are very susceptible to every passing emotional influenza—think, in part, that if someone, even though sitting quite far away, asks you for a pair of snuffers you are to say "by all means" and get up "with the greatest pleasure" to

[a] hand it to the person; and, in part, that one must remember to make the obligatory visits of condolence. But they have never felt what it means for the whole world to turn its back on them, for naturally the

33 I too have combined the tragic with the comic: I make witticisms, people laugh—I cry.

14 July 37

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34 One rants so much against anthropomorphisms and fails to remember that the birth of Xt is the greatest and most meaningful.

15 July 37

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35 The Greeks knew how to fit even Echo (who, seen from a Romantic viewpoint, is to the highest degree parodical and therefore to be taken humorously) into their harmonious view of life and it was a friendly nymph.

20 July 37

36 Cf. this book pp. 10 and 11.
Humor is irony taken to its maximum vibration. Although the Xn aspect is the real primus motor, there are still people in a Christian Europe who have not come to describe more than irony, which is why they have also been unable to practice the absolutely isolated humor that subsists in the person alone. They therefore either seek a resting-place in the church where the entire concord of individuals develops a *Xn irony* in a humor against *the world*, as was the case with Tieck and others, or, where religiousness has not been set in motion, form a club (the Serapion Brothers—but which in Hoffmann's case was nothing palpable but ideal). No, Hamann is after all the greatest and most authentic humorist, the authentically humorous Robinson Crusoe, not on a desert island but in the din of life. His humor is not an aesthetic concept but life, not a hero in a controlled drama.

4 Aug. 37

whole shoal of socializing herring in which they live will never let such a circumstance arise; and should serious help ever be needed, sound sense will tell them that the person in sore need of their help, yet not at all likely to have any opportunity to help them in return, is not their [a] "neighbor."

19 July 37

[a]One has no neighbor; for the "I" is at once itself and its neighbor, as also it is expressed: One is closest to oneself (i.e., one's own neighbor).

7 October 37

[a]it is also remarkable therefore that, in the old popular Nordic belief, Echo is called: Dvergmâl or Bergmâl, i.e., the language of the dwarfs or of the mountains cf. Grim *irische Elfenmärchen* p. lxxviii. (Biörn Haldorson 1,73 a. *Færöiske Quæder* Randers 1822 pp. 464, 468.)

10 Oct. 37

[a]. . . So erst wird die *Willkür* verbrecherisch, denn außerdem ist sie Princip der hochsten Heiterkeit und Seligkeit z. E: im Humor.

Rosenkrantz *Encyclopedie*, p. 73

[a]For how could Hamann ever think of publishing "his collected works"—he who, in complete agreement with Pilate, whom he even pronounces the greatest philosopher, said: What I have written I have written.—

[b]Nor, therefore, can the humorist ever really become a systematizer, for he regards every system as a renewed attempt in the familiar Blicherian manner to blow up the world with a single syllogism, whereas he himself has come alive to the incommensurable which the philosopher can never figure out and therefore must despise. He lives in the fullness of things and is therefore sensitive to how much is always left over, even if he has expressed himself with all felicity (hence this disinclination to write). The systematizer believes that he can say everything, and that whatever cannot be said is erroneous and secondary.

[a]That is why we see also in the Gospels that demoniaci have an awareness of Xt (of Xnty's significance for developing life) τί εμοι και σοι; but they also want Xt to leave them alone, they dare not take this thought through to its conclusion. cf. Lk 8:26–39; Mt 8:28–34; Mk 5:1–20; Lk 4:31–37; Mk 1:21–28.

8 Jan. 39

[b]Just as Xnty also offended Paul.

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Cf. this book pp. 10 and 11 and 19. **37**

Now I see why, just like irony, genuine humor cannot be apprehended in a novel and thereby cease to be a life-concept, exactly because not to write is part of the nature of the concept, since to do so would betray an all too conciliatory position toward the world (which is why Haman remarks somewhere that basically there is nothing more laughable than to write for the people). So just as Socrates for the same reason left no writings, Hamann left only as much as the modern writing craze made something of a necessity, and then only occasional pieces.

4 Aug. 37

#

Yet irony amongst the ancs. is of a quite different **38**
kind from that of the moderns. First off, in its relation to harmonic language, the brevity of Greek versus the reflective prolixity of modern times. But the irony of the Greeks is also *plastic*, e.g., Diogenes, who doesn't say that when a poor marksman shoots, the best thing is to sit in front of the target, but rather walks there and sits down in front of the target. O, how I would like to have heard Socrates ironize!

#

Heyne is undeniably a humorist (*a product, like all humor, of Xnty itself, because, being itself humorous, it moved and moves in opposition to the ironically developed world, and through its teaching drew humorous sparks from irony, by (Xnty) becoming an offense, and then irony would not let itself be reborn from humor and thereby redeemed, but developed in the form of diabolical humor*), but he was unable to hold out alone and made himself into a counter-image of the church, which evolves humorously against the world insofar as the world now sought to make itself into a perennial humorous polemic against the church. **39**

26 Aug. 37

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40 There are some curious words I find as a quotation from Luther's *Tischreden* in v. Dobeneck (: *des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglauben und Heroensagen*, vol. 2 Berlin: 1815) vol. 1 , p. 149 n, about someone who sold his soul to the devil: Endlich **betrog** ihn der Teufel **redlich** (what distressing irony for the one concerned).

26 Aug. 37

41 Cf. page 11.

The humorous expression for Chr. "weakness": they are weak *in Xt* (for then God is strong in them and that is why Paul says that he will *boast of his weakness*, find pleasure in his weakness, 2 Cor 12:10 etc.) 2 Cor 13:4, on which cf. Calvin: nos infirmi sumus in illo. Infirmum esse in Chr., hic significat socium esse infirmitatis Chr. Ita *suam infirmitatem gloriosam facit*, quod in ea sit Christo conformis: neque jam amplius horreat probrum, quod sibi commune est cum filio dei, sed interea dicit, se victurum erga eos Chr. exemplo.—

As always re: the humorous understanding of Xnty, that very hackneyed dogmatic question of Xt's life becomes important—whether he bore the divine life in his state of abasement κατα κενωσιν or κατα κρυψιν; the latter is genuinely humorous.

27 Aug. 37

42 There are certain people who live in an imaginary grandiose (or grandly historical) world and without further ado transfer this standard to the slightest chance occurrence, resulting in something as laughable as measuring a small box with a fathom-rule.—

27 Aug. 37

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43 The component of knowledge which future eternal happiness still must nevertheless contain is in a way implied in Eph 1:21: "Above every name that is named, not only εν τω αιωνι τουτω; but also εν τω μελλοντι," where the idea is also contained that one will be-

[a]There also seems to be something humorous in 2 Cor 13:7, where he wishes no evil should befall the congregation, "not that we should appear competent, but so that you may do the good, ἡμεις δε ως αδοκιμοι ωμεν," since the more their goodness grew, the greater the respect in which he himself was held; unless it means that he wants them to make such progress in goodness that, in comparison, he himself may be αδοκιμος.

27 Aug. 37

come acquainted with names of greater meaning than even the greatest of all historical names.

28 Aug. 37

[a]Every Xn has also had his earthly Messiah.—

44 How typical of the history of the human heart is that Jewish trait, that when things in the world went wrong for them, corrupting the hope of a savior, they expected an earthly Messiah! How can one help but be reminded of the many fantasies of money that might heal and reassure, of a fortunate marriage, about placement in some public career, etc. etc.

31 Aug. 37

45 One must not be in too great a hurry with one's rebirth, in case things go as they did with the sorcerer Virgil when he wanted to rejuvenate himself and to that end had himself put to death (hacked to pieces) and then through the carelessness of the one who was to mind it, the cauldron was opened too soon and he (Virgil), who at this point had just become an infant, disappeared with a doleful wail.

31 Aug. 37

46 As far as I can recall, it is Seneca who utters the remarkable words: Quæ latebra est, in quam non intret metus mortis.—

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47 *Excerpt from Wilhelm Lund's Review of Hauch's Book in Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*

Something that subsists *in itself*
Something that subsists *for itself* (Individuality)

Receptivity	Spontaneity.

1. *Crystal.*
(Production)

2. *Plants.*
(Reproduction)

Absorption	Secretion. a) For nourishment. b) Mediate the genuine secretion c) Excretion.

3. *Animals.*

Veins.	Arteries.
Nerves.	
Sensory organs.	Muscles.
Feeling.	Will.

(Instinct)

4. *Man.*

Reason.	Freedom.

48 It is a quite remarkable transition that occurs when one begins to study the grammar of indicative and subjunctive, because here for the first time one becomes aware that it all depends on how it is thought, thus on how thinking in its absoluteness takes over from a seeming reality.

4 Sept. 37

239

The indicative thinks something as actual (the identity of thinking and actuality). The subjunctive thinks something as thinkable. **49**

Might not the reason that the Latinists put an indicative in sentences like: "should," "ought," "could," "it would be too tedious," be that modern languages involve a far greater reflection (or more correctly, developed such a reflection for the first time), whereof every expression then naturally becomes pregnant? That is also why, as occurred to me on another occasion, it must be much easier to catechize in Greek (it was the Greeks, after all, who came up with the greatest of all catechists, Socrates), because in modern languages the single expression, however simplified, still contains a reflection which must be sorted out. **50**

5 Sept. 37

1 [a]Hegel too talks of the Latinists' Ernsthaftigkeit ... maybe that is where it lies.

The grammar of indicative and subjunctive really contains the most aesthetic concepts, and occasions just about the highest form of aesthetic enjoyment (it borders on the musical, which is the highest). And for the subjunctive, that so hackneyed proposition cogito ergo sum holds true. It is the subjunctive's life-principle (so one could really give an account of the whole of modern philosophy within a theory of the ind. and the subj.; it is in fact purely subjunctive). **51**

One should be able to write a whole novel in which the present subjunctive was the invisible soul, as light is for painting. **52**

13 Sept. 37

This is why really one can correctly say that the subjunctive, which enters as a glimpse of the individuality of the person in question, is a dramatic line whereby the narrator steps aside and makes the remark as **53**

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being true of the character (i.e., poetically), not as factual, not even as if it might be fact; it is presented under the illumination of subjectivity.—

13 Sept. 37

54 There are hum. beings of whom it indeed cannot be denied that they are humans (belong within the concept of hum. being), but who are more or less defective casibus.

13 Sept. 37

55 It would be interesting to follow the development of hum. nature (in individuals—i.e., the different age groups) by showing what the different age groups laugh at, partly basing the experiments on one and the same author e.g. our literary fountainhead Holberg, partly on different kinds of comedy. This, together with research and experiments concerning the age level at which tragedy is best appreciated, and other psychological observations on the relation between comedy and tragedy, e.g., why one reads tragedy alone and comedy together with others, would contribute to the work I believe ought now to be written—namely, the history of the human soul (as it is in an ordinary hum. being) in the continuity of mental states (not concepts) which consolidate themselves in particular peaks or nodes (i.e., noteworthy world-historical representatives of life-views).

20 Sept. 37

56 unfortunately my real spirit is so often present to me only κατα κρυψιν.

20 Sept. 37

57 It is always our life's Moses (i.e., our whole, entire poetic vitality) that fails to enter the promised land; it is only our life's Joshua that gets there. Our life's po-

etic dawn dream is related to its reality as Moses to Joshua.

23 Sept. 37

Now I know a suitable topic for a dissertation: on the concept of satire in the ancs., the mutual relationships between the various Roman satirists. **58**

25 Sept. 37

The reason why Holberg's *E. Montanus* remains a comedy (although in so many other respects it is a tragedy) is that madness wins in the end, by placing a punishment upon E. and *forcing* him to *recognize the truth* by a means (beating him) that is even more demented than all their other madness.— **59**

27 Sept. 37

There are people who in life stand like interjections in speech, without influence on the sentence—it is the hermits in life who in the highest degree govern a case—e.g., O! me miserum. **60**

29 Sept. 37

In Grimm's *irische Elfenmärchen*—which he says, re: their English originals, were gathered from the people in their vulgar idioms and mainly in verba ipsissima—it is remarkable that with ref. to the question of the "quiet people," "the underworld dwellers," etc., after one has deprived them of the innocence of imagination, and the question is raised as to whether they are good or evil spirits in their relations with human beings, both answers are given: p. 20 die Mahlzeit des Geistlichen: Leute, die sich auf solche Dinge verstehen, sagen, das stille Volk sey ein Theil jener aus dem Himmel verstosßenen Engel, die nun auf Erden festen Fuß gefaßt haben, während ein anderer Theil großerer Sünden wegen, an einen viel schlimmern Ort noch tiefer gesunken sey . . . p. 42. die Flasche: In den 242 **61**

1 [a]just as it is altogether remarkable that at the very time these creatures lived in legend in the naiveté of the most varied imagination, the question is raised about their being good or evil spirits. But we should be happy that, for one thing, this question was raised but also promptly dropped: das mag dahin gestellt bleiben (Grimm, p. 20); and that, for another, while, in those days, the fear of God was greater, and for that reason abhorrence of

guten Tagen, wo das stille Folk sich noch haüfiger sehen ließ, als jetzt in dieser ungläubigen Zeit. Yet petit-bourgeois meticulousness is by no means enough to answer this question; due to the dormant irony (cf. book two, no. 2) one doesn't really know whether to smile at those frightened by these creatures, or at those who with their enormous presumed superiority want to master them. At any rate we usually find these creatures taking by no means a malicious but rather a sarcastic vengeance.—

29 Sept. 37

62 Unfortunately my life is far too subjunctive; would to God I had some indicative power.

7 Oct. 37

63 How terrible it is when the whole of history disappears before a sickly brooding over one's own wretched history! Who shows the middle way between this wasting away of oneself in thoughts that assume one is the only human who has ever been, is, or ever will come to be—and a foolish confidence in an ordinary hum. commune naufragium? But this is what the doctrine of a church should really lead to.—

7 Oct. 37

64 There is something strangely low-comic in reading about a brownie (a kind of elf, cf. Grimm *Irische Elfenmärchen*, preface p. xlix) setting most store by a piece of cast-off clothing.[a] It is already curious enough to read about them wanting to get something to eat (which the brownie has in common with many others of that sort); but to see such a person stroll about in cast-off clothes must truly be laughable.

8 Oct. 37

243

65 What depth of feeling there is in the story that, if one wants to give a brownie something beyond its frugal evil, there was also a certain childlikeness in the conception of good and evil, re: God's standpoint too; and I daresay that there is a deep sorrowfulness in the medieval conception of sin, but also some roguishness (just as in children we see, on the one hand, the hope which is always so lively here, and on the other, the singular receptivity for genius implicit in this), which should in no way be confused, however, with the trivial, sophistical sensibleness of this prosaic age of ours in which, unfortunately, we constantly lose in the idea as much as we win in actuality—i.e., we get historically actual hypocrites, etc., and all those dreadful vices, because we are not content to get them in legends, in the manna of tradition.—

[a]thus the mind often turns back in deep sorrow even to the threadbare reality of childhood, and having become extinct to the world, wraps itself in it, like a pall.

8 June 39

requirements (something to eat or a piece of old clothing), the brownie has to leave the place where it acted as a guardian spirit. Similarly, friendship and all feeling vanish when one offers it payment.—

8 Oct. 37

Beware false prophets who come to you in wolves' clothing but inwardly are sheep—i.e., the phrasemongers. **66**

10 Oct. 37

The misfortune of our age is that everyone speaks the truth—how much better it must have been to live in an age in which everyone lied but the stones spoke the truth. **67**

10 Oct. 37

When an ironist laughs at a humorist's witticisms and fancies, it is like the vulture tearing at Prometheus's liver, for the humorist's fancies are not the darlings of caprice but the sons of pain; with every one of them goes a little piece of his innermost viscera, and it is the emaciated ironist who is in need of the despairing depth of the humorist. Often his laughter is like the grin on a corpse. Just as a shriek wrung from pain could look like humor to someone at a distance who had no inkling of the situation of the person from whom it came; just as the twitch on a deaf-mute's or a tight-lipped man's face could strike one risibly, i.e., as laughter in the individual (just indeed as the dead man's grin is explained in this way, i.e., as the petrified play of muscles, the eternally humorous smile over hum. wretchedness)—so too with the laughter of the humorist. And crying over such a thing (not a jeremiad, note, for one of the sad things about man is that he troubles himself with so many irrelevancies) probably betrays greater psychological insight than laughing over it. **68** 244

11 Oct. 37

1 [a]That is to say, the systematic wolves

69 Having said previously that D. Juan is immediate musically, and thus describing the character's infinite immanence in music, that action, character, and text stand in a necessary relation to one another as in no other opera; having stressed precisely that, in Lenau's *Faust*, Mephisto strikes up (the musical) where the subordinated life of the senses begins, to show in this way that the genius of the genuinely sensuous life is musical—I find this corroborated in noting that in the folk legend, the demonic is essentially musical (not just in their dance, where everything is so light that they dance on water, leaving scarcely a footprint in the dew-covered grass; for what is dance without music; but what more musical dance can be imagined indeed than one so immaterial, where so to speak, the dance is music, where music is dance; where the dance is the musical Chladni-figure, music made visible, music held fast in a visual medium), music and dance are the business of pixies, fairy maids, dwarfs, etc. In Grimm's *irische Elfenmärchen* occurs an example of a changeling, of decided musical genius with all its irresistible force (cf. also the legend of Venusberg) cf. Grimm 1: c: p. lxxxii. "As much in their processions as in their feasts they bring music with them, in this the tales of all nations are in agreement. Mermaids sing unknown wonderful songs; the spell that the fairies' song casts over the whole of nature defies description. *Danish Ditties* 1, 234 where der schwedische Nix oder der Stromkarl, der in der Tiefe des Wassers sitzend den Elfe zum Tanz aufspielt. Yes, then the fiddler can't stop (e.g., "The Fairy King Song") unless he knows how to play the tune again backwards, or someone from behind cuts the strings.

11 Oct. 37

70 Man is to judge angels, αποκαραδοκια της κτισεως and what this implies we also find graphically represented in the legends when the elves etc. etc. often need man's help but principally their midwife (cf.

Grimm *irische Elfenmärchen* p. xcvii cf. *Deutsche Sagen* nos. 41, 49; 304. Thiele 1, 36.—).

13 Oct. 37

If the Roman people were egoistic in respect to the developed use of the pronomen reflexivum, in the distinctness with which they can refer this pronomen to the main idea, then I believe Grundtvig is right. **71**

24 Oct. 37

world history develops as do disputes—one gets so involved in intermediate propositions that it is almost impossible in the end to remember where one began. **72**

24 Oct. 37

All other religions are indirect speech; the founder steps aside and introduces another speaker; they themselves therefore belong to the religion—Xnty alone is direct speech (I am the Truth). **73**

29 Oct. 37

why I so much prefer autumn to spring is that in the autumn one looks at heaven—in the spring at the earth. **74**

29 Oct. 37

In Clausen and Hohlenberg's *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, 1837, no. 3, pp. 485–534, there is a fragment of a treatise by *Baur on the Xn Element in Platonism* which is right in line with my investigation of irony and humor; though this must be true mainly of the part omitted from the periodical, since one of its tasks is precisely to develop the concept "irony." (How far Baur is aware of the Chr. contrast—in humor, naturally I still don't know, as I haven't read the treatise.) There are some very good things in his parallel between Xt and Socrates on p. 529. "Just as in paganism **75** 246

the divine usually belongs only to subjective representation, that is, always has the human as its presupposition and foundation so that precisely this, the human subjectivity of the divine, is what is most peculiar to paganism, so too even such a remarkable personality as Socrates is regarded only from the standpoint of the hum."

1 Nov. 37

76 there is nothing more dangerous for someone, nothing more paralyzing, than a kind of isolating fixation on oneself, in which world history, human life, society—in short everything—disappears and, in an egoistic circle like the ομφαλοψυχιται, one constantly sees only one's own navel.—This is why there is something so profound in the fact that Xt bore the sin of the world—alone—alone not just because no one would or could understand him, but also because he had to take upon himself all the guilt which man only bears insofar as he is, and in the degree appropriate to him as, a member of hum. society.

3 Nov. 37

77 It is quite strange; there are these corresponding phenomena, when absurd historical thoroughness in one historical period led the monks to begin their history with the creation of the world and thus never get to the end, and, in an age of reflection (namely ours), reflection gets so entangled in reflection over itself that in the end it empties itself in utterly empty, introductory feigned motions. Introductory though they surely should be, they are rather extroductory, since like
247 milestones they simply indicate the distance and don't say whether you are going to or from your destination (the capital), or like a wrongly set clock, which may well measure time accurately but nevertheless gives the wrong time. It is altogether ridiculous, the way the brevity of content in most scholarly works these days is inversely proportionate to the length of exposi-

tion. It is not so much the bad infinity as the miserable infinity.

3 Nov. 37

78 It's just a lot of talk all this about writing for the times and their satisfaction; that's not what it takes. It all starts with one person or more—in proportion to the size of the idea—going mad (I am convinced that before Copernicus there were Copernicans in all the insane asylums)—after which a great mind comes along who comprehends the idea but isn't understood by the times. Then all at once, with the wave of a wand, it dawns on various people and ends up as pure triviality. We are not living in that beautiful age in which Minerva springs out of Jupiter's head. Here she explodes the head of her real father and then walks about unsteadily until finally ending up in an asylum.—

4 Nov. 37

79 The a priori in faith, which hovers over every a posteriori in works is beautifully expressed in the words: I know that nothing in the world—principalities, etc.—will be able to separate me from X J., our Lord. Where his faith sets him upon a cliff elevated above all empirical facts, while on the other hand he could not possibly have experienced all that this encompasses.

6 Nov. 37

248

80 Presentiment is the earthly life's nostalgia for something higher, for the *lucidity* which man must have had in his paradisial life.

6 Nov. 37

81 Humor, though, is first genuinely speculative—in the face of all that can be learned from experience it is an unshakable, authentically creative frame of mind, whereas irony is continually delivering itself from a

new dependence—which looked at from another angle means that it is dependent at every moment.

9 Nov. 37

cf. how Erdmann develops religious irony in "Wissen und Glauben," lecture 10, where in one respect irony is construed quite properly and where e.g. he has correctly perceived the difference between it and unbelief, which is simply what it is and is open to any influence.—

9 Nov. 37

82 The historical anticipation of, and likewise the position in purely human consciousness corresponding to, the Xn Credo ut intelligam is the anc. Nihil est in intellectu quod non antea fuerit in sensu.

15 Nov. 37

83 When in its polemic irony (humor) has placed the whole world, heaven and earth, under water and, in compensation, enclosed a little world within itself—when it is ready to be reconciled with the world again, it lets a raven fly off, and then a dove, which returns with an olive leaf.[a]—

15 Nov. 37

84 Even if inversely, the true mark of the true Xt will be the same as of the true Eve: this is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone.

23 Nov. 37

249

85 there is one kind of reflection above all in which the object is lost completely, when one behaves like the raven which, on account of the fox's eloquence, lost its object (the cheese). It is in this respect a picture of idealism, which, when everything was lost, had kept only itself.

24 Nov. 37

[a]and then follows a blessing according to the prophet's word (Is 54:1): Rejoice you who are barren and never gave birth, break out with a loud voice, you who never were in travail; for the children of the woman who is solitary and abandoned are more numerous than those of a wife.

6 April 38

Schleiermacher's is basically the first standpoint of genuinely orthodox dogmatics (and for that reason he will also again assume great importance), however heterodox it is in many respects, and it will of course be significantly modified, in that the dogmatic content will be given a quite different, objective character and determinacy. Yet his position is right in many respects, for example he has incorporated the concept of the miraculous in its inwardness within the system, rather than, as before, keeping it outside as a prolegomenon; his whole standpoint is that of the miraculous and his entire self-consciousness is a purely new Chr. self-consciousness. **86**

7 Dec. 37

I would like to write a novella in which a man walked past the plaster-cast seller on Østergade every day, doffed his hat, stood in silence with the words he said regularly every day, "Oh! you wonderful Greek nature, why was I not allowed to live under your heaven in the days of your prime?" **87**

7 Dec. 37 11:30

I have so often wondered, when I thanked God for something, whether it was more from fear of losing it that I was driven to pray, or whether it happened with the religious assurance which has overcome the world. **88**

8 Dec. 37

250

I think that if ever I do become an earnest Xn, my deepest shame will be that I did not become one before, that I first wanted to try everything else. **89**

8 Dec. 37—

I would like to write a novella in which the main character is a man who has acquired a pair of spectacles, **90**

one lens of which reduces images as powerfully as an oxy-gas microscope and the other magnifies on the same scale, so that he apprehends everything very relativistically.

10 Dec. 37

91 I get quite horrified reading the tract with which Fichte begins his journal. Seeing a man with his intellectual abilities arm himself for battle with such seriousness, with such "fear and trembling" (Philippians), what are the rest of us to say? I think I will give up my studies, and now I know what I will be. I will become a witness in the office of a Notarius Publicus.

12 Dec. 37

92 Once in a while, just after I have gone to bed and am ready to fall asleep, a rooster crows at midnight. It is unbelievable how much that can occupy the imagination. I remember just last night how vividly childhood memories presented themselves, of Frederiksborg where the crowing of the rooster announced a happy new day, how it all came back to me: the rather chill morning air, the dew on the grass which kept us from tumbling about as we wished.

16 Dec. 37

93 [later addition]
And I was mistaken because it was not the morning crowing but the *midnight crowing*.

4 April 38

251

94 What does the soul find so invigorating about *reading folk tales*? When I am tired of everything and "full of days," fairy-tales are for me always the revitalizing bath that proves so refreshing. *There* all earthly, all finite cares vanish; joy, yes sorrow even, are infinite (which is just why they are so expanding and benefi-

cial). One sets out to find the bluebird, just like the princess who, chosen to be queen, lets someone else take care of the kingdom so that she herself can seek out her unhappy beloved. Ah! What infinite sorrow lies in her words when, addressing the old woman she meets as she roams about dressed as a peasant girl, she says: "Ich bin nicht allein, meine gute Mutter; ich habe ein großes Gefolge bei mir von Kummer, Sorgen und Leiden." One so utterly forgets the single private sorrow each person can harbor, in order to wallow in the deep sorrow we all share, and in which one is so easily tempted to wish to meet an old woman to whom one could say "meine gute mutter"—or a young girl who roams the world over for her beloved, to embark in company upon her pilgrimage.—Or what strong and lasting eternal friendship lies in the same story, when the sorcerer who protects "Huldreich" walks round the world eight times and then, according to custom, first blows long on his horn and then 5 times cries with all his might: "O Huldreich, König Huldreich! Wo bist Du?"—Or when we are told of a king and queen who had but one daughter—there was no question of finances, etc., etc. They did not summon parliament—no! they summoned all the nursemaids.

26 Dec. 37 11:30

252
95

Nulla dies sine linea.

1838.

96 April.

Again such a long time has passed in which I have been unable to collect myself for the least thing—I must now make another little shot at it.

Poul Møller is dead.

#

97 there are some people who make the same mistake in their relationship to the development of the age as a person singing in church who forgets the organ and the rest of the congregation and admires his own deep bass, as if it were not the singing of all in unison which so powerfully fills the church but his own voice all by itself.

1 April

98 I sat with little Carl on my lap and talked about how much I really looked forward to the old sofa in the new apartment into which I planned on moving. He said, I like it very much too. When I asked him why, he was naturally unable to answer. But isn't it curious how I dwell with a strange sadness on reminders from a time I have never experienced, and now, again, I see him going in the same direction.

#

99 When the world grows dark for a real Xn in his hour of death, it is because the sunlight of eternal bliss shines too strongly in his eyes.—

#

[a]This morning I saw half a score of wild geese fly away in the crisp cool air; they were right overhead at first and then farther and farther away, and at last they separated into two flocks, like two eyebrows over my eyes, which now gazed into the land of poetry.

1 April

253

To what extent is there an element of correspondence[a] between Haman's deep personal protest against the meaning-reality of existence and the genuinely serious doubt in modern philosophy.— **100**

#

I went over to hear Nielsen recite "Glæde over Danmark" but was so strangely moved by the words: **101**

Do you remember the far-traveled man?

yes, now he has traveled far—but I for one shall certainly remember him.

2 April

It is remarkable that Justin Martyr, though in sharp opposition to paganism, conditioned by Xnty's brief historical development, still does not conceive of the world nearly so polemically as does the more recent orthodoxy. **102**

#

There are in all two movements for youthful life to go through, and which in the Middle Ages are established and laid out for observation in an unconscious contemporaneity—the age of chivalry and scholasticism. **103**

4 April

so it is not so strange, the role played by the common prostitute (the Goddess of Reason) in Paris, for where can public opinion more naturally incorporate itself than in a common prostitute; and it's not the first time such a thing has happened, for even Simon Magus made out a woman who was a common prostitute to be his first published thought (the first to be made publici juris). **104**

#

[a]just because there is such a thing, just for that reason one must say that the God-man idea is not merely an object of cognition but also an edifying thought which puts to flight all dissatisfaction with the world, rectifies every mistake, a thought which steps forth consolingly when even what is great in the world seems so petty, when the mind is anxious about how what is of no account in the world can nevertheless also receive justice.

20 May 39

254

105 It is a fearfully harsh judgment (4/4)

106 [The Jews' Sabbath] (6/4)

107 With me everything is "fugitive"; fugitive thoughts—fugitive rheumatism.

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108 There are altogether very few people capable of bearing the *Protestant* view of life. And the latter, if it is truly to give strength to the *common man*, must either constitute itself in a smaller community (separatism, conventicles, etc.) or approach Catholicism, in order in both cases to develop the shared carrying of life's burdens in a social life, which only the most gifted individuals are able to dispense with.

Christ has no doubt died for all, also for me. But this "for me" must nevertheless be interpreted in such a way that he has died for me only insofar as I belong to the many.

6 April

109 Romanticism no doubt has … (7/4)

110 An aphorism ought to … (7/4)

111 Jn the Baptist (19/4)

112 Transfiguration (21/4)

113 There is an *indescribable joy* that glows through us just as inexplicably as the apostle's unmotivated exclamation: "Rejoice, and again I say, Rejoice."—Not a joy

255

over this or that, but a full-bodied shout of the soul "with mouth and lip and heart so deep": "I rejoice at my joy, of, in, with, at, upon, by, and with my joy"—a heavenly refrain which as though suddenly interrupts our other songs, a joy which like a breath of air cools and refreshes, a puff from the trade winds that blow across the plains of Mamre to the eternal mansions.

19 May 10:30 a.m.

When God had created the world [4/6] … **114**

Fixed ideas are like cramps e.g. in the foot—the best remedy for them is to trample on them. **115**

6 July 38

How I thank you, Father in heaven, for having kept here on earth for a time like the present when my need for it can be so great, an earthly father who, as I so very much hope, will with your help have greater joy in being my father the second time than he had the first. **116**

9 July 38

I shall work on coming into a far more intimate relation with Xnty; for up to now I have been in a way standing altogether outside it, fighting for its truth. I have borne Christ's cross in a quite external way, like Simon of Cyrene (Lk 23:26). **117**

9 July 38

256

I hope that my contentment with my life *here at home* will turn out to be like that of a man I once read about. He, too, was fed up with the home and wanted to ride away from it. When he had gone a little distance his horse stumbled and he fell off, and as he got to his feet he happened to catch sight of his home, which now looked so beautiful to him that he promptly mounted **118**

his horse, rode back home, and stayed at home. If one just gets the right view of it.

10 July 38

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119 It would make excellent *tragic* material: the young man who, during M. Aurelius's persecution, fired by the courage of Polycarp and men like him in their hour of death, also wanted to be a martyr, but when faced with terrible torture became afraid and … cursed Christ, as the pagans demanded.—One sees from this that it is the same in Christianity as in earthly life: one must first *increase* before God and men, and even though in our time we are not exposed to such great temptations, which in so horrible a way destroy everything, nevertheless e.g. prospective theologians ought to take care lest by beginning to preach too early they *talk* themselves into Christianity rather than *live* themselves into and find themselves in it.

11 July 38

120 Just how intimately and essentially the knowledge one has of oneself depends on the knowledge one believes others have of one can be seen from the fact that nearsighted people think that others at a distance cannot see them either. Neither, similarly, does the nearsighted sinner believe that God sees his straying; whereas the devout Xn, since he is known by God, recognizes his own frailty with a clarity which can only be acquired by sharing in the clairvoyance of spirit that searches men's hearts.

11 July 38

257

121 How things regress with the world! In the oldest Xn times one called "confessors" (confessores) those "who having lost their fortune and in mortal danger staunchly confessed Xnty." Nowadays we learn from every geography book that this or that country has so and so many confessing Christians.

11 July 38

[a]When I stand so and look over Røyen's old place deep into Hestehaven, and the forest thickens densely in the background, the shadow and secrecy accentuated even more with the isolated trunks on which only crowns have grown—then I seem vividly to see myself as a little boy running off in my green jacket and gray pants—but, alas, I have grown older and cannot *catch up with myself*. Grasping childhood is like grasping a beautiful region as one rides in a carriage looking backward; one only becomes properly aware of the beauty at that moment, at that very instant when it begins to disappear, and all I have left of that happy time is *crying like a child*.

Frederiksborg 30 July 38

[a]I believe there's a work called Corrodi, *Geschichte der Chiliasmus*, in three volumes. See Münscher's *Kirkehistorie*, p. 353, note 23.

The relation between Xnty and Gnosticism is very **122**
aptly suggested in the relation between the two defining features they arrive at: Xnty at λογος, Gnosticism at "name" (Xtus was the name of the invisible God). The latter is highly abstract, as indeed the whole of Gnosticism was an abstraction, which is why they could not really arrive at a Creation that filled time and space but had to regard the Creation as identical with the Fall.

26 July 38

On the Relation between Xnty and Philosophy **123**

Motto: When a man meets a man on a road, and one man has a rake and one man has a spade, can one man do the other any harm?—

1 Aug. 38

it could be interesting to follow the development of **124**
Chiliasm through its historical modifications right up to the present, where it is obviously beginning to some extent to be heard again e.g. in the younger Fichte et al. It could be a counterpart to Baur's *Gnosis*, together with which doctrine it would provide the way to the true Christian-dogmatic categories. (One factor here could e.g. be the doctrine of Holy Communion, Luther's interpretation, etc.) (The specifically Jewish element in the doctrine must of course be separated out first.)

2 Aug. 38

258

the relation to their system into which Holy Scripture **125**
has been placed by a whole dogmatic trend, and has later been indirectly displaced, e.g., by Schleiermacher, is something I cannot really see as having prevailed in the earliest church, in which the question of h. Scripture was dealt with e.g., in Origen's περι αρχων, where the question of h. Scripture is not dealt with un-

til the 4th book, and which thus clearly shows that the whole systematic trend essentially attached itself to something else, to a common faith-consciousness or some such, since, being more or less elbowed out of the systematic design, that is something the system could safely do without.—

6 Aug. 38

126 †

My father died on Wednesday, the 8th, at 2:00 a.m. I did so earnestly desire that he should live a few years more, and I regard his death as the last sacrifice his love made for me, because he has not died from me but *died for me*, so that something might still come of me. Most precious of all that I have inherited from him is his memory, his transfigured image, transfigured not by my poetic imagination (it has no need of that), but by many little individual traits I am now learning about, and this I will try to keep most secret from the world. For at this moment I feel there is *only one person* (E. Boesen) with whom I can really talk about him. He was a "good and faithful friend."

11 Aug. 38

#

127 It is a strange contrast: paganism prized the bachelor state, Xnty recommended celibacy.—

11 Aug. 38

259

128 In our Christian times Xnty is close to becoming paganism—it has at any rate long ago abandoned the metropolises.

11 Aug. 38

129 On man's relation to woman in the light of its historical genesis—"It is not good that man is alone"; the oriental point of view resulting in several women to one man, as it were (man, denominator—woman,

numerator)—woman's slavery—the Scandinavian—the Chr. view—modern emancipation.—

13 Aug. 38

Empirical knowledge is a perpetually self-repeating false sorites, both in the progressive and the regressive sense. **130**

17 Aug. 38

According to the teaching of Xnty man is not to merge into God through a pantheistic fading away, or into the divine ocean through the blotting out of all individual characteristics, but in an intensified consciousness "man must render account for every careless word he has uttered," and even though grace blots out sin, the union with God still takes place in the personality clarified through this whole process. **131**

20 Aug. 38

Xnty's universal character is discernible also in this, that with it all national distinctions, as transcended elements, cease. The only one which might seem to remain is that between the Orient and the Occident, although this is on a far greater scale and is based essentially on conflicts of dogma as such, whereas the other distinctions were only secondary and based on national conflicts. The remaining conflicts (Catholic-Protestant, etc.) are often within national similarities and are based only upon the objective qualifications of the idea.— **132**

21 Aug. 38

The Greek evolution's perfection in earthly evolution, the ascent of the infinite in the finite, recurs also in oriental Xnty, in that the Greek cross,[a] ⊤, as it were limits the heavenly striving; whereas the Roman cross, †, strives infinitely. **133**

22 Aug. 38

1 [a]Heaven is closed, as it were; their striving has its limits.

134 There are these two elements in the Chr. life which need to be united: (a) an unshakable confidence, an unshakable certainty about one's relation to God, about God's mercy and love, which, however, must not be conceived abstractly as if, even through a long line of modifications, it can finally almost lead man to sin just to be certain of his salvation; and (b) an empirical development which, however, must not lose itself in mutually separated parts, lest it toss the individual about on stormy seas—(cast them out into the desert, as it says in the Augsburg Confession).

23 Aug. 38

[a]The unity of these is the true πλεροφορια, which increases gradually in strength and removes more and more all squalls, and guides man triumphantly over all obstacles.—

135 It is really strange though, Leo the Gt. persecuted the Manichaeans because they enjoyed holy communion sub una specie, and later those who enjoyed it sub utraque were accused of heresy.

25 Aug. 38

#

136 there is a strange continuity stretching through the series of names used to designate the first four centuries: apostolicum, gnosticum, novatianum, arianum. With the first century the Church has been brought as it were to a close, seeing that its history through those that follow is designated with the names of heretics.

28 Aug. 38—

261

137 it is strange to see that such a polemical figure of speech as "to wear the cloak on both shoulders" has as peaceful a prototype as that provided by calling the archbishop's pallium "ωμοφοριον"

2 Sept. 38

When Philip the Fair of France persecuted the Jews, they emigrated and later drew out their money by means of bills of exchange; these days, when Jews are tolerated everywhere, they emigrate from Germany (the Young Germany) and drain off the resources of the old Germany with pirated editions.— **138**

8 Sept. 38

1 [a]Cf. p. 9 in this book, above.

One of the outbursts in which the human in Xt emerges most vividly is in his saying to Judas, What you do, do it quickly, and in which the clash too is so strong; for his own prescience told him that Judas would betray (as indeed is noted explicitly in the preceding), but this hum. disquiet, this wavering when the decisive moment approached, also had its place and will be a consolation to many when they are reminded of it in time of need. **139**

11 Sept.

sub rosa **140**

to S. S. Blicher

On the occasion of his nature concert.

Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär,
Und auch zwei Flüglein hätt,
Flög ich zu Dir;
Weils aber nicht kann sein,
Bleib ich allhier.

11 Sept.

#

262

When certain people claim to have gone beyond Hegel, this must best be regarded as a bold metaphor in which they try to convey and represent the thoroughness with which they have studied him, to describe the enormous run-up they have made to get into him so that in the hurry they have been unable to stop and have come out of him. **141**

12 Sept. 38

#

142 What precisely is profound in Xnty is that Xt is both our atoner and our judge, not that one is our atoner and another our judge, for then we would nevertheless come to be judged, but that the atoner and the judge are the same.

12 Sept. 38

#

143 It occurs to me that Napoleon much more resembles Mohammed than do any of the great generals of the past. N. felt himself to be or at least played the part of a missionary, as one who proclaimed and brought along with him and fought for certain ideas (the gospel of freedom which is now heard clearly and distinctly in his native country). This is shown e.g. by many of his proclamations in Italy. Subsequently N.'s expedition went in the opposite direction to Mohammed's expansion, but through the same countries—Mohammed from E. to W., N. from W. to E.—

17 Sept.

#

144 The objective reality of Christ's atonement, also independent of the subjectivity appropriating it, is very clearly indicated in the story of the ten lepers. All of them were in fact cleansed, but only of the tenth, who gratefully turned back to give God the glory, is it said "Your faith has made you whole."—

18 Sept.

263

145 The authentic genius's appropriation of the impression of actuality is often like someone sleeping who hears the fire alarm and conveys everything into his dreaming world while the factual as such does not appear to him at all. And there is something very significant regarding the relationship between the poetic and

[a]What then was it that saved the others? 1

the factual (the latter can often to a high degree be the former) when one says: I don't know whether I have seen it or dreamed it.—

19 Sept.

Just as the Jews dared not utter God's name, analogies can be found in Xnty in the use of Latin in church services. It came to the point where the clergy could utter it but the congregation is not in a position to do so. **146**

29 Sept. 38

On Perseverance in Prayer **147**

It is said of James, leader of the congregation in Jerusalem, that the skin on his knees was as tough as a camel's from continually praying, and that he could keep on praying for several days. To our age it no doubt seems ridiculous, but we should remember what eloquence of heart, what fullness, it needs to be able to pray for so long without becoming weak, especially we who have enough trouble in producing one heartfelt prayer.—

1 Oct. 38

The more latitude individual differences are given, the greater the loss of continuity—instead of a continent one gets a Pacific archipelago of islands—perhaps this development is at hand, and this is why that part of the world is preserved. **148**

3 Oct. 38

264

In the medieval church people felt so indissolubly bound to its past that they were almost fettered by it (chains). **149**

5 Oct. 38

150 The Greek church's tendency to stagnation is seen also in its inability to keep a hold on the peoples as they evolved. The Nordic nations were first of all Arians and later orthodox—the nations converted by the Greek church later went over to Rome—yes, strangely enough the Greek church also had its fathers 150 years longer than the Roman but got correspondingly fewer sons.—

6 Oct. 38

151 An author's work should bear the imprint of his likeness, his individuality, in the same way as the portrait that Christ is said to have sent to King Abgarus of Edessa; it was not a minutely detailed reproduction but, in some inexplicably miraculous way, a sort of emanation onto the canvas.

6 Oct. 38

152 Casuistry is Pharisaism in the domain of knowledge.

8 Oct. 38

153 it is curious what has repeated itself in political development, something so prototypical of the first crusade that a Walter v. Habennichts stands at its head, except that in political development there is not a single such individual but the entire territorial levy is made up of "Have-Nots" in both the one and the other respect.

10 Oct. 38

265

154 It is the most interesting time, the period of falling in love, where after the first touch of a wand's sweeping sensation, from each encounter, every glance (however fleetingly the soul so to speak hides behind the eyelid), one brings something home, just like a bird busily fetching one stick after the other to her nest, yet always feels overwhelmed by the great wealth.—

11 Oct. 38

155 It is a witty coincidence of history that at the same time as papal power is at its peak (Innocent III) there lives a king immortalized with the name "without a country"; popes and kings have always found it difficult to eat together from the same dish, but at that time the pope had eaten dreadfully of the king's portion—namely his country.

11 Oct. 38

156 From the anc. world's greatest tyrant, Dionysius, the new world's greatest ditto inherited the ear—with which it heard the secret confession (just as Dionysius heard even the slightest sound in his notorious prison).

11 Oct. 38

157 In this one can also see the difference between the Orient and the Occident. Both had produced in an incomprehensible, secretive-human way an imprint of Christ—the Orient in the famous portrait of Christ to King Abgarus—the Occident in Xt's 5 wounds on the body of St. Francis.

13 Oct. 38

158 The union of Law and Gospel lies in the beautiful prayer: Infinite Wisdom, you not only *dwell in the high and holy place* but also with a downcast soul and one who is contrite in spirit, *in order* to make the soul of the 266 downcast and the spirit of the contrite alive in Xt Jesus our Lord.

15 Oct. 38

159 The difficulty in judging great men (namely, that of acquiring a measure) is removed by their usually carrying a measure in their pockets, by the throng of inthemselves important personalities who gather around them and thereby provide an intermediate authority, a

1 [a]*The Law*
[b]*Gospel*
[c]Cf. Rom 1:16 δυναμις γαρ θεου εστιν.

vantage point from which one can observe the genuinely great man, a relativity by which to evaluate him.

20 Oct. 38

160 It is not only in the history of art that the Dutch distinguish themselves by their "still life," but just as strongly also in a spiritual sense, in an equally characteristic tone[1] and color (Beguines, etc.).

[1]The Lollards got their name from their soft funeral hymn; who would not be reminded by this of the 4 insane brothers in Claudius, and what more deadly kind of still life is there?

26 Oct. 38—

161 There is always a great tendency among ecstatic factions, expressed with a curious ironic consistency, to reveal themselves outwardly in the negligee in which their train of thought always emerges: the Adamites (among the Hussites) thought that in order to be perfectly free one had to go stark naked and presumably regarded this as the specific difference between man's state in paradise and his later condition. The sansculottes are well known—the attempt of bare-necked persons to reestablish the Nordic spirit is just now in full swing.—

29 Oct. 38

267

162 the Catholic church is the inverted image of Judaism. There, in his majesty, it was God who stooped to earth and wanted to be held fast in this majesty of his (thundered upon Sinai), and therefore this historic moment, when heaven was upon earth, is not accessible to reflection, while one nevertheless clings to it as closely as possible. And just as God is in his majesty, so too this whole cult, alongside the humility suggested by the feeling of being nothing before the Lord, is precisely what externalizes the majestic element. In the Church it is man who gradually rises up, is raised up,

[a]Even if in view of the importance of his discovery we forgive Archimedes for running stark naked through the streets of Syracuse, it by no means follows that one must tolerate these modern returns to nature.

2 Nov. 38

[b]just like the Gymnosophists among the Indians: Nackte Fakir's laufen ohne irgend eine Beschäftigung gleich den katolischen Bettelmonchen herum, leben von den Gaben Anderer, und haben den Zweck, die Hoheit der Abstraktion zu erreichen cfr. Hegel *Philosophie der Geschichte* p. 183.

helped up by God—God begins in self-abasement—Xt assumed the shape of a servant and the pope still calls himself servus servorum. Judaism takes God down from heaven, Xnty takes man up to heaven.

30 Oct. 38

Also, regarding Xt's teaching, he feeds people with 5 loaves and 3 fish, when one sees how the most insignificant outward circumstance gives him an opportunity for the most profound developments, how far it is from every kind of grand preparation, every showy apparatus. **163**

30 October 38

[a]That was the prayer. .
The text should be: "John, who preaches in the desert."
D. L.

What have you come out into the desert to see? It is with this earnest preliminary question that John, as a forerunner of the Lord, prepares the way for him in people's minds, calls the Jews to reflection. . . . At times, when we come up to this holy place to proclaim the Word, we may likewise be tempted to ask: What have you come out to see? Was it to see a *man dressed in fine clothes*, did you want to hear a sermon embellished in human fashion with worldly pomp and glory. . . . . look for that in your own social gatherings. . . . . and if I were fool enough for it, I would even wish that I might eventually muster a strength like Samson's to overthrow the magnificence of the temple for which, like him, I had no eye, even if it meant my own ruin. . . . . *Was it a reed tossed to and fro by the wind*?—Was it a speech calculated to pro-

Prayer: **164**

Father in heaven, our thoughts turn to you, seek you again in this hour—not with the irresolute step of a traveler who has lost his way but with the sure flight of a bird to its familiar home. Let not our trust in you be a fleeting thought, a momentary fancy, the deceptive tranquilizing of the earth-bound heart. Let our longings for your kingdom, our hopes for your glory, not be unproductive birth pangs, not be like rainless clouds, but let them rise to you from a full heart, and be granted, as the refreshing dew quenching our thirst and as your heavenly manna, satisfying us forever.—

30 Oct. 38

268

165 It might seem strange that the N. T. ends with a prophecy (John's Revelation). Is it perhaps a reiteration of Judaism, so that Xnty comes again to point beyond itself? By no means. Rather it is like a mirror that throws the rays back again into the Xn life's center. Therefore it does not direct one's gaze over into something beyond, but only illuminates the more strongly all that is on this side. It is also for this reason that it is called "revelation," not like a divination that is obscure until its fulfillment, it is the living breath of Christianity, that having breathed out in the rest of the N. T. now so to speak breathes in again in the Apocalypse.—

1 Nov. 38

166 The same thing happened to Catholicism as happened to the entire globe. Another Copernicus (Luther) came along who discovered that Rome is not the center about which everything revolves but a point on the periphery.—

2 Nov. 38

269

167 Our constitution resembles more and more that of the Chinese—the only thing still missing is a prohibition against emigration.—

2 Nov. 38

mote the daydreams of the lethargic, and to lull to sleep those still awake. . . . . look for that in the marketplaces and streets. . . . . But the truth is that just as such a speech is, according to the desire of many, compliant to the wind, so also shall it be cast away like chaff before the winnowing fan; the Lord has everything in his hand. No, my talk shall be like wild honey—its clothing like the woolen shirt J. the Baptist wore, rough and sharp, perhaps to many a severe talk.—Yet, after all, you are not seated in a temple built with human hands; even less should you take up residence in neat phrases.—

[a]that Xnty has thus, already in its first appearance in Xt, taken on board its whole content. That can be seen from the fact that all the Holy Spirit is to do is put the Apostles *in mind* of, *remind* them of, *everything*.

13 Feb. 39

Scholasticism achieved (as every development according to my theory) its parody in the attempt of Paulus Cortesius not so much to paraphrase the scholastics as to transcribe them in classical Latin. "Xt died" became "He crossed over the river Acheron," etc. **168**

3 Nov. 38

The monastic orders are a thing of the past with the Jesuits, for here they reached their parody in a so purely secular endeavor. **169**

3 Nov. 38—

We are tempted in the desert! **170**

(Sermon on the temptation story)

A moment may come, even before the hour when there is no help to be found on earth, when you feel alone, when you are tempted in the desert, so that even if you cried out over the whole earth, no voice that could console you would answer—except the one the O. T. has so terrifyingly portrayed, except for the voice of the Omnipresent One, if I take the wings of the morning, etc.—Thou art there—this voice that is so consoling precisely to the Xn.

11 Nov. 38

Just as the Quakers refrained on moral grounds from taking an oath, so on intellectual grounds the scientific outlook of the 18th c. never dared call upon God as witness to its truth. **171**

11 Nov. 38

270

There are those whose corruption is not the result of external damage but develops, like rottenness in certain fruits, in the heart, in the core.— **172**

13 Nov. 38

[a] Prayer
Lord, be with us with your power, that we may feel the heart's joyful assurance that you are not far from us but that we live and move and are in thee!—

[b] This is later also repeated in Xt's life, when tempted in solitude while the apostles slept. It is the same for us, in the moments when it seems as if all those to whom we could turn are safely and soundly sleeping, not to be called upon in our troubles—then a higher consolation needs to be found.

173 The Greeks had no miracle, just as in their art neither did they portray their ideals in *preternatural magnitude*.—

22 Nov. 38

174 The un-philosophical mind can no doubt comprehend the defectiveness of a preceding position: but the position itself then presents itself to him as something hard and impenetrable. We see also, therefore, how it is that many have to give vent to a mass of polemics before they can come to their real issue—the philosophical mind mollifies the preceding views, reduces them in an entirely conciliatory way into components.—

22 Nov. 38

175 There are cases in spiritual life when the adjective "matchless" acquires, against the intentions of those using it, the same meaning as if one were to say in praise of a glove or a stocking that it was *matchless*.—

22 Nov. 38

176 Developing a priori basic concepts is like prayer in the Chr. sphere, for one would think that here man placed himself in relation to the Deity in the freest, most subjective way; and yet we are told that it is the Holy Spirit that effects prayer, so that the only prayer left to us would be to be able to pray, although upon closer inspection even this has been effected in us—
271 similarly there is no deductive development of concepts, or whatever one wants to call that which has some constitutive power—man can only call it to mind, and willing this, if this willing is not an empty, unproductive gaping, is what corresponds to this single prayer and, just like it, is effected in us.

2 Dec. 38

[a]One can therefore also say that all knowing is like the drawing of breath, a *re*spiratio.

3 Dec. 38

177 Because of the a priori element in intention, as compared with successive realization in time, good intentions are so tempting—and have so often in them some narcotic that develops an intuition rather than a resilience that begets energy.—

2 Dec. 38

178 These are significant words with ref. to a misplaced joy over power and authority in the spiritual sense: "Do not rejoice in this, that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." St. Anthony (according to information on Athanasius gathered from Möhler) used these words to warn ascetics not to forget the one thing needful along with the power they had to drive out demons.—

6 Dec. 38

179 It was an excellent observation Sibbern made today in his lectures: how one must assume a genuinely ideal being, which has in itself a being prior to its expression in actual being, as one could also see from the fact that one would not say of eternal truths that they now come into being, but that they are now revealed, i.e., in the fullness of time.—

17 Dec. 38

180 It is really curious to see in the pietistic conflicts after Spener's death how the orthodox contrive to allow for a number of moral adiaphora, while it was precisely the pietistic development that allowed for a number of intellectual adiaphora.—But what Xt says surely applies not only in moral but also intellectual respects: Your word shall be yea, yea, and nay, nay, what is more than these comes from evil. 272

18 Dec. 38

181 Paul is the spiritus asper of the Christian life; John is the spiritus lenis.

22 Dec. 38

182 May our talk not be like the flower which today stands in the meadow and tomorrow is thrown into the furnace, not like the flower even if its splendor exceeds the glory of Solomon.—

24 Dec. 38

183 Have you really felt the consolation to be found in the reflection: God tempts no one? Have you felt the otherworldly strength, the supernatural magnitude you acquire, in the face of sin, at the thought that it is your own flesh and blood, or its temptations, that have been overcome once and for all? (No doubt God puts man to the test in order to strengthen and mature him—temptations are meant precisely to humble, because one believes the tempted person will succumb.) But have you also felt humbled by the thought: He is not tempted, not by anyone? Why do you raise your voice almost defiantly to heaven—why do your thoughts assault heaven—or isn't it that you believe your troubles are so great, your grievance so just, your sighs so deep and so gripping, that God should be tempted by them?—

Christmas Day Evening 11:00—

273

184 In the novella so much essentially depends on the total effect produced by the understated multiplicity, because here too it is a matter of: What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable.—

Christmas Day Evening 11:00

185 Father in heaven! Awaken conscience within us, teach us to open our spiritual ears to your voice to attend to what you say, that your will may sound purely and clearly for us as it does in heaven, unadulter-

[a]And if you grant us knowledge of the many glories of science, let us not forget on that account the one thing needful. And if you extinguish our mental powers or allow us to grow so old on this earth that our minds are dulled, Ah! there is one thing which never can be forgotten, even if we forget all else, that we are saved by your Son.—

[a]Why is even your prayer so provocative; is it not because you believe that your grievance is so just that your voice must resound through the heavens and call God from his hidden depths to have dealings with you. It is then that, with these words, "God is not tempted, not by anyone," heaven closes itself to such presumptuous talk, as impotent as it is, as impotent as your arm. But then when you humble yourself before God and say: My God, my God, great is my sin, it cries to you, to the heavens, … then heaven opens again, and God, as the prophet says, looks down upon you through his window and says: Just a little while, just a little while, and I will etc.; then Xt's words regarding you sound as they did before, when spoken of Lazarus: This sick-

ness is not unto death; no, on the contrary, it is unto life.

[a]Grant that in every hour like that there may be born anew in our hearts—youthfully, hopefully—the Abba, the father-name you wish to be called.

ated by worldly shrewdness, undeadened by the voice of passions. Keep us vigilant at working out our salvation in fear and trembling. But also—when the law speaks loudest, when its earnest makes us fearful, when it thunders from Sinai—O! let there also be a soft voice, which whispers to us that we are your children, so that we may cry out with joy: Abba, Father.—

28 Dec. 38—

In *Chr*. development it is a matter of the disciple not being greater than the master; in the world's development that is not the case—therefore we are to honor the *inheritance of the fathers*. **186**

31 Dec. 38

The Lord comes even if we must wait for him; he comes even if we become old like Anna, gray like Simeon (this Noah the 2nd); but we must wait for him in *his house*. **187**

31 Dec. 38

274

188 1839.

Just at this moment I feel the awful truth of the words: Psalm 82:6. "I have said, Ye are gods; and children of the Most High: but ye shall die like men, and fall like a tyrant."—

3 Jan. 39

189 Father in Heaven! When the thought of you awakens in our soul, let it not awaken like a startled bird which then flutters about in confusion, but like the child from sleep with its heavenly smile.

6 Jan. 39

190 The life of every individual also has its Genesis and then its *Exodus*[a] (its exit into the world), its Leviticus, when the mind turns toward heaven, its Numbers, when one begins to count the years, its Deuteronomy.

6 Jan. 39

191 The confusion with us is that we are at the same time the Pharisee and the Publican.

7 Jan. 39

192 The Christian can thrash about a lot in the world and have much to do with it, but his religiousness he must keep to himself, just as the Jews, in buying and selling, used Roman money with the bust of Caesar but in the temple used their own coinage.

8 Jan. 39

[a] It is the same miracle that repeats itself in every Xn's life, the same that amazed the contemporaries at the wedding in Cana; you have served the poor wine first and the good wine after—especially anyone who has experienced how the world serves first the good and then the bad will assent to this.

1 Jan. 39

[b] Chr. walks upon the water.

Prayer

Lord, calm the waves in this breast, subdue the storm! Be still, my soul, so that the divine can work within you! Be still, my soul, so that God may rest within you, that his peace may overshadow you. Yes, Father in heaven, experience has told us often enough that the world cannot give us peace. O! but let us feel that you can give peace; let us perceive the truth of the promise that the whole world cannot take your peace from us.—

1 Jan. 39

[a] Cf. Lk 9:31.

275

And if Xt won't even let us follow him, just as he rejected the prayer of the demon-possessed man, ειναι συν αυτω (Lk 8.38), we will nevertheless, like him, go home to our family and our native soil and proclaim the goodness of God and what has happened to us. Cf. Lk 8:39. **193**

9 Jan. 39

. . . for what hope indeed is there for the Christian teachers of our day, or what are the prospects for those who proclaim the Gospel during this trend of affairs, when the servants of the Word with their Christian dogmas will soon become like watchmen with their edifying verses ("For the sake of Jesus's wounds, forgive us our sins, O gracious God," what a remarkable contrast to all the trade and commerce on the streets and alleys), which no one heeds and whose song attracts attention only because it tells the time—like watchmen ignored except for the statistical information on who has had their banns read for the first, second, and third time in order to give them one more year of grace in which to vegetate.— **194**

9 January, at 9 o'clock in the evening, precisely, provided the watchman crying out here on the square is precise.—

Chr. confidence **195**

My son, be of good heart, your sins are forgiven—this is not the freedom that has no experience of the Law—confidence is hope's present time—hope is like an old woman who stares longingly—confidence is energy and action.—(A) Confidence before men (B) confidence before God. When, once in a while, our eyes turn toward heaven we are astonished at the infinite distance and the eye cannot find a resting place between heaven and earth—but when the eye of the soul seeks God and we feel the infinite distance, then confidence is what counts—but here we have a mediator.

11 January 39

[a] Hebr. 3.6. την παρρησιαν και το καυχημα της ελπιδος (this latter expression is rather a description of the first).

276

196 Father in heaven! Walk with us as once you walked with the Jews in the olden days. O! let us not believe we have outgrown your upbringing, but let us grow up to it, and grow under it, as the good seed grows in patience. Let us not forget what you have done for us, and when your help has been wondrously at hand, let us not seek it again like ungrateful creatures because we ate and became satisfied. Let us feel that without you we achieve nothing at all, but let us not feel it in craven impotence but in strong trust, in the glad assurance that you are powerful in the weak.

16 Jan. 39

197 The pity about me is that my life, my states of mind, always follow two declensions, in which not only the suffixes become different but the whole word is changed.

17 Jan. 39

198 Or do you think that, just as the Jews brought Jehovah a tenth of the fruits of the earth and of the issue of the herds, you are to bring him only one-tenth of your heart, or that just as the Jews labored 6 days out of the week and rested on the 7th, you are to think about the world and its works during those 6 days but about God on the 7th? No, the Christian's tithe and the Xn's sacrifice is his whole heart, and the Xn's holy day is the whole of his life. And if you bring God the tenth, watch out in case God opens his window, as the prophet says, and looks down and sees you.—

17 Jan. 39

199 The Stoic philosopher Empedocles has said somewhere: "Be abstemious in vices."—

17 Jan. 39

[a]Or who are you who divide up hearts, you who even want to do it before the Lord who ransacks hearts and reins, before him, the heart-beholder, who knows what inhabits your heart better than you do yourself, where so many a hidden thought has got a free hand in secret, in the hiding place where it is only so seldom that he has looked with delight when, according to Xt's commandments, you have secretly done well. Whoever is not with me is against me. Or who are you who wants to make your Lord and God as temporal as you yourself are, he for whom 1,000 years are as a day. Recall that you are created in his image and according to his likeness, and this is the highest

his likeness, and this is the highest and the most glorious that can be said—and you wilfully and arbitrarily want to create him in your image and form him according to your likeness.
18 Jan. 39

277

. . . . For sorrow is an old word, almost as old as the world, but "the comforter" is also an old word, yet still not quite as old, just as it does not become quite as old in the life of the individual even though he grew ever so old; there was always a night before the day, a night in which from fear of the world he visited Jesus, or a night when he had misgivings about everything, when he found nothing firm between heaven and earth, a midnight—then Xt visited him, then Xt came as of old to the disciples through closed doors.—
18 Jan. 39

200

The first impression one gets of Xnty is so salutary and powerful as immediately to transform our whole mind,[a] so it is no wonder that along with the disciples we wish to remain on the mountain and pitch our tent there (cf. Mk 9:5 etc.); but, like the disciples, we must come down again from the mountain, and then there often awaits a testing as hard as the demonic was for the disciples (cf. Mk 9:11 etc.).
18 Jan. 39

201

[a]See Lk 9:29

Lord! make our hearts into your temple, in which you take up residence. Let every unclean thought, every earthly desire be found, like the idol Dagon, shattered each morning at the base of the Ark of the Covenant. Teach us to master flesh and blood, and let it be the bloody sacrifice, so that we may say with the apostle: I die daily. 20 Jan. 39

202

Hegel is a Johannes Climacus, who does not storm the heavens like the giants by putting mountain upon mountain, but *enters* it by way of his syllogisms.
20 Jan. 39

203

278

God, give me strength to think only of what I have to do and what you assign to me; bid me walk accord-

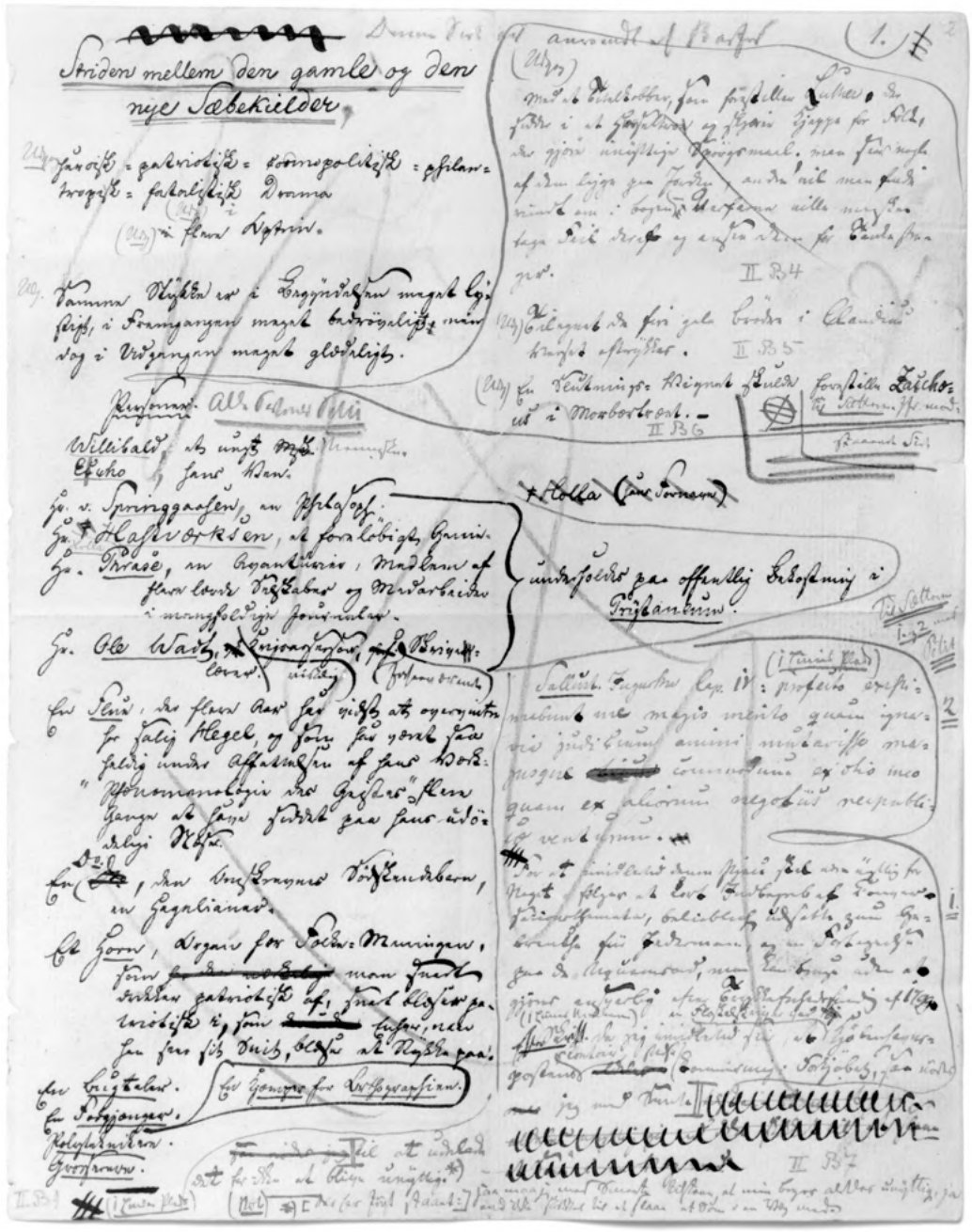
204

ingly as of old you commanded the prophet Elijah: If you meet someone on the way, do not greet him, and if he greets you, do not return the greeting.—
22 Jan. 39

205 The states of a man's soul *ought to be* as the letters *are* in dictionaries—some are very strongly and copiously developed, others have but a few words listed under them—but the soul ought to have a full and complete alphabet.— 23 Jan. 39

206 . . . only when the heart's anxious or proud hypocrisy is dislodged does the word sound for us, just as only when the Pharisees were silenced and departed did Xt's word sound from the fullness of his heart for *the disciples*. 27 Jan. 39

207 Let us gain our souls in patience (cf. Lk 21:19).
28 Jan. 39



Journal DD : 208

280
—Since the title chosen for the piece seems to contain **208**
a misplaced coquetry, it is to be called:

The All-Encompassing Debate of Everything against Everything

or

The Crazier the Better

From the Papers of One Still Living

Published against His Will

by

S. Kierkegaard

[a] Dedicated to the 7 mad men in Europe whom no city wished to own to.—

281 # The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar

Heroic-patriotic-cosmopolitan-philanthropic-fatalistic drama

in several scenes

The same piece is very merry in the beginning, in its development very distressing, yet in the end very joyful.

Characters

Willibald, a young man
Echo, his friend
Mr. Merrythought, a philosopher
Mr.[e] Rushjob, a provisional genius
Mr. Phrase, adventurer, member of several learned societies, and collaborator in numerous journals
Mr. Thomas Stuffing, active military magistrate, ex-teacher of writing
A fly which for several years has had the sense to winter with Hegel of blessed memory, and fortunate enough during the composition of his work, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, to have sat several times on his immortal nose.
A ditto, the latter's nephew, a Hegelian
A horn, voice for popular opinion, from which one sometimes drinks patriotically, at others blows upon patriotically, and on which everyone, when he sees his chance, blows a piece.
A ventriloquist. A champion of orthography.
A pedestrian.
Graduates of the Polytechnic.
Wholesalers.

[b] With a frontispiece portraying Luther sitting on top of a hazel bush and cutting rods for people who ask pointless questions. Some of these are to be seen lying on the ground, others are to be found lying about in the book; the inexperienced may mistake them for dashes.

[c] Dedicated to the four mad brothers given in Claudius's verse (to be printed).

[d] A concluding vignette should portray Zacchaeus in the mulberry tree.

[e] Holla (his first name)

[f] supported at public expense at the Prytaneum

[g] Sallust, Jugurtha cap. iv: profecto existimabunt me magis merito quam ignavia judicium animi mutavisse majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis reipublicæ venturum.—

[h] In order that this piece might be of some use after all, a short compendium of conversational topics follows, belieblich offered zum Gebrauche für Jedermann, and a list of insults that can be employed without being answerable to the freedom of the press ordinance of 1799.
P.S. But since a hack from *Kjøbenhavnsposten*'s office is always getting in ahead of me, painfully I must omit it, so as not to be of no use.

[i]One could also have Willibald sing: "I've got no cash, I'm knocked about," etc. and Echo sing: "Oh what torture, Oh what need, May madness not your fortune be" (this latter aria resembles the former musically and in idea, insofar as a milliner's despair in Aubert can be compared with Leporello's by Mozart).

1st Act

We see Willibald, after giving a little monologue, decide to go off to a tea party where he meets Echo, who captivates the entire gathering with his wealth of ideas, his wit, his sallies borrowed from Willibald. Willibald wishes to leave. The hostess detains him, finally releases him; he hurries back to his room.

Scene

Willibald

(Sitting in his study on his sofa, pipe in mouth, surrounded by a large quantity of opened books and scraps of paper on which he has noted down this and that.)

Reads in Peter Schlemihl.

What a remarkable work this Schlemihl is … or is it a work … is it not myself? … yes, one of Chamisso's fantasies, that's what I am … a shadow itself which for that reason cannot cast any shadow … I subside like Aurora's husband and can soon hold out the hope, like a curiosity of nature under a glass bell, of adorning a showcase of natural curiosities … Ah! Then, sometime, during a very highly learned professor's lectures, I shall shatter the glass and my life's hyperbole will surpass all his decimal- and algebraic calculations … then my final, gigantic fire-spouting sigh will at least strike so much terror into the Philistines that I shall be spared all condolence … (as he exhales a cloud of smoke) and these fog banks, that's the realm I belong to. Ah! see how they condense and take on shapes … Now I'll be shadow myself, then I shall at least invent a new, I will create a … (with great pathos) that became a human being ……. (at the same time the cloud assumes the form of Echo) what do I see, is it not my tormentor—my other I—but am I then I? … It doesn't matter (grabs his sword) this way, you most conscientious bookkeeper of all my words … stand, and with you the whole host of mimics—would that all your heads were on one neck (strikes,

but there is nothing) … it is nothing … what then if I did the same experiment with myself … (turns the sword on himself but just then starts coughing violently) can that piece of quill-feather I was playing with have got into my throat? … I can already feel it sliding down the windpipe (coughs, takes a candle, looks at himself in the mirror) … I am unusually pale (coughs) (from outside we hear someone clearing his throat—there is knocking) … it is my friend, when I cough he clears his throat … I'll bet that he, too, has swallowed a quill-feather … herein! Echo enters with a respectful compliment.

W. Wo komst du her geritten? (Embraces in very friendly fashion)

E. To continue as you have begun: Wir satteln nur um Mitternacht.

W. Bravo! … but unfortunately your time is now over, since it is about to strike one.

E. Oh! In such excellent company … (becomes aware of the sword Willibald still holds in his hand) what do I see? What is the weapon for?

W. At the instigation of a compassionate devil, I was just at the point of killing a grasshopper, so that it could fall at the hand of its only friend (lays down the sword).

E. I don't understand you.

W. Well said.

E. Explain yourself, you are in a state of agitation … why did you leave the party so soon? … they all stormed up to me and asked why … what answer should I have given them?

W.… I don't know … what they wanted.

E. Oh! unburden your heart to me—me with whom you were at school, I who have been privy to so many of your plans.

W. (interrupts him) Yes, you, you to whom the headmaster gave the rod along with me … you my best, my only friend.

E. (continuing), I, to whom you are attached in such
284 deep sympathy, I feel the same … You get bored at parties, and I do too.

W. Oh no, I think they're amusing.

[j] *W.* all novels lie.

E. I've noticed that too. The other day I read a novel beginning with the words: "The passerby has no doubt often caught sight of the yellow-checkered place at the corner of Kronprindsens Gade and Store Købmagergade." Strange, I thought, that's something you've never noticed. I hasten there instantly to get more into the novel by observing it, and, if possible, by getting to know the family described by peeping through the window. But for all my efforts, it was impossible to find such a place.

W. Curious, but did you also notice the year the novel was from or, in any case, the year in which it takes place. Perhaps the place has been painted over.

E. If it's possible, yes that's something I'll certainly enquire into.

W. But then suppose it never had been yellow; then it's odd that you, who yourself write novels, haven't noticed the trick and used it yourself.

E. Yes, I have indeed used it; but it could never occur to me that others did the same.

W. So the next time you make use of such a thing, you'll include in the novel the thought that you very well know there are authors who use this trick to deceive the readers, but that what you yourself say is so true that they are welcome to apply at the property agents and inquire if there isn't a house like that at the designated location.

E. Of course, many of them . . . you seek solitude.
W. You do too.
E. Oh! how sad it is to be misunderstood, not to dare open one's whole heart, yes, misunderstanding, yes, misunderstanding.
W. (with an ironic smile) Yes, but there are cases where the person in question can be very well served thereby.
E. I don't deny it—to some extent.

. . . . .

nonnulla desunt

W. Just now I am standing examining the state of my lungs and heart, my breathing causes tremolos. I can sense exactly how a piece of quill-feather I swallowed is climbing slowly downward in order to do away with me.
E. You should eat a piece of bread or drink something; the other day I too had a crumb go down the wrong way.
W. I am spitting blood—hurry for a doctor.
(E. hurries off in the greatest haste.)
W. Go with God—(as E. shuts the door); go to hell, at last I am rid of him; Oh why have I become a social animal, a human being, why not an owl or a bittern; I'd then be free of the worst pest—friends.

He hurries bareheaded out the door, faster and faster, and nothing is heard but far-off music from a drum, cymbals, and an out-of-tune clarinet delivering the well-known theme from *The Bricklayer*: "No, don't despair; no, don't despair; friends are always near." W. becomes even more anguished over this and he rushes off in a rage.

E. returns with the doctor.
His surprise at not finding W. soon gives way to a solemn sort of mood evoked by the thought of the room now abandoned by its animating principle.
E. I'm very much involved with him, a most remarkable man, an original, full of the most curious ideas that flutter about when he writes, just as the goddess

does, on sheets of paper that he lets be wafted away in the wind; I have been so bold as to say so once in a novella, about which a reviewer has been good enough to say that I would surely be amazed in my later years that I could have had such genius in my youth.

D. Oh, if at that time you should not altogether have lost your memory, it should be able to provide the required information.

E. It's someone I keep my eye on just like the police do with suspicious persons, as I put it in a novella; and in my double-entry bookkeeping of ideas, there is a book reserved just for him. If it weren't for the fact that I would harm myself, especially my fee, as much as I would benefit the common cause, I would publish a special work on the arrangement of such bookkeeping. To you, however, I will impart it.

D. Remember, though, that that is indeed the first step.

E. Never fear. I am convinced your practice will prevent you making use of it. Besides it has cost me a great deal of time to find the correct result in reckoning the sequence of literary crop-rotation as well as the chemical investigation of the marl I use and its relation to the state of my crops.

D. As much as I'd like to hear about it, you will see in the same reason that causes your willingness to impart it to me a sufficient reason and therefore … perhaps a later, more auspicious moment will bring us together once again, and then you might perhaps have the goodness … unless in this same favor of time you should see a reason for silence. So farewell.

E. Who knows if it wasn't a fortunate Governance that stopped me the first time I was at the point of betraying my secret, albeit I won't deny that I would wish that someone or other could speak to people of the great secret I possess.

We return, however, to Willibald, as we saw him, in
286 despair over the friendly final valedictory air, he rushed off in hope of at least avoiding friends for once. But that's just what was about to happen to him. In his confusion he ran into a man who, as he now discovered, was engrossed in a conversation with two others. After making his apologies he received in answer

[k]big betting dispute among 3 revivalists as to who is the greatest sinner.

[l]N. B. In this book only the line of thought for what follows will be given, the rest to be done gradually on bits of paper.

that he had no need to apologize, for he was a great sinner, as he well knew, and it should gladden him that the good fortune befell him to suffer something for Xt's sake.—Willibald had hardly left them before, in great haste, hurrying off again in no particular direction and declaiming aloud to himself: "Once my honor was as a mirror-clear shield of polished steel … now there is a spot of bloody rust on it …." This speech, uttered aloud, attracts the attention of an undercover police officer sent out to apprehend some revivalists, and this talk of "bloody rust" is more than enough to make him highly suspect. However, W. was now out of sight, and since in spite of the policeman's most eager endeavors, it proved impossible to seize him, readers will perceive the necessity of his being no longer anywhere to be found on earth.—

2nd Act

A fantastic region. Prytaneum—in which the persons mentioned are supported at public expense.

Everything is arranged in a triangular way—3 packs of cards, etc.

1st Scene

Thomas Stuffing Holla Rushjob

T. Stuffing. As I say, I in no way disapprove of your general direction. I am, on the contrary, most willing to acknowledge your immortal services to national affairs. But as far as style goes, and expression, there is always something that offends—your pen is not mild enough, if I may say so.

R. You think then that that is because I use a steel nib?

T. Quite right! You have made a much profounder remark than perhaps you yourself think. There is nothing that corrupts the hand and the heart more than a steel nib. How would a love letter be that was written with steel?

R. It has surely a profound practical meaning, a symbolic character, that steel has been transferred in this way from lances and spears to the pen.

T. I already feel, alas, I feel that the sword of the age has

pierced my heart, that our age has lost that mildness, flexibility, resilience, and grace that gladdened the past.
R. Am I now to be plagued with the old story of the past? It was a state of idyllic innocence but now we are men; now we are to engage things in earnest, arm ourselves with iron gloves.
T. You mean with steel nibs.
R. Oh, to the devil with your goose-feather; you have no high-minded feelings; you have a soul like a goose-feather.

(goes off in a rage)

2nd Scene

The previous Phrase Merrythought

(Mr. Merrythought a small, unassuming man, one of whose legs was a good six inches shorter than the other, and who, in order to give his philosophical ideas a visible form, first having lifted himself up on the longest leg, was used to abandoning this—as he used to say—illusory standpoint in order to gain the deeper reality.)

Phrase stops Rushjob.

P. Let me stay your fleet and hurried foot for a moment, Mr. Rushjob. A project of great importance has for some time occupied my mind, an affair in whose completion I hope I might dare reckon with your favorable cooperation. We should by no means strive to isolate the great store of knowledge each of us possesses, but work hand in hand to realize grandiose goals; but not only that, we should also strive to make
288 the great results of science available to the people. The age's development should gain in extensity what it loses in intensity.
M. Yes, popularity is all very well, but my doubt is by no means popular, it is not a doubt about this or about that, not about one thing or another; no, it is an infinite doubt. Indeed, I am sometimes troubled by a veritable scientific doubt as to whether I have doubted enough; for doubt is the specifique of modern philosophy, which, said in parenthesi, began with Descartes, who said de omnibus disputandum est, whereby he to-

[m] When M. explained his skepticism properly, he usually laid his finger meaningfully upon his nose, in order, as Rushjob remarked, to have one firm point in infinite doubt.

tally nullified the principle that had previously been reckoned as foundational: de gustibus non est disputandum. You can see how impossible it would be to convey such great scientific problems to the common man.
P. Neither is it my own view that one really ought to write for peasants; no, for the educated middle class, for wholesalers, polytechnicians, for capitalists, and if one adapted the style a little more . . .
Stuffing. Excuse me, that's just what I have explained to Mr. Rushjob, yes, the style, the manner of writing, that's what matters. One takes some of the sharpness, angularity, the all-too-pointedness from modern philosophy's polygonality, one rounds off the forms a little more, and there's no doubt we will succeed in writing the new development from that date forward.
Rushj. Philosophy this, philosophy that. It is not philosophy that matters. It is the practical questions, questions of life—in short, life.
M. Ah, what is life!
P. Life is a going out of itself returning back to itself.
M. Etc. etc. it was only to show Mr. Rushjob that it is exceedingly hard to become popular that I presented my objection. The profound demand of modern philosophy δοσ μοι που στω applies here too. But where in the vulgar sphere of reasoning am I to find a foothold. δοσ μοι που στω.
R. Yes, to you it must always seem hard to find a foothold, and that's just about the case with all philosophers on such a bad footing as you, Mr. Merrythought. 289
M. That is a low blow.
Stuffing Yes, he lacks form. Offensiveness is so evident in every one of his utterances.

Nonnulla desunt

3rd Scene.

Willibald

(Somewhat confused in his appearance, he looks about himself wonderingly, notices the inscription "Pryta-

neum," casts himself to the ground with joy and kisses it, erupts in joy at being freed from the life in which, until now, he has been enslaved, and at finding himself translated to a region where wisdom must necessarily reside. He catches sight of Merrythought, walks toward him with deep respect.)

Willibald. (Approaching M.) Without really knowing where I am, it is nonetheless a consolation for me that we—that I have left the home of all my plagues behind. The outer surroundings, the entire overall impression has evoked a joyous conception in me, a happy presentiment that here wisdom must be found, that I may be cured here of the fearful relativity I have been subjected to up to now.

M. My dear fellow! I see fully what ails you. It is the Faustian thing; it is what modern philosophy that, said in parenthesi, began with Descartes, has suffered from to such a great degree. (During these lines the other members of the Prytaneum enter the stage in conversation.) (As M. turns to the other members) . . . since I'm just to the point of giving a brief presentation of modern philosophy since Descartes, I can perhaps be of service to those others present by speaking publicly about it, so all can hear.

Phrase. Is it the same exposition, a large part of which I have already appropriated before? Oh, then you would do at least myself a great service with such a repetition, putting me in a position to survey, from the Mount of Ascension of speculative philosophy, the historical incarnations of the great ideas.

M. Oh what joy to have such a disciple—what indefatigableness—yes, soon, even if not having the far-reaching influence of your master, you will nevertheless fill with honor a Docent's position in the Northern lands and disperse the hyperborean darkness.

Gentlemen

It is from the, during his lifetime, persecuted (whether he really was persecuted, I don't know, but since it is several centuries since he lived, he has reverted so much into mythology that in its light he has necessarily been persecuted), after his death forgotten, but now for all time immortalized Descartes, that the

whole modern philosophy dates. I do know, unfortunately, that some ignorant people have sneaked into our company who, in earthly busyness with the most inferior interests, take the world to have begun last year, and not with us. Gentlemen, observe contemplation's now world-historically instated Intuitive Day of Prayer, after which hum.kind, that is to say, the philosopher—after returning from the immed. paradisial state of innocence, through life's dialectic, back to the immed.—ought not, for that very reason, work, but should relive in intuitive delight the already experienced drama of the world. Yet nothing shall disturb me in my contemplative calm. I see the opposite intuition as a vanishing moment, if for no other reason than that mine would not otherwise be the one that stands fast. It was Descartes who uttered the remarkable, eternally unforgettable words: cogito ergo sum and de omnibus disputandum est—words which really ought, in every well-ordered speculative state, to be taught in confirmation class, and which, at the very least, no theology graduate should be ignorant of since, without them, no speculative caretaker of souls can entertain any hope of successfully tending to his difficult calling.

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Yes, large thoughts, as far as these words—I repeat: cogito ergo sum and de omnibus disp. est—are taken as the state's scholarly watchword, as a palladium that will eliminate all heresy; words which, like the word "Adam," will remind us of the creation of our intellectual life.

Nonnulla desunt

The president. Seeing that holding such long monologues is against our laws as well as the dramatic propriety we have hitherto observed in our society, in discharge of my office I must interrupt you.

M. It would pain me if my eloquence should have carried me away into a transgression of the established norms of our society. And if that truly is the case, then the sole reason must be found in the freer delivery to

which I have submitted myself with regard to our catechumen, whom I wished to place at the right standpoint also with regard to the character of our society. I dare, with the greatest serenity, call several of the gentlemen present to witness that the short lectures I usually hold on modern philosophy since Descartes, or rather, on modern philosophy, would in no way be too long even in the best arranged drama. Yes, Mr. President, I will wager that it will last no more than 1½ minutes, since I have precisely arranged it with regard to our society's requirements.

President. I am compelled to call you to order and command silence.

M. It was Descartes who said cogito ergo sum and de omnibus dubitandum.

President. Silentium!

M. Spinoza then put this standpoint into effect objectively, so that all existence became undulations of the absolute.

President. Beadles, approach.

M. This objectivity was distilled away altogether, however, in the Critical movement, and since Kant only completed this skepticism to a certain degree, it was left
292 to Fichte to look this Medusa in the eyes in the night of criticism and abstraction.

President. Seize him and lead him away.

M. Since I see one wants to use force, I cannot do the thing about Sleiermacher, but it was Hegel who speculatively concentrated the previous systems and, with him, knowledge has therefore reached its proper dogmatic zenith.

(The beadles make as though to grasp him.)

I am now finished, and with Hegel the whole of world history is over, just carry me off; for now there is nothing left but mythology and I myself will become a mythological person.

Phrase. That is an altogether one-sided standpoint (clears his throat) Gentlemen, I have gone beyond Hegel, as yet just where I cannot exactly say; but I have gone beyond him.

M. What must I listen to, snake! Judas! Let me go, or the eternal idea will forever succumb to matter.

President. Lead him to jail.

(They lead him away.)

Phrase. I repeat, gentlemen, I have gone beyond Hegel. It was modern philosophy that began with Descartes, who said, cogito ergo sum and de omnibus dubitandum est.

President (interrupting him). Since Mr. Merrythought has provoked some unpleasant scenes and thus has caused tempers to be strained, I am compelled to adjourn the meeting. Go your several ways—what pains me most, however, is that we were not able straightaway to have an opportunity to hear Mr. M.'s opinion on a most difficult matter that has arisen in our society. It will, however, be taken up tomorrow at the general assembly, cui vos ut frequentes adsitis etiam atque etiam rogamus. missa est ecclesia.—

Meanwhile, the Prytaneum had no idea what should be done with Willibald, who had found himself only little edified and satisfied with M.'s philosophical lectures. It was finally decided to refer him to the scholarly institution that the Prytaneum had founded—the *world-historical high school*. This however was not yet completed, and only the atrium could be put to use. This was nevertheless large enough for 4 professors to lecture at the same time without disturbing one another; yes, it was so large that not even the audience could hear what the lecturers were elaborating, despite the fact that they continually wiped sweat from their strain-softened brows. 2 of these 4 professors said the same word for word, and when they were finished they turned around as though to say no one in the world could say such a thing.

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Willibald had by now gradually, through personal contact, been won over to the views prevailing in the Prytaneum, to the extent of already regretting having, in his bitterness over Merryth., sent in a proposal to the President, namely, a question as to how it was that the sun in the Prytaneum never ever changed its position, and why, as consequence, the light always re-

mained the same, a question that now troubled the Prytaneum greatly and was the occasion of the general assembly now to be held.

General Assembly

Pres., M., Phrase, Thomas Stuffing, Hola Rushj., Polytechnicians, Philologists, etc.

The President presents the matter for debate, in which, in view of its already having been announced, he hoped the discussions would go more smoothly.

Hola Rushj. I beg the floor. The phenomenon upon which attention is now to be directed is of great importance, even though, for anyone who has followed with a watchful eye the recent giant stride to emancipate the sciences and macadamize them, it is easy to explain: it is the light of dawn, it is the solemn breaking of the day, it is the sun's battle with the last exertions of the dark, it is as a poet has said, the Prytaneum's May and the Prytaneum's morning. Once these are overcome the results of the great birth pangs of our age will stand in full view; we will then herald the golden year, the real new year, when all the old leaven and all the old school-duncery, all Jesuitism and papistry are swept away.

M. I by no means fail to appreciate the esteemed speaker's efforts to make the prospects for the future as bright as possible; but I will say that he has a tendency to hurry forward all too much, to go all too much gerade aus; I, on the other hand, feel the dialectical pulse in me; I move in the true speculative zigzag. Just as one sees that, in its locomotion, the common fish, the common fowl, the common beast always simply follows its nose, while the noble bird of prey, the worthy fish of prey, the proud beast of prey is seen to master its quarry in a leap, so too with the genuine speculative movement when one wants to effect the profound meaning of the genuine speculative picture. So there simply cannot be talk of prospects in grasping the states of the world, at least not gerade aus as with Mr. Rushjob's enchanting views; rather, that which occurs for speculative observation should

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[n](this speech should of course be worked out at much greater length, but for now I will just give an indication.) 1

be called insights, just as a snake that bites its own tail (this inexhaustible image of speculation) cannot be said to look out but to look in, in such a way that finally it looks from behind into its own eye, looks as it were out and into its own eye and from its own eye simultaneously.

Rushj. I have listened to Mr. M.'s expatiations long enough; they are nothing but Hegel's famous perpetuum mobile of thought. But we who work for life, we who have been discharged from school into life, cannot honestly allow ourselves to be content with riding round and round on horseback without coming further on life's way, and we cannot let ourselves be put off by Mr. M.'s inexhaustible, or as it rather seems imperishable, snake images, or by all the fancies that can only occur in the brain of a man born under the sign of Capricorn, as Mr. M. presumably is; yes we leap no doubt rightly over all his leaps.

M. Without letting myself be put off by Mr. Rushjob's misunderstanding, which deprives me of some of my pleasure at seeing that he has nevertheless grasped one thing correctly—the transitional category whereby one goes beyond one's predecessor, I shall proceed to 295
solving the problem before us. The phenomenon is susceptible, namely, of the following solution, that it is the evening light. Philosophy, you see, is life's evening, and with Hegel, who speculatively concentrated the previous rational systems, it has made its world-historical entry.

Phrase. I have gone beyond Hegel.

Rushjob. I demand a vote.

President. Will it be with ballot balls or an open vote?

M. I demand the floor. It seems to me unreasonable to want to decide such a question by vote, and it is my unshakable conviction that the finiteness reached in discussion by a vote is really not anything finite at all, but rather the bad infinite.

(Several talk at the same time.)

A. It is a matter of the greatest importance.

B. It is a question of life.

C. It is a question of principle.

D. It is a life-principle.

A polytechnic graduate. The State is a galvanic apparatus.
M. The State is an organism.
Phrase. Mr. President, I call on you to pronounce whether it is I who am speaking, or else I demand the floor.
Rushj. I insist that the question whether it should be put to a vote should itself be put to a vote. I champion freedom; we will no longer let ourselves be pressed by these tyrannical philosophers.
Thomas Stuffing. Friends, how sad it would be if such a question were to destroy the good understanding in our venerable society.
President. The difficulty will be whether our laws allow the vote in such an instance.
A philologist. I petition that a committee be appointed, consisting of people expert in antiquarian scholarship, to discover, through sound criticism, the meaning of the law.
President. The esteemed speaker's proposal seems, on the grounds that the laws are only 1 year old, superfluous.

In the midst of these noisy proceedings arrives Willibald, who, in the meantime at the Prytaneum's world-historical high school, had now been won over
296 to the society's ideas; he assures them that it was not at all the case that the sun, the physical thing, really changed its position; he only wanted with all this to suggest the poetic, the philosophical, cosmopolitan eternity that, in a spiritual sense, had already taken effect in the Prytaneum.

This calms tempers and the assembly is adjourned.

3rd Act

Willibald.

(He strolls in a fantastic landscape close by the Prytaneum.)

(With mounting pathos) Thou infinite, thou … what shall I call thee? What name can I give thee, thou infinite denominator of all human numerators, thou abso-

lute spirit, who are no longer a mystery to me, but whose secret depths I can now plumb; yes, this is a good place to be, here is wisdom's native soil, here where I found my immortal teacher Mr. Merrythought, yes, now the light has dawned for me on everything. (as he says this a fly buzzes past him and delivers some Hegelian propositions; and the horn is heard sounding some political theorems) this too, only this was lacking, now surely world history is over; for Nature can now seize the Concept.

Thomas Stuffing enters.

T. S. Dear young friend, you should do everything to bring about unity in the society; for the latest events have left a tense mood behind them which troubles me greatly.
W. I am on my way, I will do everything in my power.

(They leave arm in arm)

Willibald; M.; Hol. Rushj.; Thomas Stuffing; Phrase, etc

W. Although I believe that the real point at issue is repealed by my withdrawing my petition, I still think 297
that we should intimate in some way or other that peace has been restored; I think we should begin a new calendar and to that end also give our society a new name under which in other respects it will nevertheless remain the same. I propose therefore that in future we call it the New- and the Old-Prytaneum, written NB with a hyphen.
Rushj. I for my part am not the least interested in such logical determinations; only if it hints at some new development will I support it.
M. The proposal itself strikes me as extremely speculative. One might well think that erasing the old inscription "Prytaneum" and then writing "Prytaneum" again made no difference, but that would only be to return to the immed., where the dialectical oppositions had not yet developed and speculatively penetrated each other; but that is not correct. On top of that comes

the fact that the whole event throws a remarkable light on a myth, with which I am sure all those present are familiar, namely the conflict betw. the old and the new soap-cellar and, as a consequence, also illuminates the speculative meaning of myth in general, that it contains an anticipation of history, a preliminary attempt, so to speak, at becoming history.

T. Stuffing. However much I appreciate what Mr. M. has said, I think for that reason we should also preserve the memory of this unforgettable day in a more material way by raising a memorial column, a monument. That rewards, public praise as well as prizes, have a very beneficial effect is something I learned while a teacher of writing in secondary school.

A monument is then raised, on which occasion several enthusiastic toasts are proposed, especially by Willibald.

End.—

Notes for
JOURNAL AA

Critical Account of the Text of Journal AA
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NOTES FOR JOURNAL AA

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript and Its Transmission

Journal AA was originally a "bound book, in quarto, marked on the inside: A. A.,"[1] but today the cover, along with more than three-fourths of the text of the actual journal itself, has been lost. Only nine pages survive. These pages are kept in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Even though only nine pages are preserved, we know from H. P. Barfod's catalogue (*B-cat.*), which was written while *AA* was still intact, that the journal originally consisted of more than eighty pages.[2] Thus, many of Kierkegaard's handwritten entries have been lost, but in most cases a published version of the text has been preserved in Barfod's *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*) [From the Posthumous Papers of Søren Kierkegaard].[3] Here we find most of the entries, which, according to *B-cat.*, were originally found in *AA*.[4] We do not know why so many pages disappeared, but they were presumably lost at the printer's office. Barfod had sent the original manuscripts to the typesetter to use while preparing the published edition. That Barfod used the journal itself for this purpose can be seen from the surviving pages of the manuscript, which contain many of his corrections[5] and instructions to the printer.

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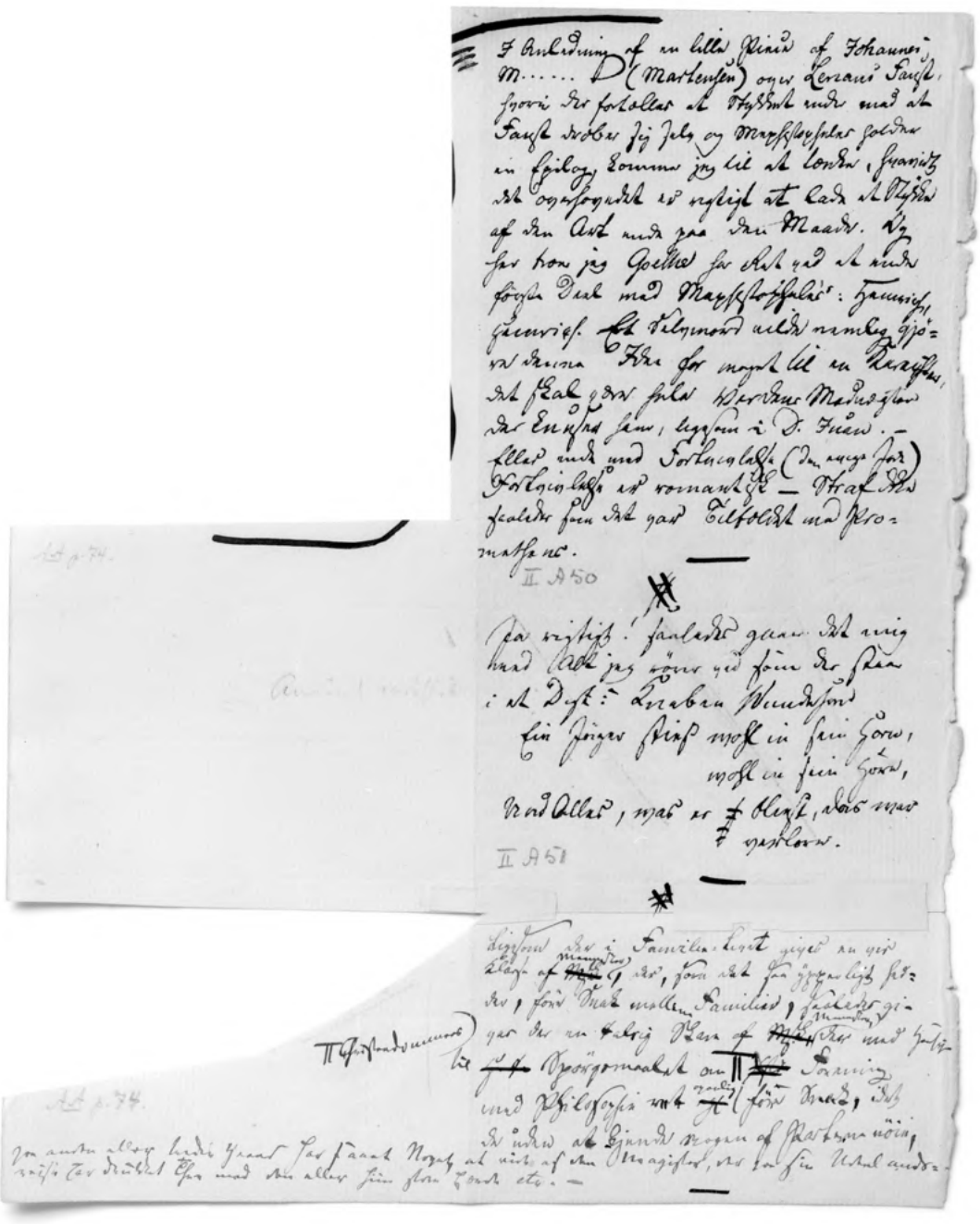
1) H. P. Barfod's catalogue (*B-cat.*), p. 437. See also "Tekstkritiske retningslinier for *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter.* Journaler, notesbøger og papirer," paragraph 1.3, *SKS*, vol. 17, pp. 305f.

2) According to *B-cat.*, the last entry began on p. 80. Thereafter Barfod writes: "Four loose small pages have been found in the book.—The rest of the book has no writing in it."

3) H. P. Barfod, H. Gottsched (eds.), *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer*, vols. 1–8 (Copenhagen, 1869–81).

4) *EP* I–II, pp. 38–67, 69–75, and 100–104. According to *B-cat.*, the entries appeared in the journal on pp. 1–52 and 77f.

5) In many cases it is difficult to determine whether the corrections have



1. Journal AA:38–40; see *KJN* 1, 43–44. The remains of the outline drawn by Barfod reveal that there had been a marginal entry in the outer column.

Barfod writes in the foreword to *EP* that he ordered and organized the selected entries in his edition "according to chronology,"[1] i.e., he broke up units of text and reordered them in order to establish a chronological sequence. By contrast, the editors of *SKS* wish to reproduce each physical unit—each journal, notebook, set of loose papers—as a whole and, within each of these wholes, to reproduce the individual entries in their original sequence, regardless of the differing times of composition.[2] With the use of *B-cat.*, the internal sequence of the entries can be reconstructed; moreover, the catalogue also provides information about the format and size of the paper, the page number, and the opening words of each entry (or in some cases key words from the middle or the last part of the entry),[3] see illustration 2. In *SKS* the entries are published in their original sequence, according to *B-cat*.

The journal consists of fifty-six entries; the original manuscripts for twenty-seven of these have been either wholly or partially lost. Of these twenty-seven entries, the textual content of twenty-five of them has nonetheless been recorded and preserved in *EP*.[4] Quantitatively, these twenty-five entries constitute more than three-quarters of the journal. The exact wording of two entries has been

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been made by Kierkegaard or Barfod, but with chemical analyses of the ink in a newly developed electron microscope, it is possible in most of the cases to unambiguously identify the person responsible. See also "Tekstkritiske retningslinier for *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*," paragraph 9.2, *SKS*, vol. 17, pp. 330f.

1) *EP* I–II, p. xi.

2) See "Tekstkritiske retningslinier," paragraph 1, *SKS*, vol. 17, pp. 303–307f.

3) A comparison of the surviving entries from the manuscript shows that one main entry is not registered in *B-cat*. It is AA:54, which Barfod perhaps neglected to register since the entry concerned Kierkegaard's private life. The entry is, however, included in Barfod's selection in *EP* I–II. In another case Barfod has presumably entered an incorrect page number for the beginning of an entry, since AA:14, which according to *B-cat*. is supposed to have been on pp. 41–46 in the manuscript, can at most have filled four manuscript pages; this is consistent with the fact that the entry preceding this one, i.e., AA:13, which is given as beginning on p. 40, must have filled more than one page in the manuscript.

4) AA:1–21 together with AA:50–53.

completely lost, and the only record we have of them is their registration in *B-cat*.[1] In these two cases, *SKS* has reproduced the words registered in *B-cat*. A single marginal entry has not survived in any form; it has been cut out of the journal and is neither included in *EP* I–II nor registered in *B-cat*.,[2] but the fact that it was written at the top of page 74 beside the entry AA:38, is evidenced by the remains of the frame that Barfod drew around the text, which can be seen on the part of the page that has survived; see illustration 1. Barfod presumably framed the entry in order to indicate where it should be published in his edition, but he later decided not to include it.[3]

Barfod's Reproduction of the Manuscript

In the foreword to *EP*, Barfod says that "of course, as a rule" the spelling is Kierkegaard's own, but that he allowed himself to make corrections here and there, for example, in cases where Kierkegaard spelled the same word in several different ways. Barfod also corrected straightforward errors, for example, "Thisville" (instead of "Tisvilde," the name of a village in North Zealand) and "beskinder" (instead of "beskinner," i.e., "to shine"). Barfod notes that he followed his own intuitive sense for language and, for example, consistently corrected Kierkegaard's "Een" to "En" (orthographical variant for the number "one"). Punctuation was "adopted according to best judgment" since it was "almost impossible to discern any

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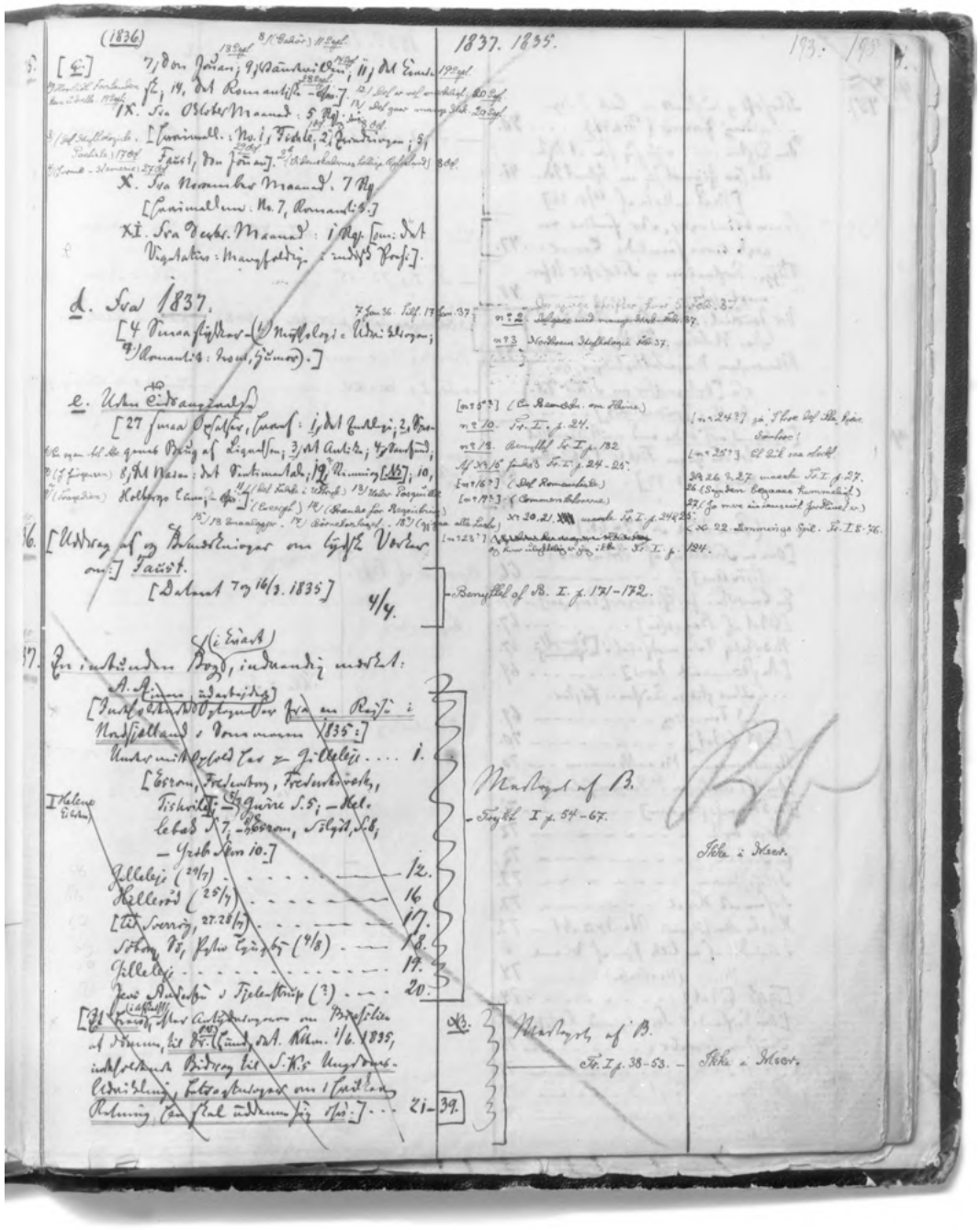
1) AA:48 and AA:49. The entries were on p. 77 of the journal.

2) None of the journal's marginal entries is registered in *B-cat*.

3) The marginal entry which was cut out might be identical with the entry "Oh how unlucky I am—Martensen has written a treatise on Lenau's Faust!" which survives only in Barfod's handwriting on the next to last page in *AA*. However, this is likely not the case since above his handwritten entry, Barfod notes, "On a little strip of paper." He would likely not have done so if he himself had cut the entry out and copied it from another page in the journal. Barfod presumably inserted this entry into *AA* since it fits here chronologically. Cf. *EP* I–II, p. 124, where it is reproduced with the dating: " ... around the month of June."



2. Barfod's registration of entries AA:1–12 in *B-cat.*

rule in the handwritten manuscript." Barfod's insertions and notes, he says, are "*always* placed in square brackets [—]."[1]

There are five entries in *AA* which exist wholly or in part both in Kierkegaard's manuscript and in the published version in *EP*.[2] A comparison of these shows that Barfod chiefly changes Kierkegaard's orthography and punctuation, but he also emphasizes words and passages by means of italics which were not italicized by Kierkegaard. However, in one instance, the opposite is the case: Kierkegaard's italicizing of an entire section is reproduced only in part in *EP*. Moreover, without noting it in brackets, Barfod adds words and inserts punctuation marks that were not in Kierkegaard's text. By contrast, words and entire sentences from the manuscript have been omitted, and the wording in many places has been changed. Finally, Barfod avoids publishing entries which divulge information about Kierkegaard's private life.

II. Dating and Chronology

Only a few of the journal's fifty-six entries are dated. The first eleven entries concern Kierkegaard's stay in Gilleleje from June 17 to August 22 or 23, 1835.[3] These entries are followed by another, AA:12, which has the form of a letter in two parts, purportedly to the natural scientist P. W. Lund.[4] It was apparently written as a draft in Copenhagen on June 1, 1835 and was completed no earlier than August 1, 1835—while Kierkegaard was still at Gilleleje. The next two entries were written on October 17 and 19, 1835 respectively. The seven entries that follow are undated, but in view of the fact that AA:22 is dated March 19, 1837, they must have been written between October 19, 1835 and that date. Of these seven entries, AA:19–21 must have been written after the publication of the journal *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* [Humoristic Intelligence Papers] or

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1) *EP* I–II, pp. xivf.

2) *EP* I–II, pp. 104, 122–124, and 178.

3) See the explanatory note to AA:1 in *KJN* 1, 307.

4) See the explanatory note to AA:12 in *KJN* 1, 319.

in any case after May 4, 1836.[1] It follows from this that entries AA:15–18 were written between October 19, 1835 and May 4, 1836. The other entries were written in the period from March 19 to May 16, 1837. The entries in *AA* were thus written in the period from June 1835 to the middle of May 1837. The fact that there are only seven entries and a single note added to AA:12 written during the period from October 19, 1835 to March 19, 1837—seventeen months—owes presumably to the circumstance that Kierkegaard was also writing in *Journal BB* during that same time.[2]

Not all the dated entries fit into a clean chronological sequence. Entry AA:7 is dated July 25, while the entry preceding it is dated July 29. Moreover, entry AA:12—the letter to P. W. Lund—contains two dates and places of composition which do not fit into the chronology. The first part of the entry is dated "*Copenhagen*, 1 June 1835," the second part, "*Gilleleje, 1 Aug. 1835.*" Furthermore, it is difficult to determine whether entries AA:2–9 were written continuously, i.e., from June 5 to August 4, or whether Kierkegaard recorded his experiences later, i.e., after August 4. In this context it should be noted that in entry AA:2, Kierkegaard mentions Lake Gurre and compares its surroundings to those of Lake Søborg; this comparison seems to presuppose the excursion to Lake Søborg that is described in entry AA:9. It is therefore likely that AA:2 was written after August 4, 1835. All things considered, these discrepancies suggest that Kierkegaard did not write AA:1–11 as he experienced the events described there; the extent to which he wrote them during his stay in Gilleleje or after his return to Copenhagen cannot be determined. The remaining entries seem to form a chronological sequence, as is indicated by the few dates which are given.[3]

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1) See the explanatory note to AA:20 in *KJN* 1, 337.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*," pp. 361–362. From December 1836 to the beginning of 1837 Kierkegaard also wrote the Danish entries in *Journal CC* (see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal CC*," pp. 430–432), and in the spring of 1837, he also wrote the dramatic sketch, "The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar" (see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal DD*," pp. 482-484). In the period from September 1836 to March 1837 he also wrote a series of entries that were inserted into *Journal FF*.

3) A series of notes that were added later indicates that Kierkegaard returned to the journal many times. This is true of AA:14, for example.

III. Contents

The contents of the many entries are highly heterogeneous and cannot be summed up under a single heading. Some of the entries, however, concern specific events or constellations of problems. Accordingly, the journal can—tentatively—be divided in the following manner: the first eleven entries focus on Kierkegaard's stay in Gilleleje which lasted more than two months. He reports on various incidents and describes the countryside of North Zealand. In the following six entries he is concerned with the relation between philosophy and Christianity. In the three entries that follow, he begins with a short overview of his journalistic essays in 1835 and 1836 and is preoccupied with the reaction to the four articles which he published in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post] from February 18 to April 10, 1836.[1] In these articles he made his debut in the literary world. They awakened great interest, and in a letter containing six "extra off-prints" of the second and third articles—which constituted a short treatise in two parts under the title "On the Polemic of *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland]"—the editor of *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*, J. L. Heiberg, writes: "Once more, my thanks for your essay. It pleased me even more on this new reading."[2] Kierkegaard mentions with satisfaction the "joy" which the articles caused, and notices that even his teacher and friend, Poul Martin Møller, thought that J. L. Heiberg was the author.

It is impossible to give a general collective description of the rest of the journal, i.e., AA:22–56. In several of the entries Kierkegaard is concerned with the self-contradictions and irony in Nordic mythology and ancient heroic tales and sagas (in particular, Holger Dan-

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He wrote the main entry on October 19, 1835; on September 10, 1836, he added a footnote; four months after that—on January 14, 1837—he added another footnote. Entry AA:51 offers another example. The entry is undated, but a footnote, which was presumably added later, is dated August 26, 1837, while a marginal note is dated October 11 of the same year.

1) See the explanatory notes to AA:19 in *KJN* 1, 336.

2) Kierkegaard Archive, D pk. 2; published in *B&A*, vol. 1, p. 39f. *LD*, p. 51.

ske), which were presented by N. F. S. Grundtvig, C. C. Rafn, and K. L. Rahbek.

Taking his point of departure in I. H. Fichte's book *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer* [The Idea of the Personality and the Continuity of the Individual], he deals in one entry, AA:22, with the concept of reciprocity [*Wechselwirkung*] in German philosophy, anthropology, and theology; with the individual in relation to predestination and hereditary sin; and with incarnation and Christianity as the second creation. This entry covers various issues to which he returned when he wrote *The Concept of Anxiety*. This is also true of the following entry, AA:23, which gives examples of presentiment [*anelse*].

In three of the journal's last entries, AA:52–54, Kierkegaard writes about more personal matters. The entries reveal that he had close relations to the Rørdam family and that he showed an interest in Peter Rørdam's youngest sister, Bolette.[1]

The Letter to P. W. Lund

Entries AA:1–12 all concern Kierkegaard's stay in Gilleleje. Henning Fenger, however, has called into doubt the degree to which the entries refer to actual events. He claims—in opposition to Niels Thulstrup's view—that AA:12 is a fictional letter with a fictional date.[2] With reference to AA:34—where, under the heading "A Foreword," Kierkegaard sketches the idea for a work that is to bear the title "Letters"—Fenger also claims that AA:12 is a part of an epistolary novel, which Kierkegaard purportedly worked on in 1836 but never managed to complete.[3] With this in mind, it is, on the one

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1) See the explanatory note to AA:53 in *KJN* 1, 357.

2) Cf. Henning Fenger, *Kierkegaard, the Myths and Their Origins*, trans. George C. Schoolfield (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 93f. and p. 96. In *B&A* Thulstrup included the first part of the letter as an actual letter, cf. vol. 1, pp. 32–37.

3) *Kierkegaard, the Myths and Their Origins*, pp. 81–131. Fenger claims that Kierkegaard wrote the letter a year later, that is, in 1836. The reason is that "if he immediately began work on his very extensive review of the National Liberal press, in preparation for his lecture of November 28, 1835, before the Student Association, we would have a quite plau-

hand, difficult to determine the circumstances under which AA:12 was written and, on the other hand, to answer the question: why did Kierkegaard travel to Gilleleje?

It is clear from AA:12 that Kierkegaard's father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, urged him to get on with finishing up his university studies.[1] But his pleas fell on deaf ears. In March 1835 his brother P. C. Kierkegaard writes in his diary: "Søren now does not seem *at all* to be studying for his qualifying examinations. May God help him out of the internal ferment in a good manner and for the salvation of his soul."[2] According to his brother, the stay in Gilleleje was intended to be the turning point. P. C. Kierkegaard writes in his journal on July 7, 1835: "To judge from his letters, Søren is now healthy and moving along with his studies."[3] Kierkegaard himself writes in the first part of the letter to P. W. Lund:

> As far as little irritations are concerned, I will remark only that I am embarked on studies for the theological degree, an occupation that does not interest me in the least and which therefore is not going particularly quickly. I have always preferred free, perhaps therefore also rather indefinite, studies to the offerings at private dining clubs where one knows beforehand who the guests will be and what food will be served each day of the week. Since it is, however, a requirement, and one is hardly permitted entry to the scholarly commons without first being branded, and regarding it in view of my present state of mind as beneficial to myself, in the knowledge that by doing this I can make my father very happy (he thinks that the real Canaan lies on the other side of the

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sible explanation for the fact that the Gilleleje entries were composed later, that is, in 1836, probably at the end of the year." *Kierkegaard, the Myths and Their Origins*, p. 114 (translation slightly modified). Fenger designates AA:34, which includes the aforementioned foreword, as in this context the "absolutely central entry, the 'matchless discovery' and the 'secret note,' " which connects a series of different entries, *Kierkegaard, the Myths and Their Origins*, p. 102; Fenger also regards, for example, AA:7 and AA:12 as belonging to the literary Gilleleje entries; cf. p. 112.

1) See AA:12, p. 18 in this volume.

2) P. C. Kierkegaard's diary 1830–50 (NKS 2656, 4°), p. 64.

3) P. C. Kierkegaard's diary 1830–50 (NKS 2656, 4°), p. 67.

> theological degree, but also, like Moses of old, ascends Mount Tabor and declares that I will never get in—yet I hope that this time the prophecy will not be fulfilled), then I had better knuckle down.[1]

We know, then, that in the summer of 1835 Kierkegaard was in Gilleleje, and that the goal of this stay, judging from everything, was to prepare himself for the qualifying examinations. The journal entries, however, indicate that he did not spend his time exclusively on his studies but also tramped around in the outdoors, visiting old castles and historical sites. He also went on a short excursion to Sweden. It is impossible to verify every single piece of information, but it is improbable that his descriptions of these excursions are either fabricated or copied from books which he brought with him.[2]

As has been noted, the manuscript to AA:12 has not been preserved, but the entry is mentioned in *B-cat*. in the following manner: "A letter in copy, judging from the references to Brazil, to Dr. P. V. Lund, dated Copenhagen, June 1, 1835, containing contributions to S. K.'s youthful development, reflections about the direction in which he should educate himself, etc."[3] There are two things to note about this.

First of all, Barfod only mentions one dating, even though AA:12 clearly falls into two separately dated parts. This may be an oversight; in *EP* the two parts appear as a single continuous text. And the text also hangs together as such. In the first part of AA:12, which ends with the words "Live well!"[4] —the entry in the margin has, like the footnote, been added later—Kierkegaard writes: "I will try to show how matters seem to me." This formulation is repeated in

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1) In this volume, pp. 17–18.

2) Kierkegaard brought a number of books with him, including J. G. Burmann-Becker's *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge i Danmark og Hertugdømmerne* [Information on the Old Castles in Denmark and the Duchies](Copenhagen, 1831), and J. M. Thiele's *Danske Folkesagn* [Danish Legends], series 1–4, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1818–23), see the explanatory notes to AA:1. (pp. 307–308) and AA:9 (p. 317) in this volume.

3) *B-cat*. 437. In *EP* Barfod is more cautious: "Probably a copy or draft of a letter—which seems to be to the zoologist *P. V. Lund* in Brazil," *EP* I–II, p. 38.

4) P. 18 in this volume; "Live well!" is equivalent to "best wishes."

the second part of the introduction, dated Gilleleje, Aug. 1, 1835: "The way I have tried to show matters in the preceding pages is how they actually seemed to me. In now trying to come to an understanding with myself about my life, things look different." The second part of AA:12 does not have the character of a letter and is, moreover, accompanied by a number of marginal comments and footnotes; it thus resembles a normal entry. While the first part thus seems to have the character of a letter, the second part seems rather to constitute a kind of commentary on the first. The two parts are clearly not written continuously and some time must have elapsed between the composition of the two, which is also supported by the dates.

Second, it is noteworthy that the letter both in *B-cat*. and in *EP* is referred to as a "copy." That there was once an outline or a draft seems to be confirmed by the remark, "Nonnulla desunt" [Latin, "something is missing"], in the first part of the letter. This formulation is usually employed in the context of text-critical editions and refers to places where text is missing, but there is no reason to assume that the remark is Barfod's; if this were the case, it ought to be in brackets like the rest of Barfod's editorial notes. What is most probable is that while copying the letter, Kierkegaard used the formulation as a private notation to indicate that something was lacking that needed to be written or that there was something to be developed further.[1]

Finally, there is the question of the dates given in the letter. Are they real or fictional? It is difficult to decide, but it is important to note that in the first part of the letter Kierkegaard remarks that he is busy studying for his examinations. On the basis of this single piece of information, which, as mentioned, is confirmed by P. C. Kierkegaard, we cannot make the inference that the letter is authentic, but, by the same token, it does not point in the direction of the fictional. We know that the letter is dated June 1, 1835, and that the place of composition is indicated as Copenhagen. We can then assume that during his stay in Gilleleje, Kierkegaard reread the letter and then, on August 1, began writing the second part. The fact that he indicates a place of composition speaks against the letter being fictional.

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1) Cf. DD:208, pp. 276, 280, and 282 in this volume, where Kierkegaard seems to use the expression "*Nonnulla desunt*" to indicate something which should be worked out further.

Kierkegaard was in fact in Copenhagen on June 1 and in Gilleleje on August 1.

As can be seen, we lack decisive pieces of information about these texts, and the problem of the dates, which was discussed above in section II, does not make the matter any easier. It is, however, important to note that in places the entries have the character of a travel diary. Thus there would be nothing unnatural for impressions and experiences to be recorded when occasion presented itself, and we ought not expect the entries to follow an absolutely chronological sequence. Moreover, Fenger has not adequately demonstrated that there is a connection between the letter to P. W. Lund and the later draft of a foreword to a work entitled *Letters*, a work which, moreover, was never written. It must therefore be regarded as improbable that the letter is a part of a fictional literary project, although it cannot be denied that in places it does have a rather poetical character.

By contrast, it cannot be determined whether Kierkegaard wrote entries AA:1–11 and the second part of AA:12 on paper he had with him, and then copied them into the journal after returning home from Gilleleje. The manuscript of the entries has been lost, but it is striking that in the second part of AA:12 far more footnotes and marginal additions appear than in earlier entries.

Explanatory Notes

3 2 **During my stay**] From Wednesday, June 17, until the weekend of August 22–23, 1835. In his diary for the period 1828–1850, p. 62, Kierkegaard's elder brother P. C. Kierkegaard writes that Søren traveled to Gilleleje on June 17th "in order to spend the summer there." According to the same diary, p. 62, P. C. Kierkegaard sent 80 rix-dollars to his brother on Thursday, August 20th (→ 13,*15*), presumably to pay for his stay at the inn. Søren seems to have been back in Copenhagen on Monday, August 24th. (According to a receipt from C. T. Agerskov's drygoods store, he paid 10 rix-dollars in cash on August 24.) During his stay, Kierkegaard lodged at the Gilleleje Inn (→ 9,*17*) owned by Birgitte Magrethe and Kristoffer G. J. Mentz. According to the census list from 1834, the latter was 36 years old. Mentz had taken over the inn in May of 1830.

2 **Gilleleje**] A fishing village in northeast Zealand, on the Kattegat. It lies to the east of Gilbjerg Head, 23 kilometers northwest of Helsingør (*see map 4, D1*). In the mid-1830s, Gilleleje had some 100 residences and ca. 450 inhabitants.

2 **Esrom**] In the 1830s, Esrom in northeast Zealand was not a village proper but rather a collection of both public and private buildings, which included Esrom Abbey, Esrom Jail, and Esrom Inn (*see map 4, E2*).

2 **Fredensborg**] A small town in northeast Zealand facing the southeast shore of Esrom Lake (*see map 4, E3*); best known for Fredensborg Castle, the Castle Inn and the Great Inn. In the mid-1830s, it had ca. 625 inhabitants, many of whom were retirees and civil servants.

3 **Frederiksværk**] A factory town in northeast Zealand on Roskilde Fjord, ca. 45 kilometers northwest of Copenhagen. In the mid-1850s, it had ca. 710 inhabitants.

3 **Tisvilde**] A village in northeast Zealand ca. 11 kilometers north-northeast of Frederiksværk and 19 kilometers northwest of Hillerød (*see map 4, A2*). In the mid-1830s, Tibirke parish, which consisted of Tibirke, Tisvilde, and Tisvildeleje, had ca. 360 inhabitants.

Helen's Spring] Located on a hillside just off the 3
coast near the fishing hamlet Tisvildeleje (*see map 4, A2*); in antiquity it was a shrine called Tir's Spring to the Nordic god Tir. In Christian times it became associated with a Swedish saint, Helen of Skövde (canonized in 1164). Over the years, a host of myths have been associated with the spring (→ 3,*4*).

Danish Folktales, I, pp. 29ff.] → 3,*4*. On pp. 29–31, 4
one finds the following three legends about "Helen's Spring": "I. / A holy woman by the name of Helen once lived in Sweden. She lived in the forest apart from other people and led a pious life day in and day out. But in her solitude she was attacked by evildoers, killed, and thrown into the sea. A large stone then received her body and sailed to Zealand, coming ashore by the large cliffs. But when she was found lying on the beach, it was impossible to bring her body inland because of the slope. Then, on account of her holiness, a miracle happened: the cliffs burst open so that she could be carried up to the fields through the ravine, which can still be seen. At the place where her body first came to rest, a spring, which today bears her name, gushed forth from the earth. The body was placed in a casket and carried to Tisvilde Cemetery, but because those bearing her used foul language, the bier became so heavy that they could not move it, and it then sank deep into the earth. This place is called Helen's Grave, and two large stones lie upon it. The stone upon which she sailed to Zealand can still be seen on the beach, and on this stone, imprints of her hair, hands, and feet can be discerned. / II. / Helen was a Scanian princess quite famous for her beauty. A king fell in love with her, but since he could not win her hand, he decided instead to take her by force. Fleeing and in despair, she ran through the entire country, but the king followed her to the beach. When he then tried to take hold of her, she threw herself into the sea. But she did not die. A large stone rose from the seabed and received her, and she sailed to Zealand. The spring which bears her name gushed forth at the place where she first set foot. She lived there many years

and was visited as a holy woman. / III. / Three holy sisters were to sail across the sea together, but they died on the way and waves carried their bodies off in three different directions. The first was named Helen. Her body came to rest at the town of Tisvilde, where a spring gushed forth from her grave. The second was named Karen. Her body came to rest at Oddsherred where St. Karen's Spring is now located. The third sister also washed ashore, and a spring likewise sprang forth from her grave."

4 **Thiele**] Just Matthias Thiele (1795–1874), Danish author, collector of folklore, employed at the Royal Library from 1817 until 1835, later secretary at the Academy of Art and curator of the Collection of Engravings. During his appointment at the Royal Library he collected and recorded stories from Danish folklore, which he supplemented during trips around the country. He published this material in *Danske Folkesagn* [Danish Legends], series 1–4, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1818–23; ASKB 1591–1592).

5 **goes on pilgrimage at Midsummer**] Cf. Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* (→ 3,*4*) series 1, vol. 1, p. 31: "Helen's Spring is located at Tisvilde field by the beach. Even from as far away as the southernmost part of Zealand, the sick and the crippled make pilgrimages here at Midsummer in order to regain their health. They drink from the spring, wash themselves with the water, and spend the night at Helen's Grave. And when they depart, they leave an offering in the spring's almsbox, take soil from under the stones which lie on the grave, and carry it home in a little bag. Those who come on crutches and have been healed, leave them at the spring as a sign that they no longer need them; and there are still a large number of wooden crosses decorated with old clothes as a reminder that many people have been healed there."

7 **tall, three-sided column ... inscription ... excellent government**] After Asserbo Castle was destroyed and the old town of Tibirke was almost buried by sand, the government of Frederick IV in 1724 began a project under the direction of the German J. U. Röhl, who was aided by prefect Fr. von Gram, to counter the shifting sands. The project was completed in 1738. A three-meter high, three-sided rococo sandstone monument in memory of this project was made by sculptor J. D. Gercken. The monument bears the names of Frederick IV and Christian VI under a golden crown and the Latin motto "deo et populo" (for God and the people). Each of the three sides contains an inscription, one in Danish, written by Jørgen Friis, the pastor of Helsinge, one in German and one in Latin, both written by the historian and jurist Andreas Hojer. For the inscription, see *SKS*, vol. K17, pp. 25ff. Below the inscription one reads that the monument was repaired in 1879. The monument stands on a hill at the end of an avenue of chestnut trees on the outskirts of Tisvilde.

the whole expanse ... planted with pine trees] 18
The plantation Tisvilde Hegn, one of the first replanted forests in Denmark, located west of Tisvilde on hilly terrain (*see map 4, A2*). The afforestation was begun ca. 1730 in an attempt to stop the sands from shifting, but it was not until ca. 1800, seven years after 1000 pounds of pine seed had been sown, that the forest area took form. An attempt was also made with other kinds of trees, but it was only the birch, Scotch pine and Norway spruce that managed to survive the storms from the Kattegat.

a kind of story of Job] Presumably a reference to 22
Job 1:13–19, which tells of Job's misfortunes. First, a group of Sabeans stole his livestock and slaughtered his servants; then his sheep and herdsmen were struck by lightning and killed. A band of Chaldeans then stole his camels and killed more servants. Finally, his house collapsed during a violent storm, killing all his sons and daughters.

Tibirke Church] An isolated church on a hill at the 23
edge of the now afforested shifting sands area (*see map 4, B2*); originally a small, Romanesque building made of stone, which was rebuilt and expanded both in the 14th and 15th centuries; it was furnished with a tower in the late Gothic period. The expansion of the church into an impressive brick building was presumably made possible by the many gifts that were brought as offerings of thanks by the pilgrims to Helen's Spring and Grave (→ 3,*5*).

a gravestone over the hapless village] A commem- 24
orative plaque with the following inscription above the door of the vestibule of Tibirke Church: "In former times, the town of Tibirke was located southeast of this church. It consisted of nine farms, the parsonage, the residence of the parish clerk, the church storehouse and several homes. In the year

1725, it was destroyed by the shifting sands. Nine farms were then established to the north of the town common, some of which were new and some of which were relocated. By declaration of King Frederick the Fourth, however, this House of God was preserved." Cf. *Danmarks Kirker* [Denmark's Churches] published by the National Museum, *Frederiksborg Amt*, vol. 2.2 (Copenhagen, 1967), p. 1322.

25 **built on a rock . . . sand cannot prevail**] Allusion to Jesus's parable of the house built on rock and the house built on sand, Mt 7:24–27: "Everyone then who hears these words of mine and acts on them will be like a wise man who built his house on rock. The rain fell, the floods came, and the winds blew and beat on that house, but it did not fall, because it had been founded on rock. And everyone who hears these words of mine and does not act on them will be like a foolish man who built his house on sand. The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell—and great was its fall."

30 **boisterous noise, tents and tables**] After Midsummer Eve—especially on the Day of Our Lady (July 2), and the Sundays that followed—spring fairs were held in Tisvilde for the crowds who made pilgrimages to Helen's Spring and Helen's Grave (→ 3,*5*). Local potters sold ceramic goods, the villagers set up mead booths, and toys and cakes were sold from tents. The spring fair was a favorite amusement for the youth of the area. St. Helen's Day was August 1, which, along with July 31, was one of the busiest days for visiting the spring.

34 **St. Helen's grave . . . elevated grave stands open**] → 3,*3*. St. Helen's Grave or Helen's Chapel, located between Tisvilde and Tisvildeleje (*see map 4, A2*), consists of a small elevated grassy area surrounded by earthen walls lined with boulders. Visitors enter the elevated area itself through a small wooden gate; two large boulders mark the grave. Archaeological excavations in 1922–23 showed that a Catholic chapel stood there in the fifteenth century; the two boulders originally formed part of the chapel's south wall. There might have been a reliquary for St. Helen (→ 3,*4*) in the altar of the chapel.

4 7 **the cures to which it is supposed to have contributed**] In Protestant times the church often tried to distance itself from the idea that Helen's Spring had healing powers. For example, the Roskilde Diocesan Conference condemned the many pilgrims as "papist idol-worshipers," and Christian IV had a residence built in Tisvilde for professors of medicine who evaluated the healing properties of the spring water. Thiele recounts a legend of a pastor who mocked the spring and therefore lost his sight; cf. *Danske Folkesagn* (→ 3,*4*) series 1, vol. 1, p. 32.

the springs . . . there are in fact three] Cf. Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* (→ 3,*4*), series 1, vol. 1, pp. 31f.: "The spring actually consists of three founts which are collected in cisterns. Two of these are always full, but the third is said to be essentially dry. Concerning this dry fount, an anonymous author tells in his handwritten account that a person who had "laboreret morbo gallico", [suffered from the French disease, i.e., syphilis] once put his foot in it, and since then the water has never risen high enough that it could run off into the cistern. 13

smoking a cigar] In the 1830s, it was the latest fashion to smoke cigars. The first cigar factory was established in Germany in 1788, but it was not until the nineteenth century that it became common to produce cigars in northern Europe.—According to P. C. Kierkegaard's diary (→ 3,*2*), p. 62, he sent cigars to Kierkegaard on July 18. 20

under Providence] Danish, "næst Guds Bistand"; common expression meaning, "with God's help." 27

locks of hair, rags, crutches] → 3,*5* and → 5,*7*. Setting up crosses with hair and rags was prohibited in 1617, and the existing ones were ordered removed and were taken to the loft over the vestibule of Tisvilde Church. The prohibition against these gifts, however, was not respected and, according to oral tradition, the last load of wooden crosses, walking sticks and crutches was brought to the vestibule loft in 1864. 4 5

a condition that one sleep in this holy place] → 3,*5*. It was common lore that a night's stay (an incubation sleep) in particular churches or at the graves of saints had a miraculous healing effect. For example, ill individuals are said to have been healed by sleeping at the grave of St. Niels in Århus and Erik Ploughpenny in Ringsted. Cripples who slept in Æbelholt Abbey Church in northeast Zealand on Midsummer Night's Eve are said to have been healed by Abbot Vilhelm's earthly remains. At Helen's Grave, the ill were supposed to sleep with their heads on the two boulders. Cf. the account in J. Junge, *Den nordsiellandske Landalmues Characteer, Skikke, Meninger og Sprog* [The Character, 7

Customs, Opinions, and Language of the Peasantry of North Zealand] (Copenhagen, 1798; ASKB 2013), p. 235: "First they wash themselves in her spring at Tisvilde, and afterward, if it is to help, they must sleep on the grave of the saint where so many have slept their way to health; and therefore, just as at various springs in Germany and England, they leave behind many memorials of illness, crutches, walking sticks, and old bandages. There are also those who have deposited useful items of clothing as an offering to the saint."

10 **small wooden plaques . . . testimony . . . overcome sufferings**] Cf. "Et Besøg ved Helenes Kilde og Grav" [A Visit to Helen's Spring and Grave] in *Dansk Folkeblad* [Danish People's Paper], no. 34, September 28, 1838, p. 133, column 2: "From living proofs of the power of superstition, my attention is turned to the lifeless, namely a number of placards, crosses and a large number of crutches on the eastern side that are gifts from the ill who believe they owe their recovered health to St. Helen. In recent years, it seems to have been more common to give placards; reading inscriptions that contain biblical language or words of thanks, I found examples from 1833, 1834, 1836, that had been sent from Helsingør, Taarnby in Amager, Vordingborg and other quite distant places; one thus sees that the holy lady's reputation extends quite some distance."

19 **solo gloria**] Incorrect Latin for "sola gloria," "only by the grace (of God)," or "soli (Dei) gloria," "honor to (God) alone."

28 **Chr. W. Schrøder**] Misnomer for Carl Wilhelm Schrøder (1736–96), dune inspector, residing in Tisvilde. He was appointed on April 4, 1769 and took office on September 23, 1773 as "Inspector for Sand Dune Control in the County of Kronborg."

29 **Crown Prince Frederick's visit**] → 5,*36*. Most likely Crown Prince Frederick (1753–1805), the son of King Frederick V, who was never king. It is possible, however, that this refers to Crown Prince Frederick (1768–1839; king of Denmark and Norway as Frederick VI from 1808 until 1814; king of Denmark from 1814 until 1839), son of King Christian VII; at the time in question, he would have been six years old. The visit has not been confirmed.

33 **Nordmandsdal**] A small valley, perhaps originally a depression with slopes covered with grass and trees, located between the gardens of Fredensborg Castle and Lake Esrom. In the middle of the valley lies a circular garden constructed by King Frederick V (king of Denmark and Norway from 1746 until 1766); sixty-nine statues of farmers and fishermen from Norway and the Faroe Islands stand in concentric arcs (see the following note).

all the names on the columns] The sixty-nine statues in Nordmandsdal were made by court sculptor J. G. Grund. Of these, fifty-seven were presumably based on models made by Norwegian mail coach driver Jørgen Garnaas at the initiative of Frederick V. Each statue bears an inscription describing the person and the place he or she comes from, such as: "A fiddler from Aurland Parish" and "A Drummer from Fane, Nordhordland," "Woman from Vik Parish," "Fishwife from Falnes on the Island of Karm" and "Fisherman from Falnes on the Island of Karm," "Bride from Vinje, Telemarken," "Groom from Vinje, Telemarken," "A Skier from Tromsø," "Hunter from Kinservik," "A Soldier at his Post from the Faroe Islands," "A Dairymaid from the Faroe Islands." 34

Anno 1774 . . . Chr. Wilhelm Schrøder] The account (→ 5,*28*), which has not been identified, is constructed as a rhymed poem. — **Crown Prince Frederick**: → 5,*29*. — **Chr. Wilhelm Schrøder**: → 5,*28*. 36

Gurre Castle] Built in the fourteenth century on the bank of Lake Gurre (*see map 4, F2*); according to legend, it was constructed by Valdemar Atterdag (→ 6,*4*). It functioned as a mint in the first half of the fifteenth century, but in the course of the sixteenth century it fell into disrepair and, at the beginning of the 1560s, was torn down on the orders of Frederick II (king from 1559 until 1588); he reused some of the stones for the expansion of his hunting castle, Frederiksborg, which lay where Frederiksborg Castle is located today. 3 6

excavation of the ruins is now in progress] The excavation of Gurre Castle began in 1817, led by Chamberlain von der Maase. With royal support, it was completed in 1839 by forest supervisor S. M. Bjørnsen, who had the ruins protected by law in 1835. The excavation showed that Gurre Castle had been a medieval stronghold consisting of a square central tower divided into three rooms, surrounded by a circular wall with four corner towers; the castle area was surrounded by a moat. Cf. L. S. Vedel-Simonsen's treatise, "Historiske Efterretninger om 3

de sjællandske Borge Hjortholm og Gurre" [Historical Information about the Zealand Castles Hjortholm and Gurre] in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed* [Annals for Nordic Antiquarianism], published by The Royal Society of Nordic Antiquities (Copenhagen, 1838–39), pp. 261–341; pp. 319–337. Cf. also the description of the 1817 excavation in J. G. Burman-Becker, *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge* (→ 12,35), vol. 3, pp. 21f.

4 **Thiele**] → 3,4.

4 **Danish Folktales, I, pp. 90 ff**.] → 3,4. On pp. 89–92 the legend of "King Waldemar's Hunt" is told. One reads that Valdemar Atterdag (→ 6,5) "built Gurre Castle and hunted in the forest both day and night. After some time, he developed the habit of uttering the words which would later become a curse for him, namely that God could keep his heaven if only he could hunt in Gurre. / Now he rides every night 'from Burre to Gurre' and is known throughout the land as 'the flying hunter' and, in some places, as 'the flying Markolfus.' When he approaches, one hears shouting and hollering and the crack of a whip in the air, and people then flee, taking refuge behind trees. The entire hunting party follows. In front rush his coal-black dogs, who run along the roadside, sniffing the ground from time to time, their long tongues hanging from their mouths. Then comes 'Wolmar,' sitting on his white horse, sometimes holding his own head under his left arm. When he meets someone, especially someone elderly, he orders them to watch a few of his dogs and either forces them to stand there with the dogs for several hours or he fires a shot immediately afterward; when the dogs hear it, they break all the leashes and chains. When he roars by, the gates are heard crashing behind him, and in many places in the country where there is a thoroughfare through the farms, he brings his hunting party in through the one gate and out the other, and no lock is strong enough that it cannot be broken when he arrives. It is his habit, especially at Christmas time, to come riding four white horses through Ibsgaard at Høibye in Oddsherred, and there is said to be a farm near Bistrup by Roskilde, where people let the gate stand open during the night since he has broken the lock so many times. In some places, his hunting route goes right over the houses; near Herlufsholm, there is a house whose roof sags deeply in the middle because he has ridden over it so often. In northern Zealand, he has another Gurre, the ruins of which have been discovered and which people still call 'Waldemar's Castle.' Here it is customary on Midsummer's Eve for old women to walk into the streets at night to open the gates for him. A half mile from Gurre lies Waldemar's Hill, surrounded by water. Here, according to the legend, every midnight six priests, clad in black, mumble as they walk across the island. Between Søllerød and Nærum, he hunts with black dogs and horses on the so-called Waldemar's Way."—**the flying Markolfus**: Markolfus was a figure of Scandinavian legend similar to the German Till Eulenspiegel, known for his foolishness and recklessness. Cf. ASKB 1471.

Another at Vordingborg . . . destroyed in the Feud of the Counts] Presumably an allusion to the ruins called "Little Gurre," which lay in Øbjerggaard near Vordingborg. The ruins, which were surrounded by a trench, are said to be the remains of a pleasure or hunting castle belonging to Valdemar Atterdag. The ruins, however, presumably received the name "Little Gurre" much later, when they were confused with Gurre Castle in northeast Zealand, since it was assumed that Gurre must be located near Vordingborg Castle, where Valdemar Atterdag often stayed. This supposition has no historical basis; cf. *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1840), pp. 471f. (note 4). — **Valdemar Atterdag**: King Valdemar IV (ca. 1320–75, king from 1340 until 1375), nicknamed "Atterdag" [another day] because of his motto: "I morgen er der atter en dag" [Tomorrow is another day]. Valdemar Atterdag died at Gurre Castle. — **the Feud of the Counts**: The conflict or civil war which was fought in Denmark after the death of King Frederick I in 1533. The feud is named after Count Christoffer of Oldenburg, who, prompted by the burgomaster of Lübeck, tried to win power in Denmark in order to reinstate the imprisoned King Christian II and place Denmark and Norway under Lübeck's rule. Frederick I's eldest son, Duke Christian, was crowned king in Jutland, however; he first defeated the rebellion in Jutland, then on the islands of Funen and Zealand, and ultimately captured Copenhagen in July of 1536; shortly thereafter he was recognized as Christian III, King of Denmark and Norway; in October of the same year he introduced the Reformation. During the conflict, 5

Count Christoffer's troops took many reprisals against the nobility on Zealand and Funen, during which many castles and fortresses were destroyed.

6 **Let God keep ... may keep Gurre Castle**] → 6,*4*. The formulation also appears in J. L. Heiberg's romantic comedy *Syvsoverdag* [Seven Sleepers' Day], act 3, scene 5, where Valdemar Atterdag says: "At Gurre I will live, at Gurre die, / But rather the former, life is to me dear; / For me God can keep his paradise, / If only He would let me keep Gurre!" *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter*. *Skuespil* [J. L. Heiberg's Collected Writings. Drama], vols. 1–7 (Copenhagen, 1833–41; ASKB 1553–1559), vol. 7, p. 268.

7 **his wild hunt ... on the white horse**] → 6,*4*.

7 **the black hen with the black chicks**] Presumably an allusion to an unidentified legend. It is a well-known motif in legends that ghosts can take possession of black animals, including hens; here, what is at issue is perhaps the ghosts of a dead woman and her dead children, who haunt at Valdemar's order.

10 **Lake Gurre**] (*see map 4, F2*).

11 **thick beech forest**] Cf. the description in J. G. Burman-Becker, *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge* (→ 12,*35*), vol. 3, p. 22: "since, as is well known, the place is surrounded by a beech forest."

17 **It's good to be here**] Alludes to the account of the transfiguration of Jesus on the mountain, where Peter says to Jesus: "Lord, it is good for us to be here; if you wish, I will make three dwellings here, and one for you and one for Moses and one for Elijah," Mt 17:4.

22 **King Valdemar's hunt ... baying of the hounds**] → 6,*4*.

25 **Lake Søborg**] In the Middle Ages the lake had a circumference of about fifteen kilometers. In 1796, however, it began to be drained via a new canal emptying into the Kattegat at Gilleleje; the draining went slowly, however, and was not completed until ca. 1890. In Kierkegaard's time, it was more or less a marsh, partially overgrown with a thick mat of reeds and meadow grass (*see map 4, D2*).

7 6 **a Mozart recitative**] Ten of Mozart's works were continuously performed at the Royal Theater, including the opera *Don Giovanni* (performed for the first time in 1807, performed eighteen times between 1830 and 1835); *The Marriage of Figaro* (performed for the first time in 1821, performed seventeen times between 1830 and 1835); and *The Magic Flute* (performed for the first time in 1826, performed five times between 1830 and 1835).

a melody by Weber] A melody by the German composer Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826). His best known opera, the singspiel, *Der Freischütz* (which premiered in Berlin in 1821), was performed under the title *Jægerbruden* (with lyrics by Fr. Kind, trans. Adam Oehlenschläger) more than fifty times at the Royal Theater from April 1822 to March 1835. Weber was in Copenhagen in 1820, when the overture to *Jægerbruden* was performed; he also played his second piano concerto with the Royal Orchestra. Weber was also known for his music to the lyric drama *Preciosa* by P. A. Wolff (performed forty-seven times at the Royal Theater from October 1823 to March 1835) and to the romantic fantasy *Oberon* by I. R. Planché (performed six times at the Royal Theater from January 1831 to October 1832). Although Weber was inspired by Mozart, he is regarded as one of the first Romantic composers. 7

Hellebæk] Village in northeast Zealand, ca. 7 kilometers northwest of Helsingør (*see map 4, G2*). 8 7

the lovely forest] Hammermølle Forest or Teilstrup Plantation (*see map 4, G2*). 9

Odin's Hill] A point with an elevation of 41 meters, located in northeast Zealand about 7 kilometers northwest of Helsingør (*see map 4, G1*) with an exceptional view across the Øresund over to Kullen in Sweden (→ 12,*15*) and a partial view inland toward hilly and wooded areas. 21

where Schimmelmann lies buried] A reference to count Ernst Heinrich Schimmelmann (1747–1831); an enterprising businessman and financier, owner of several estates and country houses, politician, minister of finance, and foreign minister. Schimmelmann had a great admiration for science, art, and poetry and supported many intellectuals including Jens Baggesen, Adam Oehlenschläger, Fr. von Schiller, K. L. Rahbek, Henrich Steffens, Schack Staffeldt, and J. P. Mynster. Schimmelmann often used Hellebækgård at Hellebæk as his summer residence and wished to be buried at Odin's Hill. This never happened—he was buried in St. Peter's Church in Copenhagen—but out of gratitude for his benevolence, the farmers of Hellebæk erected a simple monument to him at Odin's Hill; the monument was later removed. 21

22 **This view ... discussed**] Odin's Hill was much discussed by the poets and intellectuals who came to visit E. H. Schimmelmann at Hellebækgård (see the previous note). Jens Baggesen described it to a German friend in June 1791: "Imagine the most romantic, most sublime place with the most magnificent nature to be found this side of the Alps, far from the city, near the thundering waves of the North Sea," *Aus Jens Baggesen's Briefwechsel mit Karl Leonhard Reinhold und Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi*, [From Jens Baggesen's Correspondance with Karl Leonhard Reinhold and Frederick Heinrich Jacobi], ed. C. and A. Baggesen, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig, 1831), vol. 1, p. 52.

25 **K ... at Fredensborg**] Presumably refers to master tailor and later innkeeper Ole Johansen Cold (1781–1859), who owned the Great Inn in Fredensborg (→ 3,*2*) from 1811 until 1859. Cold was an able and enterprising innkeeper, who expanded the inn and made it a favorite destination for the upper middle-classes of Copenhagen. In other entries where Kierkegaard mentions Cold, he also spells his name with a "K."

26 **Esrom**] → 3,*2*.

26 **Gilleleje**] → 3,*2*.

7 27 **lake**] Lake Esrom in northeast Zealand (*see map 4, E3*); it is ca. nine kilometers long, running in a north-south direction, ranging from two to four kilometers in width; it is bordered to the west by Grib Forest and to the southeast by the gardens of Fredensborg Castle; known as one of Denmark's most beautiful lakes.

28 **Nøddebo**] Village in northeast Zealand, near Esrom Lake, ca. 6 kilometers northeast of Hillerød (*see map 4, D3*); in the 1830s it had ca. 480 inhabitants.

29 **Sølyst**] Residence of the caretaker at Esrom canal. The canal, which begins at the northern end of Lake Esrom, was constructed in 1802–5 in order to give the lake an outlet to the sea at Zealand's north coast and thus facilitate the transport of firewood from Grib Forest (→ 7,*34*).

30 **Fredensborg**] → 3,*2*.

34 **Lake Esrom**] → 7,*27*.

34 **Grib Forest**] Forest reserve in northeast Zealand (*see map 4, D3*), ca. forty kilometers north-northwest of Copenhagen; at the time it was Zealand's largest forest (and Denmark's second largest), covering more than forty square kilometers.

these trumpet calls that announce the judgment] 3 8
Alludes to the angels of judgment in the Book of Revelation, who mark each new epoch in the last days by blowing trumpets (Rev 8:2–9:21 and 11:15–19). Cf. also Mt 24:31, where one reads that angels will gather the chosen with a loud trumpet call when the Son of Man returns.

Rudolph] Presumably host Mentz's (→ 3,*2*) twelve- 1 9
year-old son Rudolph Wilhelm Theodor Mentz (1823–1900). He took over Gilleleje Inn from his parents.

I have food from my fields ... the house has for 9
my keep.] Freely rendered. The source has not been identified.

the inn] Gilleleje Inn (→ 3,*2*), which was located 17 9
immediately west of Søborg Canal and thus outside the town itself, which extended from the canal (→ 6,*25*) along the coast toward the east; the present address is Vesterbrogade 1. The inn itself no longer exists.

Blackbridge (... because ... the Black Death was 17
supposedly checked here)] Sortebro, literally "Black Bridge," an area southwest of Gilleleje Inn; presumably originally a bridge that extended over a stream or waterway that formed the boundary between Søborg-Gilleleje and Græsted parishes. The name probably comes from "the black death," a plague which ravaged North Zealand in 1348–49, but never hit Gilleleje because, according to popular belief, evil could not cross water. The name could also have originated in 1711, when a deadly plague moved through North Zealand but spared Gilleleje.

to the open ground ... a mile north] In Kierke- 18
gaard's time, if one walked north from Sortebro, one would come to fields called Enemark and Børstrup Strand, which stretched to the coast at Gilbjerg Head (*see map 4, D1*).

Gilbjerg] Gilbjerg Head, the northernmost point of 20
Zealand, a sheer cliff ca. thirty-three meters high, with a view over the Kattegat (*see map 4, D1*).

the few dear departed] Presumably refers to the 25
deceased in Kierkegaard's immediate family: his brother Søren Michael, who died at the age of 12 on September 14, 1819; his sister Maren Kirstine, who

died at the age of 24 on March 15, 1822; his sister Nicoline Christine, who died at the age of 33 on September 10, 1832; his brother Niels Andreas, who died at the age of 24 on September 21, 1833 in Paterson, New Jersey; his mother, Ane Pedersen Kierkegaard née Sørensdatter Lund, who died at the age of 67 on July 31, 1834; and his sister Petrea Severine, who died at the age of 33 on December 29, 1834.

28 **were outside my body and floated about with them in a higher ether**] Alludes to 2 Cor 12:2–4, where Paul writes: "I know a person in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows. And I know that such a person—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows—was caught up into Paradise and heard things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat."

10 4 **enclitic**] In Greek grammar, a designation for a word which is attached to a previous accented word and is related to it as an unaccented suffix.

9 **Christ's words . . . heavenly Father's will**] Cf. Mt 10:29, where Jesus says: "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? Yet not one of them will fall to the ground apart from your Father."

16 **quiet wedding**] A wedding without festivities, a ceremony in silence. According to the decree of March 13, 1683 it was possible, upon application, to be given a royal dispensation to have a church wedding ceremony performed in the home.

18 **before the eyes alone of *Him* . . . blessed fruits**] Refers to Gen 1:27–28: "So God created humankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.' " Cf. also Gen 2, where it is told that God first created Adam and put him in the Garden of Eden and then created Eve from one of Adam's ribs, after which it is written: "Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh" (verse 24).

22 **cryptogamia in the plant world**] Cryptogamia is a botanical designation for plants which are apparently without flower and which reproduce by means of spores (for example, ferns). The word "cryptogamic" was also used to refer to a secret marriage (Greek, kryptós, "hidden," "secret," and gámos, "wedding," "marriage"); cf. quiet wedding (→ 10,*16*).

that great philosopher . . . lift the whole world] 27
Refers to the Greek mathematician, physicist and inventor Archimedes (ca. 287–212 B.C.) of Syracuse in Sicily, to whom the following saying is attributed: "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the earth." Cf. the biography of Marcellus, chap. 14.7, in the comparative biographies by the Greek author Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, in *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* [Plutarch's Lives], trans. S. Tetens, vols. 1–4 (Copenhagen, 1800–11; ASKB 1197–1200), vol. 3, 1804, p. 272. "However this may be, Archimedes in writing to Hiero, who was both a relative and a friend of his, asserted that with any given force it was possible to move any given weight, and then, carried away with enthusiasm at the power of his demonstration, so we are told, went on to enlarge his claim, and declared that if he were given another world to stand on, he could move the earth." (English translation quoted from Plutarch, *Makers of Rome. Nine Lives by Plutarch*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965], p. 99.) In his account of the defense of Syracuse against the Romans in 212 B.C. in his biography of Marcellus (chaps. 15–16), Plutarch tells of Archimedes's skills in constructing war-machines, which rendered the ships and weapons of the enemy harmless. Cf. *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser*, vol. 3, pp. 273–276. See also the Roman historian Livy's *History of Rome*, book 24, chap. 34; cf. *T. Livii Patavini Historiarum libri quæ supersunt omnes*, stereotype ed., vols. 1–5 (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1251–1255), vol. 3, pp. 43f.

with armed eyes] As opposed to the naked eye; 39
i.e., with binoculars, an eyeshade, glasses, or the like; shading the eyes with one's hand.

Gynther] Refers to Anton Günther (→ 35,*34*). Kierke- 40
gaard spells Günther's name this way because the Danish "y" is pronounced like the German "ü."

People who come with eyes armed but also with 41
hearts armored] Cf. Günther's *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des positiven Christenthums. In Briefen* [Introduction to the Speculative Theology of Positive Christianity: In the Form of Letters], vols. 1–2 (Vienna, 1828–29; ASKB 869–870), vol. 2, p. 308. "If Providence were to introduce spirits into the field of art today, allowing the great epic of the

spirit and human world to be reflected alternately in the magic of its lights and sounds and then in the magic of its sounds and colors, so that *Klopstock* were blinded and the blind *Milton* lost his hearing, then you would see the astonished world staring at these creations in the same way as you behold the shadow world of our art lovers and critics as they look at the *night* of a *Coreggio* and the *Resurrection morning* of an *Andray*: with eyes armed but nonetheless with hearts armored, which no ray of faith or love from that world can penetrate."

11 3 **like the Virgin Mary . . . in her soul**] Refers to the story in Lk 2:15–20 about the shepherds who came to Joseph and Mary after Jesus had been born and who told everything that the angels had said to them about the child; everyone marvelled at this: "But Mary treasured all these words and pondered them in her heart."

7 **Christ withdrew . . . proclaim him king**] Alludes to Jn 12:27–36, where Jesus, after entering Jerusalem, predicts his immanent death to the gathered crowd, after which "he departed and hid from them" (verse 36). This also alludes to Jn 6:14–15, where, after feeding the five thousand, Jesus learned that they wanted to force him to be king; "Jesus . . . withdrew again to the mountain by himself" (verse 15).

13 **Mount Parnassus**] An indication of poetic rank or value. In Greek mythology Mount Parnassus is the mountain of the Muses.

16 **the Frenchman in relation to Napoleon**] An allusion to the affection of the French people for Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), who came to power in France in 1799 and ruled as Emperor Napoleon I from 1804–14 and again in 1815.

19 **Here man steps forth . . . as maggots living inside**] Presumably refers to Holberg's 81st fable, "Midernes Art og Egenskab" [The Mites' Ways and Character], in his *Moralske Fabler med hosføjede Forklaringer til hver Fabel* [Moral Fables with Added Explanations for Every Fable] (Copenhagen, 1751), pp. 95–99. In this fable, a dragon sends two maggots on a mission to investigate how mites understand themselves and their place in the world. It turns out that the mites regard the farmer's cheese, their residence, as the world; they have no conception of an outside world, and thus no conception of the dairymaid who made the cheese, or of the rat who now and then consumes entire "provinces with all their inhabitants," p. 97. "They had this alone in common with other animals and most human beings: they believed the world to be created solely for their own sake," p. 96.

25 **the Fichtean remark . . . a grain of sand constituting the world**] Refers to Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), German philosopher, appointed professor in 1794 at Jena and in 1810 at Berlin. The remark appears in his *Die Bestimmung des Menschen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1838 [1800]; ASKB 500), pp. 14f. "At every moment of its duration nature is an interconnected whole; at every moment *every particular part* of it has to be as it is because *all the rest* are what they are; and you could shift no grain of sand from its spot without thereby, perhaps invisibly to your eyes, changing something in all parts of the immeasurable whole. But *each moment of this duration* is determined by *all past moments* and will determine *all future moments*; and in the present one you can think the position of no grain of sand other than it is without having to think the whole indefinitely long past and the whole indefinitely long future to be different. . . . How can you know whether in the weather conditions of the universe which would have been required to drive the grain of sand further inland, some one or other of your ancestors would not have died of hunger or frost or heat before he had produced the son from whom you are descended?—that you would therefore not exist and all you plan to do now and in the future would not be, because a grain of sand lies in another spot?" (English translation quoted from Fichte, *The Vocation of Man*, trans. Peter Preuss [Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 1987], pp. 10f.)

28 11 **Hillerød**] A market town in northeast Zealand some 35 kilometers northwest of Copenhagen and 20 kilometers southwest of Helsingør (*see map 4, D4*). In the middle of the 1830s it had ca. 1840 inhabitants.

31 **Hestehaven**] A small cluster of widely scattered houses on a field south of Hillerød (*see map 4, D4*).

31 **Lake Carl**] A small lake south of Hillerød (*see map 4, D4*).

2 12 **not in the man-made temple**] Presumably alludes to Acts 17:24, where Paul says: "The God who made the world and everything in it . . . does not live in shrines made by human hands."

12 11 **the cousin of Pastor Lyngbye**] Presumably the cousin whom Pastor Lyngbye mentions in a letter from January 22, 1832 to Professor J. F. Schouw (→ 16,17). Here he discusses a subscription to *Dansk Ugeskrift* [Danish Weekly], which he wants to have delivered to "my cousin and agent, accountant J. Lyngbye, at the home of grocer Bendtsen's widow, Store Strandstræde no. 86 in Copenhagen from where I can then later have them forwarded at my convenience." According to *Kjøbenhavns Veiviser* [Copenhagen's Directory], a "J. Lyngbye, shop assistant" lived at Store Strandstræde 97 in 1832; in the census of 1834, a Jens Lyngbye is listed at no. 97 as a 67-year-old, unmarried former office assistant; widow Elisabeth Catrine Benzon is registered at no. 86. Jens Lyngbye, who must have been in regular contact with his cousin, also seems to have lived at the home of Madame Benzon at the beginning of 1832, but later in the year he moved to an attic apartment at Store Strandstræde 97. According to the church register of Garnison parish, shop assistant Jens Lyngbye died on February 8, 1837 at the age of 72. — **Pastor Lyngbye**: Hans Christian Lyngbye (1782–1837), parish pastor in Søborg and Gilleleje from 1827 until his death; he was also a botanist and zoologist who described Danish and Nordic aquatic plant life and lower animal forms in the Danish coastal fauna (→ 12,32); member of the Academy of Science beginning in 1826, editor of Faroese songs (1822), undertook archaeological excavations of the ruins of Søborg Castle (→ 12,34).

12 **Mølleleje**] The old name for Mölle, a small Swedish fishing village on the west side of Kullen (→ 12,15). In Kierkegaard's time it was not unusual to arrange with a skipper in Gilleleje to sail to Mølleleje in order to visit Kullen.

12 **Baron von Gyldenstjerne . . . fish collection**] Nils Kristoffer Gyllenstierna (1789–1865), Swedish baron, owned Krapperup and Bjärsgård estates, amateur ichthyologist and botanist, who had contact with many researchers in the area; after his death his fish collection and herbarium were given to the universities in Lund and Uppsala.

13 **Krabberup Manor**] Krapperup Castle on Kullen (→ 12,15), one of the largest castles in Scania county in southern Sweden, built in the 16th century, rebuilt at the end of the 18th century. Krapperup Castle came into the possession of the Gyllenstierna family in 1807.

the highest points, Östra . . . Vestra Högkull] The two highest points on Kullen (see the following note) are Högkull at 188 meters and Nordre Ljungås at 178 meters. 13

Kullan] Kullen peninsula, ca. 30 kilometers north of Helsingborg on the Swedish west coast. At the beginning of the 19th century it was a preferred destination for painters. 15

dried and wrapped in paper] This is presumably a reference to plants dried while being pressed and afterward placed in a paper envelope. The process would have taken about two weeks. 18

Young Inger she swings . . . Wind, waft gently] If there is a source, it has not been identified. This is perhaps a part of a local song; in any case Askelund is the older, poetic name for Kongshaven, which lies between the town of Søborg and the dry Lake Søborg (→ 6,25). 19

Pastor Lyngbye] → 12,11. 21 12

Lake Søborg] → 6,25. 22

mollusks] Lyngbye was interested not just in algae but also in mollusks; in *Rariora Codana* he describes the marine plant life and the primitive animal forms of the coastal fauna in the Kattegat (Sinus Codana) and describes their distribution. 32

the ruins of the castle] The ruins of Søborg Castle which are located next to the village of Søborg (→ 12,36), ca. 4 kilometers south of Gilleleje in northeast Zealand. The castle was perhaps built by Archbishop Eskil at the beginning of the 12th century, but became royal property after King Valdemar I conquered the castle and the city around 1160. It was built on an islet in the shallow waters of Lake Søborg and, in the Middle Ages, was considered to be impregnable. For the same reason it was used as a prison for prominent enemies of the crown, including Bishop Valdemar of Slesvig, Duke Valdemar IV of Slesvig, Archbishop Jens Grand, and Prince Buris. Many kings stayed at Søborg Castle, including Erik Menved (king from 1286 until 1319), and Valdemar Atterdag (→ 6,5), whose daughter Margaret I was born there in 1353. In the middle of the 15th century, the castle lost its significance as a fortification and later fell into disrepair. According to tradition, it is said to have been destroyed during the Feud of the Counts 1534–36 (→ 6,5); it was never rebuilt. After 1577 the ruins were used as a quarry. Parish pastors C. J. Schrøder 34

(pastor 1777–93) and H. C. Lyngbye (→ 12,*11*) carried out excavations of the castle ruins.

35 **Becker covers just about everything in his description of Danish castles**] Danish pharmacist and historian Johan Gottfried Burman Becker (1802–80) in his *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge i Danmark og Hertugdømmerne* [Information on the Old Castles in Denmark and the Duchies], vols. 1–3 (vol. 1 published under the pseudonym Johan Gottfriedsen) (Copenhagen, 1830–32, abbreviated hereafter as *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge*). The description of the ruins of Søborg Castle is found in vol. 1, pp. 125–135, and in vol. 2, 1831, pp. 103–105.

36 **this ... no ordinary country church**] Søborg Church, a Romanesque building with a large chancel and a late Romanesque tower without steeple. Its unusual spaciousness in comparison to other country churches implies that it was constructed as a parish church for a larger city, presumably in the latter half of the 12th century by King Valdemar I, after he had captured Søborg Castle and the town of Søborg around 1160. From then on Søborg seems to have been the royal residence; the town became a market town beginning sometime in the 13th century and appears for the first time in the records as a market town in 1270. It had this status until ca. 1550. In Kierkegaard's time there were three rows of pews in the church.

13 2 **court chaplains**] Priests at a palace chapel. Since the chapel of Søborg Castle, built by King Valdemar Atterdag around 1350, presumably belonged to Søborg Church, the priests seem to have kept the title "court chaplain" after the chapel was destroyed along with the castle around 1535 (→ 12,*34*), i.e., at the time the Reformation was introduced into Denmark in 1536. The list to which Kierkegaard refers has not survived.

3 **stayed thirty or forty years**] Lars Jacobsen was parish priest from 1570 until his death in 1602, Jens Jensen Aalborg from 1636 until his death in 1682, and Cornelius Albertsen Meyer from 1694 until 1729.

4 **one even forty-eight years**] Jørgen Hansen, formerly a monk, was parish priest from 1522 until his death in 1570.

5 **a tombstone**] A Romanesque stone of coarse-grained, red granite, perhaps a gable of a coffin, perhaps even the lid of a sarcophagus, whose downward side bore the brief runic inscription "*auæmaria*," i.e., "Ave Maria" (→ 13,*7*). The first account of the stone comes from librarian and rune expert P. G. Thorsen who, in 1838, reports that just 3 or 4 years earlier it stood as part of the churchyard's embankment at Søborg Church, but that it was now in the vestibule; it was presumably pastor H. C. Lyngbye (→ 12,*11*) who, in 1834 or 1835—perhaps in connection with the repairs to parts of the south wall of the cemetery in 1835—had it moved into the vestibule, which served as a toolshed at that time. Today the stone is built into the wall in the Church's new vestibule, constructed in 1941. It is referred to as "Søborg stone 1." Cf. Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* [Denmark's Runic Inscriptions] (Copenhagen, 1942), no. 256.

now to be sent ... to be put up at the Round Tower] In connection with the creation of a cabinet of national antiquities and monuments at the university library, located in rooms above Trinitatis Church, university librarian and professor extraordinarius (i.e., professor outside the normal appointment system) of the history of literature, Rasmus Nyerup, sent a public request in 1807 to all owners of Nordic antiquities, asking them to send their antiquities to the collection. As secretary of the "Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities," Nyerup, with the assistance of various people, including some rural pastors, succeeded in collecting a respectable number of antiquities, including rune stones, which were set up in the spiral staircase in the Round Tower. In 1816, Nyerup was succeeded by businessman C. J. Thomsen, who took custody of the collection at the end of the 1830s and moved the "Antiquities Cabinet" to rooms in Christiansborg Castle; today it is part of the collections of the National Museum. Pastor H. C. Lyngbye never sent the stone to the Round Tower (see the previous note). 6

twined runic letters] Runes with contiguous lettering, often sharing a common vertical line; common in the later runic period (ca. 1100–1350) of the Middle Ages. 7

Ave Maria] Latin, "Greetings, Mary!" (cf. the greeting of the angel Gabriel to Mary at the Annunciation in Lk 1:28, which in the Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, is as follows: "Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum" ["Greetings, full of grace! The 7

Lord is with you"]); the opening words of both a prayer and a hymn in Roman Catholic worship.

8 **an epitaph for Queen Helvig . . . lived here**] Helvig (died ca. 1374) was King Valdemar Atterdag's (→ 6,5) queen; married at Sønderborg Castle in 1340. J. G. Burman Becker recounts the following about Queen Helvig at Søborg Castle in *Efterretninger om de gamle Borge* (→ 12,35), vol. 1, p. 134: "King Waldemar often stayed at Søborg, and it is said that he fell deeply in love with a woman who granted him an assignation. Queen Hedvig [or Helvig], who was often treated coldly, took advantage of the situation by putting on the woman's clothing and showing up at the appointed meeting. Margaret, who was later so renowned as the regent of the North, was born at Søborg. The King later became embittered toward his queen for causing the death of Lady Tove and for favoring Folquar Langmandsen. Hedvig was therefore sent to Søborg, where she died and was buried in the town's cemetery." It has subsequently been shown that the amorous relation to Tove or Tovelille was mistakenly attributed to Valdemar Atterdag instead of Valdemar the Great, and that in her later years, Queen Helvig entered Esrom Abbey as a lay sister. Legend claims that she was buried in Søborg cemetery, but it was discovered later that she died in Esrom Abbey and was buried in front of an altar in the abbey church, where the monks held requiems for her beginning in 1374. In 1377, her daughter Queen Margaret received a papal dispensation to move the body of her mother to Sorø Abbey Church, but the plan was never realized (she had her father's body moved from Vordingborg to Sorø, however, by the same papal dispensation). In his history of Denmark (1601), Arild Huitfeldt, however, tells that Queen Helvig was buried in Søborg cemetery, where a tree as large as a gravestone stood, into which was carved an image of a queen with a crown; it is therefore possible that Helvig's body was moved from Esrom Abbey Church to Søborg cemetery, though it is not known when; perhaps it was after the Reformation was introduced in Denmark in 1536.

13 11 **Gilleleje**] → 3,2.

13 **corner meetings**] Gilleleje had 3 corners, i.e., meeting places, for the townspeople; the corner of what is now Store Strandstræde was "the main corner," where discussions about the fishing hamlet's common interests took place. The meeting was announced by the master of the guild by blowing the town horn.

the "meal," . . . after every catch . . . gives his shilling] After a fishing trip, the crew of the boat (typically 7 or 8 men) would gather in the home of the captain for a meal, where they would drink schnapps and punch to celebrate the catch. The celebration culminated in the evening with a dance around the table while singing. The assertion that everyone was obligated to contribute a shilling (→ 13,15) has not been verified. Presumably Kierkegaard conflates this celebration with the "captain's Christmas party," which the crew participated in with their families. This party began with coffee and schnapps in the afternoon, and after a game of cards around 5 p.m., the group sat down to a cold meal with beer and schnapps, and later in the evening drank punch. The entire crew made a financial contribution to the festivities; after St. Martin's Day (November 11), they each put a shilling in a collection box when the accounts for the boat had been settled. 13

shilling] Danish monetary unit in the period from 1813 until 1875; there were 16 shillings to a mark and 6 marks to a rix-dollar. With the monetary reform in 1875, the rix-dollar was replaced by the crown and the shilling by the øre (1 rix-dollar = 2 crowns and 1 shilling = 2 ører). In 1840 a pound of rye bread cost 2–4 shillings. 15

all of them are related to each other . . . one big family] The residents of Gilleleje were known for distinguishing themselves from the fishermen and farmers of the surrounding area, with whom they often had hostile relations. They were also known for upholding their own traditions. The attempt to prevent foreign manners and customs from gaining a foothold led to a high degree of inbreeding among the families. 15

the island of Hessel] A small, rocky island in the Kattegat, ca. 13 nautical miles north of the mouth of Issefjord. 17

Gilbjerget] → 9,20. 19

Jens Andersen of Fjellenstrup] In the census of 1834, Jens Andersen of Fjellenstrup is listed as 64 years old, married to Karen Andersdatter, and the owner of a small farm. According to the parish 22 13

death register for Gilleleje parish, Jens Andersen died on April 15, 1838 while in retirement. Fjellenstrup or Fjellingstrup is a village in Søborg parish south of Gilleleje (*see map 4, D1*).

23 **Saxo, Snorri ... the old Norse Society**] Refers to *Danmarks Krønike af Saxo Grammaticus* [Denmark's Chronicle by Saxo Grammaticus], vols. 1–3, trans. N. F. S. Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1818–22); *Norges Konge-Krønike af Snorro Sturlesøn* [Chronicle of the Kings of Norway by Snorri Sturlesøn], vols. 1–3, trans. N. F. S. Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1818–22); and *Oldnordiske Sagaer udgivne i Oversættelse af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab* [Old Norse Sagas Published in Translation by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries], vols. 1–12, trans. C. C. Rafn (Copenhagen, 1826–37 [in 1835, 9 of 12 vols. had been published], ASKB 1996–2007).

25 **the pastor**] H. C. Lyngbye (→ 12,*11*).

13 34 **You ... your stay in Brazil**] The addressee is presumably Peter Wilhelm Lund (1801–80), natural scientist, paleontologist, brother of Kierkegaard's brothers-in-law J. C. Lund and H. F. Lund. Lund lived in Brazil from 1825 until 1829, where he undertook field studies in meteorology, biology, and zoology. In the summer of 1829, he was in Copenhagen. After an extended trip to the centers for natural science in Europe, he returned to Copenhagen where he spent the summer of 1831. In 1833, he traveled to Brazil again, never to return; he died in Lagoa Santa. He received the degree of doctor from the University of Kiel in 1829 and became a member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1831. During his second stay in Brazil, he concentrated in particular on the excavation of limestone caves in search of bones of extinct animals; he published his epoch-making results, which received international attention, with the Academy of Sciences, most of them under the title, *Blik paa Brasiliens Dyreverden før sidste Jordomvæltning* [View of Brazil's Animal World before the Last Cataclysm] (1837–46). In 1845, he gave his extensive and unique collection of bones, which include those of extinct mammals, to the Royal Natural History Museum in Copenhagen; his collection of Brazilian plants, containing 12,000 specimens, can be found at the Botanical Museum in Copenhagen.

14 21 **categorical imperative**] The expression "categorical imperative" is used by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (→ 35,*33*) as the designation for an unconditioned (absolute) moral principle, which ought to determine the motives for human action; this view is formulated in his *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* [Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals] (Riga, 1785).

the real meaning of this Hegelian dialectic] Here, 23 the dialectic between the inner and the outer. For some people the inner (i.e., motives) is expressed in the outer (i.e., actions); for most people the outer (surroundings) determines the inner (motives). What is particularly at issue here is the relationship between the external environment and internal motivations. **Hegel**: → 35,*26*.

Faust] The legend of Faust goes back to a popular 34 German book from 1587 (cf. *Den i den gandske Verden bekiendte Ertz - Sort - Kunstner og Trold-Karl Doctor Johan Faust, og Hans med Dievelen oprettede Forbund, Forundringsfulde Levnet og skrækkelige Endeligt* [The Arch Magician and Sorcerer, Doctor Johan Faust, Known throughout the Whole World, and the Pact He Made with the Devil, His Astonishing Life and Terrible End], Copenhagen, no date [before 1823, German 1587]; ASKB U 35). It has been reworked in countless literary productions since then. With G. E. Lessing's (unfinished) version and especially with Goethe's tragedy (→ 14,*38*) and subsequent retellings, the figure of Faust has been the symbol of the striving for truth. In the mid-1830s, Kierkegaard studied the Faust legend and its development in C. L. Stieglitz's work "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Saga of Faust], published in *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Fr. v. Raumer, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 125–210; cf. BB:12.

a goddess of longing] Refers presumably to the 35 Nordic goddess Freya, who does not have this role in Norse sources or in Saxo. But she is strongly characterized by her longing (especially by her desire for lost love) by Adam Oehlenschläger in *Nordens Guder* [Gods of the North] (Copenhagen, 1819), in the poem "Ægirs Giestebud" [Aegir's Banquet], p. 339 (cf. *Digterværker af Oehlenschläger* [The Poetic Works of Oehlenschläger], vols. 1–10 [Copenhagen, 1835–40; vol. 7, 1837; ASKB 1600], p. 348), and in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Nordens Mythologi* [Mythology of the North] (→ 34,*3*), in the section "Asynierne," [The Aesir, the Nordic goddesses], pp. 503f.

38 **Goethe lets Faust be converted**] Refers presumably to the final scene of act 5 in Goethe's *Faust. Der Tragödie zweyter Teil in fünf Acten* [Faust, the Tragedy: Part Two in Five Acts] (1831), which takes place in heaven after Faust's death; here Gretchen, whom Faust had deceived in the first part, intercedes for him, with the result that he seems to be saved. Cf. *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethes's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], vols. 1–60 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–42; ASKB 1641–1668, vols. 1–55, 1828–33, abbreviated here as *Goethe's Werke*), vol. 41, 1832, pp. 333ff. Goethe completed part one of *Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Faust: A Tragedy] in 1808, and in 1828 he added a short part two; both parts are found in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 12, 1828, which ends with the words: "(Ist fortzusetzen.)" [To be continued]. In the summer of 1831 Goethe completed a longer version of part two in 5 acts. Cf. *Faust. Eine Tragödie* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1834; ASKB 1669), which contains part one from 1808 and part two from 1831. — **Goethe**: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German poet, dramatist, essayist, jurist, statesman, and scientist.

38 **Merimée allows Don Juan to convert**] Refers to the novella, "Les Âmes du purgatoire" [The Souls of Purgatory], in *Revue des Deux Mondes* [Review of Two Worlds], vol. 3, August 15, 1834, Paris, pp. 377–434, in which Mérimée has Don Juan repent and convert. — **Mérimée**: Prosper Mérimée (1803–70), French author (particularly known for novellas), archaeologist, scientist, and statesman.

39 **Faust . . . gave himself to the devil**] The heart of the legend of Faust is the pact which he makes with the devil Mephistopheles in order to gain knowledge and "enlightenment."

15 4 **Mephistopheles . . . let . . . hidden secrets**] In the Faust legend, the devil figure, Mephistopheles, gives Faust the ability to see though the earthly sphere (as promised). Cf. also scene 2, the "study scene" [Studirzimmer], in Goethe's *Faust. Eine Tragödie* (→ 14,*38*), in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 12, 1828, pp. 79–102, where Faust assumes Mephistopheles's all-penetrating view of the human race.

19 **I stand like Hercules . . . where the road divides**] Figure of speech which means that one stands before a difficult and decisive choice. The figure of speech has its background in a story by the Greek sophist Prodicus of Ceos; the story itself has been lost, but is loosely recounted by Xenophon in his recollections of Socrates, *Memorabilia*, book 2, chap. 1; cf. *Xenophons Sokratiske Merkværdigheder*, trans. J. Bloch (Copenhagen, 1792), pp. 115–129. When the demigod Hercules (Greek, Heracles, the son of the king's daughter Alcmene and Zeus [Latin, Jupiter]) had become a young man and still did not know whether he should follow the road of virtue or vice, he went out and sat at a fork in the road, vexed and in doubt. Here he met two women, "virtue" and "vice," who each tried to win him over. Hercules ultimately chose the road of virtue. (In English translation, see Xenophon, *Conversations of Socrates*, trans. Hugh Tredennick and Robin Waterfield [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990], pp. 106f.)

the rich farmer . . . "Tomorrow I will require your 42
life"] Refers to Jesus's parable of the rich farmer, Lk 12:16–21. When the rich farmer had received a large harvest and had no room for it, he decided to tear down his old barns and build larger ones. He planned to store the reserves of grain for years so he could retire, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said to him: "You fool! This very night your life is being demanded of you. And the things you have prepared, whose will they be?" (verse 20).

that Archimedean point] → 10,*27*. 10 16

Ørsted] Hans Christian Ørsted (1777–1851), physi- 16
cist, professor extraordinarius beginning in 1806, and professor ordinarius (i.e., within the normal appointment system) beginning in 1817, at the University of Copenhagen, where he was rector for three separate periods, the first of which was the 1825–26 academic year.

Chladni figure] Symmetrical pattern or figure 17
formed, for example, by sand on a plate of glass or metal when the bow of a violin is drawn along the edge. Also called "acoustic figures." The phenomenon was discovered in 1787 by the German physicist E. F. F. Chladni and studied by Ørsted, who demonstrated in 1807 that a pure sound produces a hyperbole in the sand. In 1808 Ørsted received the silver medal from the Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters for the treatise "Forsøg over Klangfigurerne" [Experiments on Acoustic Figures], published in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter for Aar 1807 og 1808* [The Writings of the Royal Danish Academy of Science for the Year 1807 and 1808], vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1810), pp. 31–64.

17 **Schouw . . . a study for an artist . . . giving names to all the animals**] Joachim Frederik Schouw (1789–1852), botanist, professor extraordinarius at the University of Copenhagen beginning in 1821 and professor ordinarius beginning in 1845. — **study**: refers presumably to Schouw's major work in botany, *Grundtræk til en almindelig Plantegeographie* [Outline of a General Plant Geography] (Copenhagen, 1822), in which he gives names to his phytogeographical kingdoms. — **Adam giving names to all the animals**: alludes to Gen 2:18–19, where it is written that God created all the birds and animals of the earth and led them to Adam, who then named them.

19 **Horneman . . . intimate with every plant . . . a patriarch**] Jens Wilken Hornemann (1770–1841), botanist, lecturer at the Botanical Garden beginning in 1801, editor of *Flora Danica* beginning in 1804, professor extraordinarius at the University of Copenhagen beginning in 1808 and professor ordinarius and director of the Botanical Garden beginning in 1817. Among his publications is the basic handbook for Danish flora, *Forsøg til en dansk oeconomisk Plantelære* [Essay on Danish Economic Botany] (Copenhagen, 1796); a 3rd expanded and revised edition appeared in 1821.

22 **representative . . . in parliament**] Allusion to the election of representatives to the four Advisory Assemblies of the Estates, established by the decree of May 15, 1834. Twelve representatives were elected in November 1834 to represent Copenhagen at the Assembly of the Estates for the Danish Islands, which met for the first time on October 1, 1835 in Roskilde. In addition, the king reserved the right to choose representatives, including one for the University of Copenhagen, and his choice was the aforementioned J. F. Schouw (→ 16,*17*); neither J. W. Hornemann nor H. C. Ørsted became representatives, but Ørsted was among the candidates whom the professors had nominated.

27 **40 years in the wilderness**] Alludes to the Israelites who wandered in the wilderness for 40 years after their liberation from Egypt before they came to the promised land of Israel; cf. Ex 15—Deut 34.

33 **sounds of nature in Ceylon**] Refers to the natural phenomenon, which the German mystic and philosopher of nature, G. H. Schubert (→ 45,*32*), called "Teufelsstimme auf Ceilon" [the devil's voice in Ceylon]. It seems to come like a flash of lightning, sometimes from a great distance and sometimes from very nearby; it sounds something like a mournful human voice, but also like a brisk minuet, evoking terror in those who hear it. Cf. *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* [Views from the Dark Side of Natural Science], 2nd ed. (Dresden, 1818 [1801]), pp. 376–378. In *Die Symbolik des Traumes* [The Symbolism of Dreams], 2nd ed. (Bamberg, 1821 [1814]; ASKB 776), p. 38, Schubert writes: "The things we notice in the language of dreams—the tone of irony, the characteristic association of ideas and the spirit of prophecy—these we certainly also find in the prototype to the world of dreams, i.e., nature. In fact nature seems to agree completely with our hidden poet and, together with him, to mock our miserable joy and our joyous misery: it laughs at us from the grave, and its mournful cry can be heard at marriage beds; in this way lament is paired strangely with joy, and happiness with sadness, just like the voice of nature, the air-music in Ceylon, which sings terribly joyous minuets in a deeply lamenting, heart-rending voice." (According to a receipt from the university bookseller C. A. Reitzel, dated December 31, 1836, Kierkegaard acquired this book on February 22, 1836.) — **Ceylon**: i.e., present-day Sri Lanka.

40 **orthodoxy**] Lutheran or Protestant orthodoxy, a dogmatic, ecclesiastical movement, which arose at the beginning of the 17th century. Orthodoxy was characterized by an emphasis on the Bible as the absolute standard for all Christian doctrine, and the belief that pure doctrine, together with the confessional books, constitutes the Church. The theologians of orthodoxy established more and more refined and subtle theories about the authority and character of Holy Scripture; they constructed great theological systems and, in a constantly growing admiration for Luther, tried to work out a systematic interpretation of his theology. Among other things, their aim was to distinguish Protestant doctrine from other confessions, Calvinism in particular. Orthodoxy was essentially intellectual, polemical, and intolerant vis-à-vis other dogmatic views, but also bore the stamp of a strongly spiritual life and an ardent concern for the highest truths of existence. In Kierkegaard's time, orthodoxy still enjoyed a certain degree of support, but the support was often for a weaker version of orthodoxy understood as conservative doctrine.

17 7 **in dubio**] Latin, "in doubt," "unexplained."

9 **rationalism**] An intellectual movement in theology, dominant during the Enlightenment, especially in the period from 1750 to 1800. Rationalism was characterized by the view that it should be possible to ground all religious articles of faith in reason, and by the rejection of any belief which surpassed rational human capacities. Rationalist theologians therefore tried to interpret the Christian doctrine of revelation, biblical stories, and church dogmas in such a way that they avoided conflict with reason or experience. Rationalism was essentially intellectual and tolerant, stamped as it was, on the one hand, by a critical examination of all inherited values and, on the other, by an optimistic faith in progress through enlightenment and greater understanding. Rationalist theology and preaching placed primary emphasis on God (God's being, properties, and relation to the world), virtue (the practice of religion and the unfolding of life in ethical piety based on humane and Christian virtues), immortality (the immortality of the soul in contrast to the mortal body), along with catechetical instruction (training in the Christian religion's basic teachings). In Kierkegaard's time, rationalism was still rather widespread, especially among theology teachers and pastors, but in a weakened sense as an anti-pietistic doctrine of faith, emphasizing reason. Rationalist theology also influenced *Lærebog i den Evangelisk-christelige Religion, indrettet til Brug i de danske Skoler* [Textbook in the Evangelical Christian Religion, Prepared for Use in Danish Schools] (commonly referred to as *Balles Lærebog*), written by Zealand's Bishop N. E. Balle together with the court pastor and Chaplain-in-Ordinary C. B. Bastholm, authorized in 1791 and in use until 1856 (cf. ASKB 183), as well as *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog, til Brug ved Kirke- og Huus-Andagt* [Evangelical Christian Psalm Book, for Devotional Use in the Church and at Home], authorized in 1798 and in use until 1855 (cf. ASKB 195–197).

19 **Noah's Ark . . . in which . . . animals lie down side by side**] Allusion to Gen 6:8–7:9, where it is written that God ordered Noah to build an ark and gather his sons, wife, daughters-in-law and two of every kind of bird and animal on earth, both the clean and the unclean, so they could survive the destructive flood which God was soon to send to the earth.

an expression employed by Prof. Heiberg] Refers 19
to J. L. Heiberg's article, "Om Naturhistoriens Studium i Danmark" [On the Study of Natural History in Denmark] in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post], no. 143, 1830. Here Heiberg mentions "*Kjøbenhavns-Posten* [Copenhagen's Post], whose all-encompassing embrace is a true Noah's Ark in which the clean and the unclean animals lie side by side in a fraternal manner." — **Prof. Heiberg**: Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860), Danish poet, journal editor, publicist, literature and theater critic, and (beginning in 1824) Hegelian philosopher; from 1822 until 1825 lecturer in Danish at the University of Kiel; in 1829 named titular professor; served from 1830 until 1836 as instructor in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the newly founded Royal Military College; beginning in 1829, dramatic poet-in-residence and permanent translator at the Royal Theater. He was editor of *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* in 1827, 1828, and 1830, and *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* [Copenhagen's Flying Post. Occasional Issues], 1834–37.

our town militia of yore] Refers to Copenhagen's 22
town militia, in which all Copenhagen men capable of bearing arms were expected to serve for a period of 25 years.

Potsdam Guard] Refers to the famous cavalry reg- 22
iment headquartered in Postdam near Berlin, which was the bodyguard for the Prussian king Frederick William I (1713–40). Cf., for example, *Karl Friedrich Beckers Verdenshistorie, omarbeidet af Johan Gottfried Woltmann* [Karl Friedrich Becker's World History, Revised by Johan Gottfried Woltmann], trans. J. Riise, vols. 1–12 (Copenhagen, 1822–29; ASKB 1972–1983), vol. 9, 1825, p. 319: "His personal bodyguard regiment in Potsdam, later called 'the guard,' consisted of giants who were collected with great effort from all the countries of Europe; many had cost him more than a thousand dalers and each day cost him two rix-dalers or, at the least, one gylden in pay. The man on the wing, *Homann*, was so tall that *August II* of Poland, who was by no means a short man, could not reach his head with an outstretched arm."

Cambyses . . . sacred hens and cats ahead] When 26
Cambyses (the king of Persia, 529–522 B.C.) besieged the Egyptian frontier town Pelusion in 527 B.C., the Egyptians put up stiff resistance with catapults; but the cunning Cambyses then positioned

animals which were sacred to the Egyptians, i.e., dogs, sheep, cats, and ibises, directly in front of his army. The Egyptians then stopped the bombardment, and Cambyses took Pelusion. Thus it is reported by the Greek historian Polyaenus in *Strategemata* [Strategies] 7.9, from the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.

28 **the Roman consul . . . if they will not eat**] Refers to Publius Claudius Pulcher, a Roman consul in 249 B.C. and supreme commander of the Roman navy. When he wanted to attack the Carthaginian fleet in the Battle at Drepana during the First Punic War (264–41 B.C.), he took auguries from the sacred hens; but when they would not come out of their cage to eat, which was an unfavorable omen, he is reported to have said, "If they will not eat, then let them drink," and had them cast into the sea. He subsequently suffered a great defeat. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* [Memorable Deeds and Sayings], book 1, chap. 4.3, Valerius Maximus, *Sammlung merkwürdiger Reden und Thaten* [Collection of Remarkable Words and Deeds], trans. Fr. Hoffmann (Stuttgart, 1829 [consisting of vols. 1–5, 1828–29, continuous pagination]; ASKB 1296), p. 32. Cf. also Suetonius's biography of Tiberius, chap. 2.2, *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* [Caius Suetonius Tranquillus's Description of the Lives of The First Twelve Roman Emperors], trans. J. Baden, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1802–3; ASKB 1281), vol. 1, p. 202.

33 **Nonnulla desunt**] Latin, "something is missing;" a common expression in philology, which indicates that text of unknown length has been lost. Since this phrase, which is preserved in *EP* I–II, does not come from the editor H. P. Barfod, but from Kierkegaard himself, it presumably means either that some text has been lost from a preliminary draft, which was written out cleanly in *Journal AA*, or that something is lacking which was to be written or developed further. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal AA*," in this volume, p. 304.

18 2 **father**] Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard (1756–1838). His acumen in business made him an extremely wealthy man, so wealthy that he could retire at the age of 40 with a sizable fortune. In April 1797, he married Ane Lund; together with her he had 7 children of whom Søren Kierkegaard was the youngest. In 1805, he bought the house at Nytorv 2 (*see map 2, B2*), where he lived in retirement until his death.

3 **the real Canaan**] The promised land, which God had promised the Israelites (see the following note). In the Old Testament, Canaan is the name for Palestine in the pre-Israelite period, corresponding geographically more or less to present day Israel. It is also used metaphorically as a reward for enduring great difficulties.

4 **like Moses of old, ascends . . . I will never get in**] Alludes to the story in Deut 34:1–4: "Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, which is opposite Jericho, and the Lord showed him the whole land. . . . The Lord said to him, 'This is the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, "I will give it to your descendants"; I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not cross over there.' " Mount Tabor, which is located 10 kilometers east-southeast of Nazareth, and mentioned many times in the OT, is here confused with Mount Nebo. Cf. also Deut 32:48–52.

9 **the learned republic**] Means all the scholars in a certain place or field. Cf. the German "Gelehrtenrepublik," French "république des lettres," Latin "republica litteraria." The idea of "the learned republic" originated with the formation of national academies and learned societies in the 17th century and represented a liberation from the scholastic theological tradition, and in contrast to the scholastic tradition, it transcended national and confessional boundaries and represented a tolerant world society of scholars guided by reason. In the 19th century, "the learned republic" came to represent the encyclopaedic idea of a synthesis of all fields of knowledge in the life of the mind. Its task consisted in enlightening the public, and its members represented the life of the mind in modern society. In the Middle Ages, the learned and the clergy had the same standing, while the uneducated were now the new laity.

11 **Strandveien . . . in the Deer Park season**] Strandvejen is a road which runs along the coast of the Øresund from Østerport, just outside 19th-century Copenhagen, to Helsingør. The road, which passes by Jægersborg Dyrehave [Deer Park], saw a great deal of traffic by Copenhageners on Fridays in the summer, especially in the period when "Bakken," a field in Deer Park with booths, sideshows, and

other popular amusements, was open ("Deer Park season"); in Kierkegaard's time this was from Midsummer Day (June 24) to Visitation Day (July 2).

14 **Bakken**] Dyrehavsbakken (see the previous note), a hill in Jægersborg Deer Park near Kirsten Piil's Spring.

17 **Achilles's mother . . . honorable death**] The mother of the Greek hero Achilles, the goddess Thetis, tried to exempt him from participating in the campaign at Troy, where she knew he was fated to meet an early, honorable hero's death. Although she left him disguised as a woman and hidden on the island of Scyros, he was discovered by the cunning of Odysseus. Afterward the latter equipped him with armor and weapons; he joined the Greek fleet and fought as the bravest warrior during the siege of Troy, but was ultimately killed by an arrow. Cf. *Paul Fr. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul Fr. A Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], by F. G. Klopfer, 2nd ed., vols. 1–2 (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945, abbreviated hereafter as *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch*), vol. 1, pp. 18f.

23 **John of old . . . the Diety's breast**] Alludes to Jn 21:20: "Peter turned and saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following them; he was the one who had reclined next to Jesus at the supper," cf. Jn 13:23.

26 **Lynceus's glance**] The Greek legendary figure Lynceus was famous for his sharp, all-penetrating vision.

32 **a cold philosophy . . . a pre-existence**] Presumably alludes to Franz von Baader, *Ueber den Paulinischen Begriff des Versehenseins des Menschen im Namen Jesu vor der Welt Schöpfung* [On the Pauline Concept of Providence for Humanity in the Name of Jesus, Prior to the Creation of the World], nos. 1–3 (Würzburg, 1837; ASKB 409–410 and 413), no. 3, p. 37 (first footnote), where Baader says that one can "speak of a pre-existence of children in an ancestor, and can see how this immediate unity, through particularization, should be confirmed as something mediated, without which knowledge one could not understand the categories of the one, the divided, and the individual." See also the note to this on p. 80: "If one is here speaking of a pre-existence of all human beings or all individuals of a species in a primitive unity, then one hardly means its being confused or its not-being-individual, but rather only means that its pretemporal manner of existence as intelligible does not exclude the free act of the will of each individual, even if it is not comprehensible to us, who are merely thinking in temporality."

Copenhageners' Deer Park trips] → 18,*11*. 35

Gilleleje] → 3,*2*. 1 19

parents . . . to the care of others] During Kierkegaard's time, it was not uncommon for poor parents, especially single mothers, to let the Royal Maternity Hospital and Orphanage place their children in the care of rural families who, unfortunately, did not always act in the best interests of the children. 31

one has embraced the clouds instead of Juno] Alludes to the legend about the mythological king Ixion, who wanted to lay hands on Juno (Greek, Hera), the queen of the gods, and assault her sexually. Her husband Jupiter (Greek, Zeus) prevented this by creating a cloud which resembled her, so that Ixion instead embraced the cloud which gave birth to the centaurs. Jupiter punished Ixion by having him bound to a wheel which spun around endlessly. Cf. *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 18,*17*), vol. 2, pp. 122f. 37

an imperative of knowledge . . . taken up alive in me] In an excerpt from 1834 or 1835 from Franz Baader (→ 35,*31*) *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics], no. 3, Münster 1833 (cf. ASKB 396, no. 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828, nos. 2–5, Münster, 1830–38), pp. 52f., Kierkegaard writes: "The imp[erative] of knowledge in the case of a thing's given *deformity* is to find out the wrongness of the constitutive elements" (*Pap*. I C 33, in vol. XII, p. 138). In the lecture that follows, Baader says (pp. 54f.): "Mere experience speaks against this assumption of an indifference of the known vis-à-vis its being known, since there are frequently cases where the thing to be known moves, as it were, toward the one who knows, lets itself be known to him without his contribution, and sets itself as a task and forces itself upon him. Therefore, it is an error if, with *Kant*, one admits no imperative of knowledge, and interprets this knowledge only as a subjective postulate forced upon one." 1 20

to share life's good and bad fortune] Kierkegaard's words "Medgang" (prosperity) and "Modgang" (adversity) allude to the marriage ritual 6

where the priest asks both the bride and the groom whether she/he will live with him/her "for better and for worse [i.e., in prosperity and adversity], in whatever fortune almighty God may bring to you," cf. *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Authorized Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381), pp. 256f.

13 **the life of thieves**] Cf. "The idea for a 'master thief,'" which Kierkegaard sketches in an entry from September 12, 1834. He makes further additions to it in September and December of the same year as well as in January, February, and March of 1835 (*Pap*. I A 11–18). Here he sketches the life and character of a number of well-known thieves as examples of a "master thief." Cf. also the article, "Svend Andreas Olsen, en af Kjøbenhavns mærkeligste Tyve af Profession" [Svend Andreas Olsen, One of Copenhagen's Most Extraordinary Professional Thieves], in *Udvalg af danske og udenlandske Criminalsager og af mærkelige Forhandlinger om saadanne* [Selected Danish and Foreign Criminal Cases and Notable Events Surrounding Them], ed. F. M. Lange, vols. 1–6 (Copenhagen, 1836–41; ASKB 926–931, abbreviated hereafter as *Udvalg af danske og udenlandske Criminalsager*), vol. 1, pp. 31–58.

15 **community spirit**] Cf. an entry dated March 15, 1835, where Kierkegaard notes, with respect to "the master thief" and "the Italian robber," "an essential difference in the fact that in the latter the social element is dominant. We could not think of him except as being at the head of a band of robbers" (*Pap*. I A 18). Cf. also the article, "Samuel Moses og hans Medskyldige, størstedeels Medlemmer af en tydsk Røverbande" [Samuel Moses and His Accomplices, for the Most Part Members of a German Band of Robbers], in *Udvalg af danske og udenlandske Criminalsager* (see the previous note), vol. 1, pp. 59–68.

27 **the tree of life**] According to Gen 2:9 God placed the tree of life in the middle of the Garden of Eden. When he drove Adam and Eve from the garden after the Fall, he placed cherubim to guard the way to the tree of life, so that they could not eat of its fruits and live eternally (Gen 3:22–24). In the vision of the new Jerusalem, the tree of life stands in the middle of the city; it bears fruit twelve months a year, and its leaves serve as medicine for the people (Rev 22:2).

sit venia verbo] Latin, "forgive the saying," "excuse the expression." 29

Thor's hammer . . . to where it was thrown] According to Nordic mythology, Thor's hammer Mjölnir flew back to its owner after every crushing throw. 31

Fichte] Cf. J. G. Fichte, *Die Bestimmung des Menschen* (→ 11,25), for example, pp. 80f.: "What is the connection between the subject, me, and the object of my knowledge, the thing? This question does not arise about *me*. I have knowledge in myself, for I am intelligence. What I am, thereof I *know*, because I am it. And that which I know immediately simply by existing, that is *me*, because I immediately know about it. Here no connection between subject and object is required; my own being is this connection. I am subject and object: and this subject-objectivity, this return of knowledge into itself, is what I designate with the concept 'I,' if I think anything definite at all with this concept." And pp. 82f.: "The subjective appears as the passive unmoving mirror of the objective; the latter is present to the former." (English translations quoted from Fichte, *The Vocation of Man*, trans. Peter Preuss [Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 1987], pp. 47f. and 49 respectively.) 36

Minerva] Latin name corresponding to the Greek Pallas Athena, goddess of wisdom; she was born leaping, fully armed, from the forehead of her father, Zeus. 37

found that precious stone . . . sell everything] Alludes to Jesus's parable of the pearl, Mt 13:45–46: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant in search of fine pearls; on finding one pearl of great value, he went and sold all that he had and bought it." 5 21

tasted the fruits of the tree of knowledge] Allusion to the account of the Fall in Gen 3, where it is told that Eve and Adam ate of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the fruit of which God had forbidden them to eat. The expression "tree of knowledge" appears in Gen 2:9. 21

doddering clergyman resigns with his pension] Normally pastors remained at their posts until they died, but they could voluntarily resign their posts and petition the king for discharge with pension. 30

from Ariadne . . . slay the monster] According to a Greek legend, Ariadne, the daughter of the Cretan king Minos, fell in love with Theseus when he came 37

to Crete to kill the Minotaur, a monster which lived in the Labyrinth at Cnossus. Ariadne helped Theseus by giving him a thread, or a ball of yarn, so that he could find his way out of the Labyrinth; he defeated the Minotaur and freed the girls and boys who were chosen as sacrificial victims to the monster. Hereafter Ariadne fled with Theseus. Cf. *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 18,17), vol. 1, p. 309.

40 **the young girls ... sacrificed every year to the Minotaur**] See the previous note.

22 4 **search for and discovery of the Kingdom of Heaven**] Allusion to Mt 7:7–8, where Jesus says: "Ask, and it will be given you; search, and you will find. ... For everyone who asks receives, and everyone who searches finds." Cf. also Mt 6:33, where Jesus says: "But strive first for the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well."

9 **the harmony of centrifugal and centripetal forces**] If a stone is swung around on a string, the resulting circular movement is a result of a union ("harmony") between a centrifugal force, which pulls the stone away from the center of the circle (i.e., the hand which swings it), and a centripetal force, which pulls the stone toward the center.

11 **γνωθι σεαυτον**] Greek, (gnōthi seautón) "Know yourself!" Inscription on the most famous temple in Greece, the Temple of Apollo (the temple of the oracle) at Delphi. The words have been attributed several philosophers, including the Ionian philosopher Thales of Miletus and the Spartan lawgiver Chilon. Cf. book 1, chap. 1, pp. 39f., in *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn, i ti Bøger* [Diogenes Laertes's History of Philosophy or the Lives, Opinions, and Clever Statements of Famous Philosophers, in Ten Books], trans. B. Riisbrigh, ed. B. Thorlacius, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111, abbreviated hereafter as *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie*), vol. 1, p. 16: "To him [Thales] belongs the proverb: 'Know thyself,' which in his *Successions of Philosophers* Antisthenes attributes to Phemonoe, though admitting that it was appropriated by Chilon." (English translation quoted from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vols. 1–2, trans. R. D. Hicks [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1972 [1925]], vol. 1, p. 41. Translation slightly modified.) This saying was also attributed to Pythagoras by Ovid and to Aesop by Plutarch; cf. L. Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* [The Great Historical Dictionary or the Curious Mixture of Sacred and Profane History], vols. 1–6 (Basel, 1731–32; ASKB 1965–1969), vol. 6, p. 230.

begin with a not-knowing (Socrates)] Socrates claimed no knowledge for himself except that he knew nothing, which means that he claimed a "not-knowing." Cf. Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus*, 150c ff., and *Apology*, 21d and 23b. 16

God created the world from nothing] Since the second century, it has been an increasingly widespread Christian view of the account of creation in Gen 1 that God created everything from nothing (→ 36,6). Cf. also 2 Macc 7:28: "I beg you, my child, to look at the heaven and the earth and see everything that is in them, and recognize that God did not make them out of things that existed. And in the same way the human race came into being." 16

to sit on the wonder-chair] A game in which a person sitting on a chair is supposed to guess who, among those present, has uttered (often teasing) statements about the person him- or herself; the statements, which are whispered to a designated participant, should be about what in particular awakens wonder in the person. The expression "to sit on the wonder-chair" usually means to be in an exposed position, to be the target for everyone's criticism, to be exposed to everyone's gaze. 23

an Arabian tale "Morad the Hunchback"] An Egyptian tale similar to those in *A Thousand and One Nights* (although not a part of it). In "Morad the Hunchback," the Egyptian Morad tells how he, as a child, found a ring inscribed with an ancient symbol. This symbol was interpreted by a learned old man as saying that everything Morad wished for would come true, but that it would bring ill fortune upon him every time. As foretold, the ring obeys Morad's wishes, but does so in such a way that it brings greater and greater difficulties; ultimately, Morad becomes maimed and ends up a hunchback in a madhouse. Morad thus ends up jailed after having wished to be in a safe and secure place, p. 464 in *Bibliothek for Ungdommen* (→ 22,31). The moral to the story is stated by the learned old man: "Oh, my son! Not the power to satisfy our 27

wishes but the courage to suppress them is what brings happiness," p. 461.

28 **Moden Zeitung, "Bilder Magazin," No. 40, 1835**] *Allgemeine Moden-Zeitung. Eine Zeitschrift für die gebildete Welt, begleitet von dem Bilder-Magazin in Miniatur* [General Journal of Fashion: A Periodical for the Educated World, Accompanied by a Small Illustrated Magazine], ed. A. Diezmann, vol. 37 (Leipzig, 1835). In this *Bilder-Magazin in Miniatur*, no. 40, p. 315 col. 2 – p. 320 col. 2, and no. 41, p. 322 col. 2 – p. 325 col. 2, one finds the story "Morad the Hunchback." Since this was a weekly journal, nos. 40 and 41 must have appeared in the first two weeks of October 1835.

31 **Riise's Young People's Library . . . p. 453**] *Bibliothek for Ungdommen*, ed. Johan Christian Riise, vols. 1–8 (Copenhagen, 1835–38), vol. 4, 1836, pp. 453–474. Here the source is given as "According to Diezmann" (see the previous note).

38 **From children . . . one shall hear the truth**] Variation on the proverb which appears in several versions, for example, "Børn, Narre og Drukne sige Sandheden; thi de Forstandige ville ikke" [Children, fools and drunks speak the truth, for reasonable people won't], recorded in Peder Syv, *Aldmindelige Danske Ordsproge* [Common Danish Proverbs], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1682–88), vol. 1, p. 373; "Sandhed skal man høre af Børn og drukne [el. gale] Folk" [One hears the truth from children and drunk [or mad] people], recorded in Matthias Moth's (ca. 1647–1719) handwritten dictionary at the Royal Library (cf. no. 3003 in C. Molbech, *Danske Ordsprog, Tankesprog og Riimsprog* [Danish Proverbs, Maxims, and Rhymed Apothegms] [Copenhagen, 1850; ASKB 1573], p. 190); and "Af Børn og drukne Folk skal man have Sandhed at vide," [From children and drunken people one learns the truth], recorded in *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], published by the Academy of Science, vol. 6 (Copenhagen, 1848), p. 125 (under the entry "Sandhed"). Cf. no. 8330 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 24,27), vol. 2, p. 218, where the most extensive list of variants appears.

23 9 **thrusts him down, like Sisyphus from the top of the hill**] Refers to the Greek legend of Sisyphus, who was punished in the kingdom of the dead by being forced again and again to roll a marble boulder to the top of a mountain, after which it rolled down again. Cf. Homer's *Odyssey*, book 11, verses 592–600.

the consumptive . . . when things are at their very worst] A consumptive is a person with weak lungs, here presumably one suffering from tuberculosis. There are numerous reports indicating that, at times, often when they were most seriously ill, individuals suffering from tuberculosis could be inexplicably seized by a delusion in which they seemed completely oblivious to their serious ailment. 14

at a time when in our panegyrics . . . like the original author's] This refers perhaps to the Greek author and historian Flavius Arrian(us) from the first half of the 1st century A.D. He wrote Epictetus's dialogues in koine Greek, a biography of Alexander the Great in the Attic Greek of Xenophon, and authored a work on India in the style of Herodotus. F. C. Petersen writes the following about Arrian in his *Haandbog i den græske Litteraturhistorie* [Handbook of Greek Literary History] (Copenhagen, 1830; ASKB 1037), p. 297: "He distinguishes himself by his love for the truth and his clarity. His imitation of Xenophon was not without success, though he was not uninfluenced by his own time." 25

the first prize . . . having his own style] The view that style in particular is the expression of the individuality of the writer was renewed in the 18th century; cf. the French natural scientist G. L. de Buffon's famous words in his speech to the Academy in 1753: "Le style est l'homme même" [Style is the man himself]. Cf. also chap. 13, "Ueber den Stil oder die Darstellung [On Style or Representation]," in Jean Paul (pseudonym for Johann Paul Friedrich Richter), *Vorschule der Ästhetik* [Introduction to Aesthetics], 2nd ed., vols. 1–3 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813 [1804]; ASKB 1381–1383), Romanticism's principal work on aesthetics, especially § 76, where by way of introduction Jean Paul writes (vol. 2, p. 601): "*Style is the man*, says Buffon correctly. As every people portrays itself in its language, so every author portrays himself in his style. The most secret individuality with its subtle elevations and depressions leaves a living impression on the style, this second pliable body of the spirit." (English translation quoted from *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973], p. 200.) 28

live on the crumbs that fall from other people's tables] Alludes to the story of Jesus and the 31

Canaanite woman, Mt 15:21–28. When the woman threw herself before Jesus and asked him to heal her daughter who was possessed by an evil spirit, Jesus said: " 'It is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs.' She said, 'Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table.' "

37 **Es ist . . . den ganzen Tag hinschleppen will . . . p. 107**] "It is as with the pleasant morning dreams out of whose lulling eddies one can only pull oneself by sheer force, unless one wants to fall into an increasingly oppressive weariness and thus drag out the whole day in morbid exhaustion." Quotation from chapter 7 of the first part of the novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* by the German philosopher and Romantic poet Novalis, pseudonym for Friedrich v. Hardenberg (1772–1801); cf. *Novalis Schriften* [The Writing of Novalis], ed. L. Tieck and Fr. Schlegel, 4th supplemented edition, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1826 [1802]; ASKB 1776), vol. 1, p. 107 (English translation quoted from *Henry von Ofterdingen*, trans. Palmer Hilty [Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1992], p. 110). In chap. 7 Novalis presents his poetics in a long fictional dialogue. In the relation of opposition between practical ability, on the one hand, and an overflowing feeling of inconceivable splendor, on the other, feeling is described as morning dreams which the poet should free himself from; poetry is a "strict art." In the word "*Morgenträumen*" the umlaut is mistakenly placed over the "u," and in the comparative "*drückendere*" the final "e" is missing. (According to a receipt from C. A. Reitzel made out on December 31, 1836, Kierkegaard bought *Novalis Schriften* on February 22, 1836.)

24 1 **worshiped the unknown Deity**] Alludes to Paul's speech to the Athenians at the Areopagos, where he says: "For as I went through the city and looked carefully at the objects of your worship, I found among them an altar with this inscription, 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you," Acts 17:23.

20 **deviations . . . on the compass of my life**] Allusion to the fact that from nearly any given position, the northerly direction indicated by a magnetic compass needle is not completely accurate. This deviation is due to the fact that the distance between the magnetic and the geographical poles changes in an irregular manner because the magnetic poles shift with the movements in the core of the earth. Only on a single line running north-south (the agonic line) is there no declination. The agonic line is located geographically in the Atlantic Ocean, but this line also moves with the earth's magnetic fields.

27 **one cannot harvest straightaway what one has sown**] Perhaps an allusion to the proverb, "Man må så, før man kan høste" [One must sow before one can harvest], registered as no. 8227 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [Treasury of Danish Proverbs], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1879), vol. 2, p. 205.

28 **that philosopher's method . . . keep silent for three years**] Refers to the practice attributed to Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras (ca. 570–497 B.C.). He is said to have required that those aspiring to membership in his sect remain silent for 5 years. This is reported by the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblichus (4th century) in *De vita Pythagorica* [On the Life of the Pythagoreans], chap. 17.72. Cf. also book 8, chap. 1.10, in *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie* (→ 22,*11*), vol. 1, p. 368: "For five whole years they [the would-be disciples] had to keep silence, merely listening to his discourses without seeing him [Pythagoras], until they passed an examination." (English translation quoted from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vols. 1–2, trans. R. D. Hicks [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1972 [1925]], vol. 2, p. 329.)

33 **God lets his sun rise upon both the good and the evil**] Cf. Mt 5:45, where the word order is "evil and good."

35 **So let the die be cast . . . Rubicon**] Alludes to the familiar words ("alea jacta est") Julius Caesar is said to have uttered when, in the year 49 B.C., from his military position north of the river Rubicon, he crossed the river and marched toward Rome, initiating the second Roman civil war, which led to his absolute rule. Cf. the biography of Caesar, chap. 32, in *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* (→ 17,*28*), vol. 1, p. 31, where Caesar says: "Let us accept this as a sign from the gods, and follow where they beckon, in vengeance on our double-dealing enemies. The die is cast." (English translation quoted from Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957], p. 28.)

38 **build a tunnel under the Thames**] Refers to the first tunnel under the Thames, from Rotherhithe to Wapping. Excavation for the tunnel began in 1825, but the connection could not be used for public traffic until 1863. The French-English engineer, Marc Isambard Brunel, was in charge of the project, which at the time was a major technical achievement.

25 7 **not to look back as Lot's wife did**] Alludes to the account of Lot's wife who was turned into a pillar of salt when she defied the angels' prohibition and looked back during the flight from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen 19:26.

10 **as the moralists believe**] Cf. the 15th lecture in the first number of F. Baader's *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics] (→ 35,*31*), no. 1, p. 96: "Religion teaches how the root of the tree of evil is to be eradicated and a good root grafted onto it, and all works which religion demands have only this goal. The irreligious moralists, however, demand that the bad tree immediately bear good fruit. It is in fact strange how these, our new moral philosophers, could arrive at the idea of making religion dispensable through morality (with the so-called moral imperative), and did not want to find the moral well-being of man in the dative but exclusively in the imperative of conscience, as if this imperative, like the demand of the creditor, did not appear concurrently with the insolvency of the debtor, bringing it to light but not erasing it, just as in the organism compulsion or necessity only appears at the same time as impotence." This might also be an allusion to, for example, J. G. Fichte (→ 11,*25*); cf. "Zu 'Jacobi an Fichte' (Hamburg 1799)" [On 'Jacobi to Fichte' (Hamburg 1799)]: "To undertake an incessant self-examination of our essence in general, and to undertake preparations for a general confession leisurely, as if the world were not full of other tasks and acts, is very unwise. . . . Let us be blissful in the simple loyalty toward the divine in us, let us follow it, as it draws us, and let us neither by self-righteous legality nor by self-contrition fabricate all kinds of things that are not from the divine," *Johann Gottlieb Fichte's nachgelassene Werke* [Johann Gottlieb Fichte's Posthumous Works], ed. I. H. Fichte, vols. 1–3 (Bonn, 1834–35, a part of ASKB 489–499), vol. 3, p. 394.

idea of a need for redemption] Refers to a central idea in Schleiermacher (→ 35,*5*), expounded especially in § 11 and § 22 in *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* [The Christian Faith according to the Doctrines of the Evangelical Church], vols. 1–2 (abbreviated hereafter as *Der christliche Glaube*). The first edition appeared in Berlin in 1821–22, but it was more influential in the 2nd revised edition from 1830, which Kierkegaard used during his studies of Schleiermacher in 1834–35 (→ 25,*36* and → 26,*4*). Kierkegaard owned the 3rd edition (Berlin, 1835–36; ASKB 258), which is unchanged vis-à-vis the 2nd edition; here in the Explanatory Notes to *Journal AA*, the 3rd edition is used. In an excerpt, presumably from 1834, from § 11.4 (vol. 1, p. 73), Kierkegaard writes: "But if in the community [i.e., the Christian community] there is a significant difference in the free development of the consciousness of God, then there are some people in whom it is bound, who are more needful of redemption; and others in whom it is higher, [who are] more suited to r.[edemption]; and thus, from the former's effect upon the latter, there is a drawing-closer to redemption, but not to the point that the difference between the two is eliminated—only enough so that the relation between them [i.e., between the 'former,' who are 'more needful' of redemption and the 'latter,' who are 'more suited' to redemption] continues to exist." (*Pap*. I C 21, in vol. XII, p. 128). And in an excerpt from § 22.2 (vol. 1, p. 125), Kierkegaard writes: "If men are to be redeemed; they must *want* it and actually *be able to receive* it" (*Pap*. I C 23, in vol. XII, p. 129). In § 22.2, Schleiermacher speaks of "the need for redemption in human nature," vol. 1, p. 125. Cf. also § 71, vol. 1, pp. 381ff.: "Original sin, however, is at the same time so really the personal guilt of every individual who shares in it that it is best represented as the corporate act and the corporate guilt of the human race, and that the recognition of it as such is likewise recognition of the universal need of redemption." (English translations quoted from Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999], pp. 98 and 285 respectively.)

first of all have to be felt and then known] Cf. § 8, "Piety in itself is neither knowledge nor action, but an inclination and a determination of feeling" in

Schleiermacher's *Der christliche Glaube*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 1821, where in an introductory remark he writes: "In the words *in itself* there already lies the notion that knowledge or action could arise as an externalization or effect of piousness. In both knowledge and action it can be recognized, then, but it is itself neither of the two in its origin and true essence," p. 26. This remark is not found in the 2nd or the following editions (see the previous note) (or in the English translation), but Kierkegaard could have known of it from H. L. Martensen, from whom he had private tutorials in 1834 in which Martensen went through Schleiermacher's dogmatics; cf. Martensen's *Af mit Levnet* [From My Life], vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1882), p. 78.

37 **if philosophy's attention . . . and try to understand . . . the necessity of redemption**] Cf. § 11.5, in Schleiermacher's *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 25,35), vol. 1, p. 76: "Perhaps in a universal philosophy of religion, to which, if it were properly recognized, apologetics could then appeal, the inner character of Christianity in itself could be exhibited in such a way that its particular place in the religious world would thereby be definitely fixed. This would also mean that all the principal moments of the religious consciousness would be systematized, and from their interconnection it would be seen which of them were fitted to have all the others related to them and to be themselves a constant concomitant of all the others. If, then, it should be seen that the element which we call 'redemption' becomes such a moment as soon as a liberating fact enters a region where the God-consciousness was in a state of constraint, Christianity would in that case be vindicated as a distinct form of faith and its nature in a sense construed. But even this could not properly be called a proof of Christianity, since even the philosophy of religion could not establish any necessity, either to recognize a particular fact as redemptive, or to give the central place actually in one's own consciousness to any particular moment, even though that moment should be capable of occupying such a place." (English translation quoted from Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, trans. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999], p. 59.)

39 **the scholastic principle . . . false in theology**] Cf. W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], vols. 1–11 (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), vol. 8.2, 1811, pp. 456ff., where an account is given of the dispute between the departments of theology and philosophy at the University of Paris regarding the relation between theology and Aristotelian philosophy, and the joint arrangement they worked out: "Then they agreed that there is a great difference between truths which rest on fundamental principles and those which rest merely on authority, and since the two are not always in agreement and they did not want to deny the one and could not topple the others, they helped themselves out of the difficulty by saying *that many a thing can be true in philosophy and false in theology, and that thus there is a double truth*," p. 460. This theory of a double truth was ascribed by the conservative theologians to Averroës (12th century) and his followers, the Averroists, and among them especially Siger of Brabant and Boëtius of Dacia (13th century), who were the leading thinkers at the department of philosophy in Paris. The theory was rejected in the prologue to the condemnation of the heresies of radical Aristotelianism, which the bishop of Paris, Stefan II (Étienne Tempier), issued in 1277 (in 219 theses), but it had great success in the final period of scholasticism. Cf. *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 9, 1814, p. 298, where the following is written about the Italian monk and philosopher Thomas (or Tommaso) Campanella (d. 1639): "He is indisputably right when he claims it is a completely false claim *that what is true in philosophy is therefore not necessarily true in theology*, as if a twofold conflicting truth were conceivable; with great acuity he also saw through the nature as well as the perversion of nature [*das Wesen und Unwesen*] of scholasticism." Kierkegaard could also have been familiar with this claim from A. Günther, *Der letzte Symboliker . . . in Briefen* [The Last Symbolist . . . in Letters] (Vienna, 1834; ASKB 521), p. 315, where "the scholastic claim of a *double truth*" is recalled, according to which "something can be philosophically true and at the same time theologically false, and vice versa theologically true and philosophically false." — **scholastic**: of or about scholasticism; i.e., Catholic theology which in the late Middle Ages tried to think through the teachings of the church fathers by making use of Aristotelian philosophy in order to create unity in the doctrines of the Catholic church.

26 4 **a consciousness of redemption**] In an excerpt, presumably from 1834, from § 11.3, in Schleiermacher's *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 25,35), vol. 1, p. 72, Kierkegaard writes: "But the relation to redemption is in every Chr.[istian] cons.[ciousness] due to the fact that the founder of the Chr.[istian] community is the redeemer; and Chr.[ist] is a founder of a pious society only in the sense that the members of the society become conscious of redemption in him" (*Pap*. I C 21, in vol. XII, p. 128).

26 32 **Hamann, I**] *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth and G. A. Wiener, vols. 1–7, Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–25, and vol. 8.1–2 (register) (Berlin, 1842–43; ASKB 536–544), vol. 1. — **Johann Georg Hamann** (1730–88), German scholar and philosophical author, born and raised in Königsberg, where German philosopher Immanuel Kant (→ 35,33) was the most famous of his numerous friends in the literary and philosophical world of his time. His difficult, allusive works became an important philosophical source for the 19th century's criticism of what was perceived as the Enlightenment's one-sided ideal of reason.

33 **Nein . . . Wache auf, der Du schläfst**] "No—if God himself were speaking with him, he would need to send *the word of command* on ahead and let it be fulfilled—: Wake up, you are sleeping." Quotation from Hamann's letter from July 20, 1759, to J. G. Lindner. Here Hamann describes the believer and the non-believer by means of a comparison with one who is awake and one who is sleeping, one who sees and one who dreams, and he writes that it is useless to say to the person sleeping and dreaming that he is sleeping and dreaming, for he should simply be wakened.

35 **From p. 406 . . . that's just how it is**] Refers to a letter from July 3, 1759, from Hamann to J. G. Lindner. Here Hamann quotes David Hume's critical statement that to this very day no rational person comes to believe in the Christian religion without miracles, and that even for the believer faith is a miracle, which turns the principles of reason upside down. After the quotation Hamann remarks: "Regardless of whether Hume said this with a mocking or profound expression, in any case it is orthodoxy, and a witness of the truth in the mouth of its enemy and persecutor.—All his doubts are proofs of his proposition," *Hamann's Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 406. The statement from the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–76) comes from his *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1748), which Hamann read with the help of J. G. Sulzer's German translation, *Philosophische Versuche über die menschliche Erkenntnis* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1755).

to live in Christ] The expression comes from 2 Tim 3:12, where Paul writes: "Indeed all who desire to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted." 2 27

these works for edification] Presumably alludes to the German priest and religious writer Johann Arndt's edifying work, *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* [Four Books on True Christianity], which was published ca. 1605–10 and translated into Danish for the first time in 1690. *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, often supplemented by excerpts from some of Arndt's other works to *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* [Six Books on True Christianity], was widely known; it contains not only Arndt's own edifying reflections and "observations," but also a large number of excerpts from other Christian edifying literature, for example, by Thomas à Kempis and Johann Tauler. Arndt was a forerunner of pietism, and he synthesized orthodox Protestant penitent piety with the mysticism of the Middle Ages. Kierkegaard owned the work in a later German edition, *Sämtliche geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* [All of the Brilliant Books on True Christianity], 2nd ed., published in Tübingen (no year of publication given [1777]; ASKB 276), and in an abridged Danish-Norwegian translation, *Fire Bøger om den sande Christendom* [Four Books on True Christianity], published in Christiania (Oslo) (1829; ASKB 277). 3

stem from the Devil] In Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (see the previous note) one reads that temptations, spiritual trials, evil thoughts and doubts stem from the devil; cf., for example, book 2, chap. 54. 12

Ulysses . . . the Sirens . . . put wax in your ears] On his perilous journey home from Troy, Odysseus (Latin, Ulysses) avoided being captured by the Sirens' enchanting song by putting wax in the ears of his sailors and binding himself to the mast of the ship so that they could safely sail by. Cf. *Odyssey*, book 12, verses 37–54 and verses 165–200 (in *Homers Odyssee* [Homer's Odyssey], trans. Chr. Wilster, 13

vols. 1–2 [Copenhagen, 1837], vol. 1, pp. 166 and 169f.).

30 **a fundamental opposition: Augustine and Pelagius**] Cf. Kierkegaard's summary of § 38 in Professor H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics in Winter Semester 1833–34 and Summer Semester 1834: "Inasmuch as Pelagius not only denied the propagation of sin but also any moral influence on nature because of Adam's sin, not only championed moral freedom but also claimed that the human being is born just as pure and uncorrupted as when he was originally created, he was led, with one-sided zeal for personal freedom, to misunderstand both the relation of the individual to the life of the race and hum.'s relation to God. Augustine set his doctrine against him and his followers, claiming that every hum. being had sinned in and with Adam and has, as just punishment, received a nature, corrupted at birth, which is only free to do evil" (Not1:6 / *Pap*. I C 19, in vol. XII, p. 83). Cf. also the summary of § 40 where he mentions "Pelagian recklessness and Augustinian broken-heartedness" (Not1:6 / *Pap*. I C 19, vol. XII, p. 85). — **Augustine**: Aurelius Augustin(us) (354–430), rhetorician, philosopher, and theologian, born in North Africa, active in Italy beginning in 383, bishop of Hippo beginning in 395; one of the four Roman Catholic Church Fathers. With Augustine, hereditary sin became dogma, i.e., an obligatory doctrine which states that sin is active in the sexual act and thereby in the coming into existence of every human being, and that every human being has lost the ability to do good because he is born in and with sin. Since the human being is held by sin in an impotent slavery, he cannot himself contribute to his salvation, which depends completely on God's redeeming and undeserved grace. Augustine conceived this grace as an infusion of divine love which, on the one hand, changes man's worldly desire into love of God and, on the other hand, creates anew man's will to follow God's will. From 411 until his death, Augustine did everything he could to refute the Pelagian doctrine. — **Pelagius**: of British origin, active around 400 as an ascetic revivalist preacher in Rome, travelled to Africa around 410, and soon thereafter to Palestine, where he disappeared from the historical record in 418. Pelagius denied the doctrine of hereditary sin, arguing for the freedom of the will to live a life free from sin when one follows God's will. He further conceived of sin as an act, not a condition; every human being is born equally good and uncorrupted as the human being whom God originally created. Although Pelagius held the view that man himself can effect his own salvation, he nevertheless did not deny the idea of God's grace; this comes to man through Christ, who with his shining example inspires the human individual to break with sin's habit-forming power and imitate him. At Augustine's prompting, Pelagius's doctrine was condemned by two North African synods in 416 and 418 and finally by the Synod at Ephesus in 431.

theory of inspiration] The doctrine that the biblical 38
writings are "inspired" (literally "breathed in") by God (cf. 2 Tim 3:16), for which reason the Bible, the Holy Scripture, is God's revealed and infallible word and therefore constitutes the highest authority for the church's faith and teaching. Here the expression seems to be used about the biblical-dogmatic view that God continually "breathes in" (or infuses) his spirit, the Holy Spirit, into human beings corrupted by sin and thus acts on the human will in a creative and impelling way.

the synergistic . . . conflict] Theological conflict in 39
the 16th century between Protestant theologians about human synergy, i.e., free "cooperation," in one's salvation. Martin Luther taught that man's will is bound by sin and that its conversion and rebirth are only effected by the Holy Ghost. In 1535 Philipp Melanchthon set forth (in the 2nd ed. of *Loci theologici* [Theological Passages]) the view that the word, the Holy Spirit, and man's will work together toward conversion. In 1543 (in the 3rd ed. of *Loci*) he argued that the will, with the re-creating help of the Holy Spirit, assents to the gospel, and that conversion comes about when grace prepares the way and the will accompanies it. After the death of Luther and Melanchthon in 1546 and 1560 respectively, the synergistic conflict broke out in earnest; on the one side, Johann Pfeffinger (bishop in Leipzig) and Victorin Strigel (professor at Jena) advocated Melanchthon's synergism, and on the other side, Nicolai von Amsdorf (Luther's close friend and colleague) and Matthias Flacius (professor at Jena) defended Luther's monergism (cf. Kierkegaard's summary of § 66 in Professor H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics (→ 27,30), Not1:8 / *Pap*. I C 19, in vol. XII, pp. 119f.). An attempt was

made to settle the dispute in the *Formula Concordiae*, the last of the Lutheran confessional books, which was authored by several prominent theologians of the Reformation in 1577 and published in 1580 in order to avoid the split which threatened the doctrinal unity of the young Lutheran church. (For an English translation, cf. *The Book of Concord*, trans. and ed. Theodor G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988].)

39 **the semi-Pelagian conflict**] Theological conflict in the 5th and 6th centuries about Augustine's doctrine of predestination, i.e., the doctrine concerning God's eternal predestination of the salvation or damnation of every human being. Semi-Pelagianism, which is attributed especially to the monk Johannes Cassianus (d. ca. 435), claimed that God offered his grace to all human beings, but that on the strength of their free will they had the ability to reject it. This doctrine won approval in southern Gaul, and in the 470s a synod condemned Augustine's doctrine of predestination. This provoked such a strong reaction from the advocates of the Augustinian doctrine of grace, led by Caesarius of Arles (d. 543), that a Synod in Orange in 529 condemned semi-Pelagianism and embraced a modified Augustinian doctrine of grace. On the one hand, the synod agreed that salvation depended solely on God's grace based on man's absolute sinfulness and, on the other hand, it rejected the view that God had preordained man to do evil; and since it simultaneously emphasized that man's will is freed by God's grace and with his help can and should carry out works which are rewarded with eternal life, it made room for the possibility of the idea of man's responsible contribution to his own salvation. The Synod of Orange's view was confirmed by the Roman bishop in 531 and thus won recognition as the Western church's official doctrine of grace.

28 13 **Don Quixote**] The hero in Spanish poet M. de Cervantes Saavedra's eponymous parody of a romance novel (I–II, 1605–15). The penniless petty noble from La Mancha is obsessed by the idea that he lives in a world of novels and that he must carry out knightly exploits in mundane everyday Spain.

16 **the evil demon that is always on his tail**] One of Don Quixote's best known exploits involves his taking a group of windmills to be ferocious giants whom he must attack (book 1, chap. 8). When he receives a serious blow and is hurled away by one of the windmills, he consoles himself with the notion that an evil wizard is persecuting him again and "has changed those giants into windmills to deprive me of the glory of victory." *Den sindrige Herremands Don Quixote af Mancha Levnet og Bedrifter. Forfattet af Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* [The Life and Exploits of the Clever Lord Don Quixote of Mancha. Written by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], trans. Charlotta D. Biehl, vols. 1–4 (Copenhagen, 1776–77; ASKB 1937- 1940), vol. 1, pp. 58f. (English translation from Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, trans. Walter Starkie [New York: New American Library, 1979], p. 99.)

to beat people over the head with the Bible] Refers to the orthodox Lutheran theologians (→ 16,40). 32 28

now most recently with the Apostles' Creed] Refers to N. F. S. Grundtvig's view of the church, which he first set forth in his polemical work, *Kirkens Gienmæle mod Professor Theologiæ Dr. H. N. Clausen* [The Church's Reply to Dr. H. N. Clausen, Professor of Theology] (Copenhagen, 1825). Here Grundtvig claims (→ 34,3) that the Apostles' Creed is the Christian church's "foundational Creed," which unites all Christians at all times, and that the Church has no other "rule of interpretation except that scripture should be understood according to the Creed," p. 29. Cf. also p. 9: "the *Christian Church* (Ecclesia Christiana) is a *community of faith* with a *creed* which is submitted to all those who wish to become members; they become members through *baptism* and *communion* when they appropriate the creed, and are considered *apostate* when they reject faith or refuse the creed, and are declared to be *false Christians*: they are called *heretics* if they notoriously deviate from the creed and at the same time stiffneckedly claim the right to be called *Christians*." And p. 24: "This characteristic principle which the oldest Christian church built on . . . this, I claim, is found in our church today, is found whenever the Apostles' *Creed* is made the exclusive condition for membership in the community, and *baptism* and *communion* are given an efficacious *power of salvation* corresponding to that of the Creed." 32

the rationalists] → 17,9. 35

29 1 **in full vigor, like Sophocles**] Cf. Cicero, *Cato Maior de senectute* [Cato the Elder. On Old Age], chap. 7.22: "Provided the old retain their concentration and application, they stay sound of mind. And that not only applies to well-known public figures, but is equally true of people living quietly in retirement. Sophocles went on writing tragedies until he reached a very great age. His preoccupation with this literary work created the impression that he was neglecting his family's finances. So his sons took him to court, urging that he was weak-minded and should have the family property taken out of his control (like us they had laws empowering such action in cases of mismanagement). The story goes on, however, that the aged Sophocles read aloud to the magistrates from the play that he had just written and was still working on, the *Oedipus at Colonus*. Then he asked them if they would describe its author as weak-minded. After listening to his recitation they voted his acquittal." (English translation quoted from Cicero, *Selected Works*, trans. Michael Grant [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960], pp. 221f.) This quotation is given in Latin in G. E. Lessing, "Leben des Sophokles" [The Life of Sophocles] (1760), no. 4 in *Beyträge zur Griechischen Litteratur* [Contributions to Greek Literature], section KK; cf. *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämmtliche Schriften* [The Complete Writings of Gotthold Ephrahim Lessing], vols. 1–30 (Berlin, 1771–94), vol. 14, 1793, p. 410 (Kierkegaard used this edition in the 1830s; later he bought the edition in 32 vols. [Berlin, 1825–28; ASKB 1747–1762], where the quotation from Cicero is found in vol. 10, 1826, pp. 133f.). Cf. also *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia* [Collected Works of M. Tulius Cicero], ed. J. A. Ernesti, 2nd ed., vols. 1–6 (Halle, 1757 [1737–39]; ASKB 1225–1229), vol. 4, pp. 938f.

1 **the voice ... the hands Esau**'s] Refers to Isaac's blessing of his youngest son Jacob. The blessing was intended for his eldest son Esau, but at the bidding of his mother, Rebecca, Jacob used deceit in order to receive it himself; she dressed him in Esau's best clothes and wrapped the skins of goat kids around his arms and the smooth part of his neck so that he was hairy like his brother. When Jacob came in to his blind old father and was asked who he was, Jacob lied, saying he was Esau. Isaac asked him to come closer so that he could feel him, and after he had felt him, he said: "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau" (Gen 27:22). Jacob thus received Esau's blessing.

rationalism] → 17,9. 5 29

19 29 **looked on their gods as the work of the Devil**] Statement ascribed to Justin (Justinus Martyr, 2nd century). Cf., for example, chap. 9 in his *Apologia* I. Kierkegaard's source has not been identified.

20 **their virtues as glittering vices**] Statement usually—but incorrectly—ascribed to Augustine (→ 27,30). Cf., for example, Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy] (→ 25,39), vol. 7, 1809, p. 268, where one reads that in Augustine's later years, he discovered "not only his characteristic ideas of grace and predestination, but also the claim that *the virtues of the pagans are only glittering vices*, which *Lactantius* had already claimed before him." In a note, reference is made to Lactantius's *Institutiones divinae* [Divine Institutions], chap. 6.9 and chap. 5.10, where the same view is found, but not the same formulation. Concerning Augustine's view, Tennemann continues: "Since at that time, even the most enlightened and most respected pagans did not know this relation to God [as the greatest good] and their actions did not have God as their object and end, they lack the necessary character of genuine virtue and are only *glittering vices* which have the appearance of virtue," pp. 268f. A note follows which refers to Augustine's *De civitate Dei* [The City of God], book 19, chap. 25, although the formulation does not appear there. In Augustine's view, true virtue can only be found together with true religion. Only he who takes his point of departure in God is in possession of virtues; by contrast, if one strives after virtues for their own sake and for no other reason, they are not virtues but vices. Cf. also *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studierende* [Hutterus redivivus, or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: A Handbook in Dogmatics for Students], ed. K. A. Hase (Leipzig, 1829; cf. ASKB 581, which is a 4th ed. from 1839), § 88, p. 240: "Since the pagans are wholly corrupted due to hereditary sin, their virtues were not inappropriately called glittering vices by AUGTN [Augustine]."

21 **one of their coryphaei ... Christ to be a block of wood and stone**] Cf. *The Book of Concord* (→ 27,39),

2nd part, "Solida Declaratio," 2.20, where Luther's commentary to Psalm 90 is reported: "in spiritualibus et divinis rebus, quae ad animae salutem spectant, homo est … similis trunco et lapidi" [in spiritual and divine things which concern the salvation of the soul, man is … like a block of wood and stone], *Libri symbolici ecclesiae evangelicae sive Concordia* [The Symbolic Books of the Evangelical Church or Concordia], ed. K. A. Hase, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig, 1827), vol. 2, p. 661 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930* [The Confessional Writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Published in the Commemorative Year of the Augsburg Confession, 1930], 11th ed. German/Latin [Göttingen, 1992], pp. 879f.). Here, pagans are not at issue, but rather those who are not reborn.

24 **began with "Repent ye,"**] Presumably an allusion to John the Baptist, who, according to Mt 3:2, began his activity by preaching: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; and to Jesus, who, according to Mk 1:15, began his activity by preaching: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the good news." Cf. also Acts 2:38 and 8:22.

25 **their gospel … a scandal to the Jews**] Cf. 1 Cor 1:23, where Paul writes: "But we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles."

32 **Christianity is a radical cure**] Cf. a scrap of paper, dated October 9, 1835, with the following entry: "Christianity or becoming a Christian is like any radical cure: one puts it off as long as possible" (*Pap*. I A 89).

34 **many early Christians to postpone the decisive step to the last moment**] Alludes to practice in the ancient church of postponing baptism to one's deathbed; the most famous example of this is the Emperor Constantine, who had himself baptized only shortly before his death in 337, by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia.

38 **of which above**] Cf. AA:14, p. 27.

30 1 **all is sinful, nature**] That man is sinful, see Augustine (→ 27,30) and Luther (→ 27,39). That nature is sinful, cf. Rom 8:19–22, where Paul writes: "For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God; for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of glory of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in labor pains until now."

2 **the wide path in contrast to the narrow one**] Alludes to Mt 7:13–14, where Jesus says: "Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and there are many who take it. For the gate is narrow and the road is hard that leads to life, and there are few who find it."

4 **Act 5**] i.e., the final act.

6 **Loki … his wife be placed by his side**] According to Nordic mythology, Loki was half god, half giant. He was punished by the gods, the Aesir, in the manner mentioned, but his wife Signie or Sigyn collected the drops of poison in a dish; only when she emptied the dish did the poison drip down on him. Cf. J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte indtil Frode 7 Tider* [Nordic People's Superstitions, Gods, Fables, and Heroes until the Times of Frode the 7th] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1947, abbreviated here as *Nordiske Folks Overtroe*), p. 300.

9 **not even a drop … his burning tongue**] Alludes to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Lk 16:19–31. After both men had died, the rich man woke up in the kingdom of the dead, where he was tortured. He saw Abraham far away, with Lazarus at his side, and shouted to Abraham: "Have mercy on me, and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am in agony in these flames" (verse 24).

17 **seeing God face to face … a dark discourse**] Alludes to 1 Cor 13:12, where Paul writes: "For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then we will see face to face. Now I know only in part; then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known."

30 **scholarly republic**] → 18,9.

38 **high, insurmountable wall against—the barbarians**] The Great Wall of China. The original wall, built as a defense against the Tartars, presumably in the 3rd century B.C., seems to have disappeared completely; the present wall, built to protect China's northern border, is thought to have been built in the 14th century.

8 31 **Our Journal Literature … Light of Midday**] Kierkegaard's lecture held on November 28, 1835 at the

Student Union (→ 32,3) in Copenhagen (cf. *Pap*. I B 2, pp. 157–178).

9 **Kbhvnsposten's Morning Observations**] i.e., Kierkegaard's article "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" [The Morning Observations in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [The Copenhagen Post] No. 43], signed "B," in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* [Copenhagen's Flying Post. Interim Pages] (ed. J. L. Heiberg) no. 76, February 18, 1836, columns 1–6; cf. *Bl.art*., pp. 3–8 (*SV2*, vol. 13, pp. 14–20; *EPW*, pp. 6–11).

10 **Concerning Fædrelandet's Polemic**] Two-part article by Kierkegaard, signed "B," in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* (ed. J. L. Heiberg) no. 82, March 12, 1836, columns 1–8, and no. 83, March 15, 1836, columns 1–4; cf. *Bl.art*., pp. 9–16 and pp. 17–20 (*SV2*, vol. 13, pp. 21–29 and pp. 29–32; *EPW*, pp. 12–23).

10 **Fædrelandet's attempt**] i.e., the article "Om Flyvepostens Polemik" [On the Polemic of *Flyveposten*], unsigned, in *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland], no. 77, March 4, 1836, columns 633–647; the author of the article (→ 31,32) replies to a long series of charges which *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* directed against *Fædrelandet* in a series of articles, among them Kierkegaard's, which is discussed in columns 643f. *Fædrelandet* was the newer of the two leading liberal journals (see the following note), founded in 1834 by Professor C. N. David and grammar school master J. Hage (→ 31,32).

11 **the claim lodged by me**] Namely, the claim that *Kjøbenhavnsposten*'s series of articles on the question of freedom of the press (perhaps written by Orla Lehmann) were written in a manner that was both unclear and unjust, thus underestimating the quality of Danish intellectual life at the beginning of the century. The reason they did this, he claimed, was to overestimate and exaggerate the merits of the new political (i.e., liberal-democratic) interests. Kierkegaard made this claim in the article "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" (→ 31,9). *Kjøbenhavnsposten* was the older of the two leading liberal journals (see the previous note), founded in 1827 by A. P. Liunge (→ 32,29). In its early years, the journal was particularly interested in aesthetic and cultural matters; in the 1830s it was markedly liberal in political matters.

13 **To Mr. Orla Lehmann**] Article by Kierkegaard, signed S. Kierkegaard, in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* (ed. J. L. Heiberg) no. 87, April 10, 1836, columns 1–8; cf. *Bl.art*., pp. 21–31 (*SV2*, vol. 13, pp. 33–44; *EPW*, pp. 24–34).

16 **what a hit**] → 31,8. Concerning "the hit" that the lecture made, teacher and later pastor Peter Rørdam (→ 47,10) writes to his brother Hans Rørdam in a letter from February 23, 1836: "There has also been a change in the Student Union. Their chief and leader, Lehmann, has fallen, totally defeated: 'Homeward went brave Peter with his kettle upon his back.' With him has fallen *Kjøbenhavns-Posten*, for which he had recently been writing. And the victor is the younger Kierkegaard, who now writes in *Flyvende Post* under the pseudonym B." (English translation quoted from *Encounters with Kierkegaard: A Life as Seen by His Contemporaries*, ed. Bruce H. Kirmmse [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996], pp. 22f.)

16 **the articles**] The three polemical articles, "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" (→ 31,9), "Om Fædrelandets Polemik" (→ 31,10), and "Til Hr. Orla Lehmann" (→ 31,13), which Kierkegaard wrote against the liberal papers *Kjøbenhavnsposten* and *Fædrelandet* from February to April 1836 in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad*. The first two articles were signed by the pseudonym "B," the last by "S. Kierkegaard." Concerning "the hit" the articles made, see the letter from March 16, 1836, which J. L. Heiberg enclosed when he sent Kierkegaard "6 extra offprints" of "Om Fædrelandets Polemik": "Once more, my thanks for your essay. It pleased me even more on this new reading" (*LD*, vol. 1, p. 51; *B&A*, vol. 1, pp. 39f.). Cf. also the letter dated May 17, 1836 from pastor Johan G. V. Hahn to P. C. Kierkegaard: "I hear from many quarters that your brother Søren has made a witty and powerful appearance in *Flyveposten*." (English translation quoted from *Encounters with Kierkegaard. A Life as Seen by His Contemporaries*, ed. Bruce H. Kirmmse [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996], p. 23.)

18 **Statsvennen no. 3**] Refers to the anonymously authored article "Om Kjøbenhavnspostens anonyme Reformationsvæsen," [On the Anonymous Reform Activities of *Kjøbenhavnsposten*] in the journal *Statsvennen* [Friend of the State], no. 3, March 5, 1836, pp. 9f. *Statsvennen*, which was published and edited by author and editor J. C. Lange, appeared from 1835 to 1837 and was politically conservative.

19 **the first article (the one in no. 76)**] "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* no. 76 (→ 31,9).

19 **Heiberg**] → 17,19. *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* was edited and largely written by J. L. Heiberg.

20 **that he had written . . . it was priceless**] *Statsvennen* wrote: "Heiberg has written many funny things but hardly anything better than that article in the *Flyvende Post* where he speaks about the anonymous reformers in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*." Later in the article the polemicist in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* is praised for "wit and precious humor; if Rahbek were still living, he would call it priceless," p. 9. — **old Rahbek**: Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760–1830), poet, editor, critic, and literary historian.

22 **P. Møller**] Poul Martin Møller (1794–1838), poet and philosopher, and beginning in 1831 professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, where he was one of Kierkegaard's teachers.

23 **it was the best . . . became political**] J. L. Heiberg's journal, *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* (→ 17,19), was initially occupied primarily with dramaturgic and aesthetic themes, but after around 1830—especially in the "*Interimsblade*" of the later period (1834–37)—it took on a more political character (in the conservative direction).

25 **E. Boesen**] Emil Ferdinand Boesen (1812–79), cand. theol. in 1834, Kierkegaard's schoolboy companion and close friend. He taught at Westen's School until 1849; led church services every other Sunday and holiday at J. P. Langgaard's orthopedic institute for physically handicapped young women; subsequently a pastor and archdeacon.

31 26 **Kjøbenhavnsposten**] → 31,11.

27 **after a long lapse a new paper came out . . . Humoristiske Intelligentsblade**] Only three issues of *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* [Humoristic Intelligence Papers] appeared, all in 1836; they are not paginated and bear no date of publication. Kierkegaard says that the first 2 numbers appeared simultaneously, and the third must have followed immediately thereafter. Cf. Kierkegaard's receipt from the university bookseller C. A. Reitzel made out for December 31, 1836, where under May 4, the following is written: "1 Humoristiske Intelligentsblade 1–3" (cf. ASKB U 71). Concerning the long period of time which had passed since the middle of March, *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* (no. 1) writes in an editorial note: "The present publication has been considerably delayed due to accidental circumstances; but this could in no way be a reason for us to withhold it, as eulogies about people never come too late, even if they come after their death."

printer Jørgensen] Peter Nicolai Jørgensen (1805–50), author, editor, and publisher of *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade*, received a license to enter business as a book printer in April 1829; in 1831 it appeared that he had plagiarized *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* when, without permission, he published *Supplement-Blade til Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Supplemental Pages to Copenhagen's Flying Post]. This led to a court case, which *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* lost. 28

the author] Perhaps the young writer P. L. Møller (1814–65), who at this point in time was not a part of Kierkegaard's presumed circle of acquaintances. 29

Kjøbenhavnsposten's aesthetic period] → 31,11. 30

The first two numbers . . . aimed only at me] An article signed by pseudonym "X," which was published in two installments with the title "Et par Ord om den nærværende Journal-Polemik, med specielt Hensyn til et Stykke i 'Flyveposten,' betitlet: 'Om Fædrelandets Polemik' " [A Few Words about the Current Journalistic Polemics, with particular Reference to a Piece in *Flyveposten*, Entitled: "On the Polemic of *Fædrelandet*."] 31

the article against Hage] The article "Om Fædrelandets Polemik" (→ 31,10) directed against the article "Om Flyvepostens Polemik" in *Fædrelandet* (→ 31,10), whose author was Johannes Dam Hage (1800–1837), theologian, philologist, teacher, politician, co-founder of *Fædrelandet* in 1834 together with professor C. N. David, and the journal's sole editor from 1835 until 1837. 32

my articles] Kierkegaard's articles in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* (→ 31,16). 34

the reply] AA:21, pp. 32–34. 1 32

Student Union] Founded in 1820, gathering place for student meetings, readings, and lectures, including lectures by Kierkegaard. The Union also had subscriptions to several journals (→ 31,16). 3

No. 3 . . . was directed at the whole of Flyveposten] A dramatic scene modelled on Holberg's comedy *Den politiske Kandestøber* [The Tinker Turned Politician] under the title "Flyvepostens Collegium Politicum. Et rørende Lystspil i 6 Scener" [The *Flying Post*'s Collegium Politicum. A Touching Com- 6

edy in 6 Scenes]. — **Flyveposten**: the common abbreviated designation for *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*.

7 **it wasn't up to me, but Heiberg, to reply**] Since J. L. Heiberg (→ 17,*19*) was the editor of *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*, and he was the main target of the satire in *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade*, no. 3, it was his decision whether to reply or not.

9 **Heiberg declared . . . to have a reply from him**] It has not been possible to identify the source; presumably an oral statement by J. L. Heiberg (→ 17,*19*).

32 14 **At Easter . . . at being called Sophist**] Speech by the journeyman tailor Johan von Ehrenpreis in J. H. Wessel's tragedy, *Kierlighed uden Strømper* [Love without Stockings] (1772), act 4, scene 5, where the second line is: "The stubble left over in fear is raised," and the last line: "Who is accused of being a thief, and does not shudder at it?" *Samlede Digte af Johan Herman Wessel* [Collected Poems of Johan Herman Wessel], ed. A. E. Boye (Copenhagen, 1832), p. 39.

23 **the vernal observations . . . pregnant with fluids, water, and steam**] Alludes to the editor's preface, which introduces *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* no. 1: "The heat is beginning to stream down from heaven; the earth is emancipating itself from the fetters of winter; the ice is melting around its breast and is dissolved into succulent liquid and fecund steam from which the buds of spring are formed along with a host of summer-green shoots; rain clouds pass above our heads like migratory birds and sink dewy over field and meadow—in short, a humoristic tendency runs through the entire season . . . Why should people then not follow the instructions of nature, melt the ice around their hearts, let healthy humor stream through their minds and then stream out again? . . . liquids alone will not do; but if everyone were to add a little intelligence to it, like the embryo in spirit, then the whole of it would keep better, and the union would condition its own existence . . . . In response to those who don't even ask, but straightforwardly say, 'Humor! What good will that do? It's only water, and doesn't much of our literature, and don't many of our journalists swim in *pure* water 'which, in fact, is rather muddy?'—to them we respond first of all with what we already noted, i.e., that humor is not mere liquid. Then we would remind them of the power of water, which is in no way insignificant; as Zetlitz says, 'water strengthens, refreshes, delights.' Finally, we would ask them to consider whether this same liquid doesn't play a rather significant role in life after all."

Kjøbenhavnsposten's morning ditto] Kierkegaard entitled the first of his polemical articles "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" (→ 31,*11*). 24

fraternity of dwarfs] "Dværgelaug," alludes to Kierkegaard's article, "Om Fædrelandets Polemik" (→ 31,*10*), and its discussion of "Laugværge," i.e., "to be protected by a fraternity" (since *Fædrelandet* had responded, instead of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [→ 31,*10*]). "Laugværge" also means "to have a guardian" as young widows, not yet of legal age, had. 28

Liunge] Andreas Peter Liunge (1798–1879), jurist, author, and journalist, founded *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in 1827, was its publisher from 1827 until 1845 and editor from 1827 until 1837 and again from 1842 until 1843. 29

Don Quixote] Don Quixote (→ 28,*13*) is identified with the political editor of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 32,*29*) and his squire Sancho Panza with the literary editor of *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* (→ 31,*28*). 32

on a previous occasion we had met] In the article "Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43" (→ 31,*9*) Kierkegaard imagined the employees of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in Auerbach's cellar ready to cut off each other's noses; cf. *Bl.art.*, p. 8 (*SV2*, vol. 13, p. 19; *EPW*, p. 11). 33

Auerbach's wine cellar] Refers to the scene "Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig" in the first part of J. W. Goethe's *Faust. Eine Tragödie* (→ 14,*38*), in *Goethe's Werke* vol. 12, 1828, pp. 103–118 (verses 2073–2337). 34

our humorist] Kierkegaard did not know the identity of the anonymous author in *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* (→ 31,*29*). 34

Uns ist . . . wie fünfhundert Säuen] "We are as happy as cannibals. / Five hundred swine can't beat us!" Quotation from the scene "Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig" in the first part of J. W. Goethe's *Faust*, in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 14,*38*), vol. 12, 1828, p. 115 (verses 2293–2294). (English translation quoted from *Faust I & II*, trans. Stuart Atkins, in *Goethe: The Collected Works*, vols. 1–12 [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994–95], vol. 2, p. 58.) 1 33

8 **on a previous occasion . . . one of our politicians**] Refers to Kierkegaard's article "Til Hr. Orla Lehmann" (→ 31,*13*). Orla Lehmann was a National Liberal politician, who had embraced the liberal movement in 1834, and who became an employee at the liberal journal *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in 1835 (→ 31,*11*).

14 **those seven lean cows . . . without becoming fatter**] Alludes to the Pharaoh's dream in which he first saw seven beautiful, fat cows emerge from the Nile and then seven gaunt, thin cows, who ate the fat ones; cf. Gen 41:2–4.

16 **Holberg's much frequented pawnshop**] Holberg's "pawnshop," meaning his authorship, from which many authors borrowed, including the author in *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade*. — **Holberg**: Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Danish-Norwegian poet, philosopher, and historian; appointed professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1717.

33 **the standard of measure proposed by our humorist Mr. Hage**] Kierkegaard seems to identify the anonymous author in *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* (→ 31,*27*) with Johannes D. Hage (→ 31,*32*) and alludes to his suggestion (in *Humoristiske Intelligentsblade* no. 1) about "our author's [possibly Kierkegaard's] considerable quantity and cubic content in the literature."

35 **his writings . . . length and breadth, no depth**] Length and breadth [Længde og Brede] alludes presumably to J. D. Hage's (→ 31,*32*) books and articles, which were often criticized for being unoriginal and superficial; cf., for example, *Grundtrækkene af den rene Geografie. Tildeels efter Berghaus's erste Elemente der Erdkunde* [Outline of Pure Geography. In Part Following Berghaus's *Erste Elemente der Erdkunde*] (Copenhagen, 1833), and "Historisk Udsigt over Europa i 1835" [Historical Overview of Europe in 1835], in *Fædrelandet*, nos. 81–82, 1836, which also appeared as a much criticized book, *Bidrag til Oversigt over Europas Historie i Aaret 1835* [Contribution to an Overview of the History of Europe in the Year 1835] (Copenhagen, 1836). Kierkegaard presumably alludes to the foreword to *Grundtrækkene af den rene Geografie*, where Hage explains his use of "precise designations of longitude and latitude [Længde og Brede], tide tables and distance tables and the like, which are indicated in many places," p. iv.

Nordic Mythology . . . when he saw Thor] Author, hymn writer, historian, and pastor, Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), *Nordens Mythologi eller Sindbilled-Sprog historisk-poetisk udviklet og oplyst* [The Mythology of the North or Symbolic Language Historically-Poetically Analyzed and Explained], 2nd revised edition (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB 1949), p. 409: "…the giants constructed a warrior on the Steens-Vedd [Stonefence] made of clay and straw, which was nine fathoms tall and three fathoms broad across the chest, and after searching afar, found a horse's heart big enough for him. But he could not help trembling when *Thor* appeared. *Hrungnir* himself had a *stone-heart*—which became so famous that the contrivance of a jagged, three-pronged, tightly-knit knot is still called the *Hrungnir*-heart—and his head was likewise of stone, and his thick shield a fossilized piece of wood. He stood at Steens-Vedd and awaited *Thor* with his shield at his chest and his weapon Whetstone around his neck; he was not to be trifled with. Beside him stood the giant clay warrior, whom they called *Narrifas*, but when he saw *Thor*, he was so dumbfounded that he urinated." The quotation is from Grundtvig's retelling of Thor's fight with the giant Hrungnir, based on Snorri's Edda. — **the giants**: In Nordic mythology troll-like beings of supernatural size and strength, enemies of human beings and gods; Hrungnir was the strongest of the giants. Thor, the greatest and most frequently invoked of the Nordic gods, was in constant battle with the giants in order to protect human beings from their malice. — **Steens-Vedd**: Or Stonefence, the battlefield where Hrungnir and Thor are said to have to fought each other. Hrungnir had challenged Thor to hand-to-hand combat "on the borders of *Grottuns-Gaard* (at Stonefence)," p. 408. — **Narrifas**: Kierkegaard omits Grundtvig's explanatory note: "I have traded the barbaric name 'Mavckrkalfr' for 'Narrifas,' because I sense the English 'mock' is hidden within it and I find it fitting," pp. 409–410. "Mavckrkalfr" is usually written as "Mokkurkalfe" or "Mökkurkalfi." "Narrifas" is a Danish word for "fool," sometimes used in jest. 3 34

our opponent . . . our situation with Thor's] Kierkegaard compares himself with Thor and his opponents with giants like Hrungnir, but with the mod- 11

ification that, unlike Thor, he does not want the anonymous author to urinate in his pants.

35 2 **the younger Fichte**] Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879), German philosopher, the son of J. G. Fichte (→ 11,*25*), thus frequently referred to as "the younger Fichte"; from 1836 until 1840 professor extraordinarius, from 1840 until 1842 professor ordinarius in philosophy at Bonn, from 1842 until 1863 professor at Tübingen. In his main philosophical work, *Grundzüge zum Systeme der Philosophie* [Essentials of the System of Philosophy], which contains three parts (vol. 1, 1833, vol. 2, 1836, and vol. 3, 1846; ASKB 502–503 and 509), Fichte criticized Hegelian philosophy for being radically pantheistic and for dissipating the significance of the individual; by contrast, he emphasized belief in a personal God and the value of the individual human being as personality.

2 **Idee der Personlichkeit**] *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer* [The Idea of Personality and Individual Continuity] (Elberfeld, 1834; ASKB 505, abbreviated hereafter as *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*).

5 **Schleiermacher**] Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian, philosopher of religion and classical philologist; pastor in Berlin in 1796, professor extraordinarius at Halle from 1804 until 1810, and professor of theology at Berlin beginning in 1810. For *Wechselwirkung* ["reciprocity"] in Schleiermacher, see, for example, *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 25,*35*), § 4.2: "Let us now think of the feeling of dependence and the feeling of freedom as *one*, in the sense that not only the subject but the corresponding other is the same for both. Then the total self-consciousness made up of both together is one of *reciprocity* between the subject and the corresponding other," vol. 1, p. 17. (English translation quoted from Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, trans. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999], p. 14.) And § 54.2 on God's omnipotence: "But with regard to God such a distinction between the general and the individual is not applicable; in Him the species exists originally as the sum-total of its individual existences, and these in turn are given and established together with their place in the species, so that what does not hereby become actual, is also, so far as He is concerned, not potential. In the same way, we say that much is possible by virtue of the nature of a thing (when we take together its determinations by its species and as an individual being), which yet does not become actual because it is hindered by the position of the thing in the sphere of general interaction. We rightly make this distinction and attribute truth, as in the former case, to that which is thought of in this way as being possible, because it is only by this indirect method that we pass from the unfruitful sphere of abstractions and put together a view of the conditioned development of individual existence. On the other hand, if we could have taken into account for each point the influence of the whole system of interaction, we should then have had to say that what was not actual was also not possible within the system of nature. In God, however, the one is not separated from the other, that which exists for itself having one ground and the system of interaction another, but both these are grounded with and through each other, so that in relation to Him only that is possible which has its foundation in both equally. But every case which has validity for us, may be reduced under one of these heads," vol. 1, pp. 282f. (English translation, p. 213.) Although Schleiermacher distanced himself more and more from "reciprocity" as an independent category of experience in the Kantian sense and began to speak of "Gegenwirkung" [reaction] and "gegenseitige Einwirkung" [mutual effect] (especially in his lectures on dialectics), it is Kierkegaard's claim that ultimately, he never advanced beyond "reciprocity."

Schelling] Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling 5
(1775–1854), German philosopher, studied philosophy and theology together with Hegel (→ 35,*26*) in Tübingen. He was appointed professor extraordinarius at Jena in 1798, appointed professor at Würzburg in 1803, appointed general secretary of the Academy for Visual Arts in Munich in 1806. In 1827 he became professor at Munich, after which he was called to a professorship at Berlin in 1841 in order to combat left Hegelianism. He retired in 1846. The concept of "reciprocity" is central in the philosophy of nature of the young Schelling. Here he argues against the traditional understanding of causality as a series of causes and effects; instead he introduces the concept "reciprocity," according to which things stand in a "reciprocal" relation to one another such that cause is effect and effect is

cause. In this manner, the series of causes is replaced by a network of causes. Cf. the introduction to *Ideen zur Philosophie der Natur* (1797) and *System des transcendentalen Idealismus* (1800). (For English translations, cf. *Ideas for a Philosophy of Nature*, trans. Errol E. Harris and Peter Heath [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], *System of Transcendental Idealism (1800)*, trans. Peter Heath [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997].)

5 **the younger Fichte**] →35,2. The younger Fichte applies the concept of "reciprocity" in *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit* to a discussion of the immortality of the soul, using it to explain the relation between soul and body. Cf. p. 144: "First the one-sided relation of cause and effect (of something which produces and a product) must be completely avoided: the organism of the body and the soul, as a self-enclosed totality, where the one is only in the other, falls under the category of reciprocity." Cf. also p. 153.

6 **reciprocity**] A common concept in German idealism in the discussion about causality, where cause and effect are conceived as a relation in which they reciprocally affect one another. In Kant (→35,33) "reciprocity" is a category of relation; cf. the Third Analogy, "Principle of Coexistence, in Accordance with the Law of Reciprocity or Community," in which, by way of introduction, Kant writes: "All substances, insofar as they can be perceived in space as simultaneous, are in thoroughgoing reciprocity," *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), p. 256. (English translation quoted from *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar [Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996], p. 276. Translation slightly modified.) In Hegel (→35,26) "reciprocity" is one of the categories of reflection; cf. *Enzyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline], ed. by L. v. Henning, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1840–45 [1817], ASKB 561–563), vol. 1, "Die Logik," § 155–158, in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Complete Edition] vols. 1–18 (Berlin, 1832–45, abbreviated here as *Hegel's Werke*), vol. 6, pp. 307–311 (*Jub*. vol. 8, pp. 345–349), and *Wissenschaft der Logik*, [The Science of Logic] ed. L. v. Henning, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1833–34 [1812–16]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1.2, in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 4, pp. 239–243 (*Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 717–721). In the Danish context "reciprocity" was treated as a part of causality by J. L. Heiberg in *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik* [Outline of the Philosophy of Philosophy or Speculative Logic] (Copenhagen, 1832), § 122–124, pp. 74–77.

The infinite multiplicity . . . filling infinite space and time] Cf. *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*, pp. 62–64: "The absolute idea, as being effected through itself to infinite difference, has its actuality *in this*. It is all-effective, creative; life flowing forth infinitely out of itself. This simple determination, arising immediately from the preceding, maintains interest only through the fact that it shows through an obvious turn, that in itself which we must call the principle of *space* and *time*—two equally indivisible and merely different sides of the same *One*, as this just now proved to be the case with the concepts of unity and infinity, since this supplementing relation of time-spatiality is without doubt only a special form and application of that original relation. The absolute idea, by infinitely filling the sphere of being, is therein absolutely at the same time and with one blow its actuality—just as well an infinite *Other, something self-divergent*, as an infinite *One*, the continuity which never stops connecting the infinite Other within itself, and leading into each other, the effective chaining of what lies infinitely apart. Separating itself and *stretching out* into an absolute beside-one-another in space, it is at the same time the energetic *duration* of actuality asserting itself in the change of an after-one-another in time. The absolute idea, *as an actual*, is *intensive* and *extensive* infinity. This is the ontological origin of *space* and *time,* as utterly indivisible.—The absolute self-effectuation of *actuality* therefore can only be thought as the infinite, qualitatively *filled* space: here, however, the usual misunderstanding should be avoided, to which even our expression might give occasion, as if space in its emptiness were something for itself, as if the filling came to it as some second moment. Rather the energetic *filling*, the self-expanding emergence from one another, the self-separating of the manifold into an absolute beside-one-another in space, which is indivisible from the concept of qualitative internal determination in itself, is the principle of its filling as well as of its spatiality: the empty, unfilled [i.e., space] is only an illusory abstraction, which can be driven . . . to inner contradiction. However, with this, time is im- 9

mediately deduced. It would be the same error to stop here with the one-sided intuition of space, an abstraction which must again ultimately lead to a contradiction—as for example previously with the mere infinity, without taking it up into *its* unity. So the qualitatively infinite *apartness* is not only the resting, unmoved—but is rather also the *duration*, the self-developing flux, the infinite qualitatively *filled* time. Only the two combined give the complete intuition of actuality, of the *permanence within itself* of the infinite *determination*."

15 **the system**] The younger Fichte refers thus to his own philosophy in *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*; cf. the title of his main work, *Grundzüge zum Systeme der Philosophie* (→ 35,2).

15 **Calvinist**] Refers to French reformer Jean Calvin's (1509–64) doctrine of predestination, i.e., the doctrine of God's eternal predetermination of every individual human being's salvation or damnation (→ 27,39). This doctrine, which Calvin tied to the doctrine of God's providence, was set forth in the second, supplemented edition of his main Reformation work, *Institutio religionis Christianae* [Institutes of the Christian Religion] from 1539 [1536] (cf. ASKB 455–456, an edition from 1834–35). God equipped Adam with a free will to choose between good and evil. When Adam fell and chose evil, his fall was due to God's predestination but it was nevertheless of Adam's own doing since God can never be the cause of sin. And thus it is with every human being after Adam: it is impossible to sin against God's will. If he sins, then it is God's will, but God never commands that he sin. Every human being's life is thus determined ahead of time by God, so that a human being can only follow God's will. Cf. Kierkegaard's summary of § 65 to Professor H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics (→ 27,30), where Calvin's main views are quoted (Not1:8 / *Pap*. I C 19, in vol. XII, p. 119).

16 **Schleiermacher's modification**] Cf. § 87 in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 29,20), p. 237, note 3: "The predesti.[nation] asserted by SCHLRM. [Schleiermacher] is rather an exaggeration of the Luth.[eran] view, namely a universal predestination to salvation also as *voluntas consequens* [Latin, "following will"; i.e., God's decision that the individual is only given as much happiness as nature allows], so that the difference between good and evil ones [i.e., humans] is only a relative and trivial one, since ultimately everyone will be seized irresistibly and blessed by divine grace." Cf. also Schleiermacher's treatise "Ueber die Lehre von der Erwählung" [On the Doctrine of Election] in *Theologische Zeitschrift* [Theological Journal], ed. F. Schleiermacher, W. M. L. de Wette, and Fr. Lücke, no. 1, Berlin, 1819, pp. 1–119.

18 **omniscience and omnipotence . . . their coming into being**] Cf. *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*, p. 75: "So God, as unity is—the absolute self; but this unity is not simple, dead unity since it would again become an abstraction, something unreal, lacking in essence—but rather the infinitely *unifying*, which it again can do only in consciousness. The infinite determination, which we call the world, is only *unified* (and not a chaos or an irrationality) because it is governed by spirit, is created in the spirit of God. God in his infinity is *spiritual* omnipresence—*omniscience*, which, again, cannot be separated from his self-consciousness, and yet is not *identical* with it: its bond is His personality and in its unification grounds the infinite life of the spirit of God, grounds the roots of all positive and genuinely personal properties in Him, which a complete speculative theology would have to develop, and among which we presently only address the self-production of *omnipotence*, of *original consciousness*, and as the central point of both, of *conscious* freedom or the *original will*. . . . Personality posits *relation* to a self-given other: it is infinite, self-conscious unfolding, the living act of *Revelation*. *The absolute personality of God can only be thought as creative*." Cf. also Anton Günther (→ 35,34) *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des positiven Christenthums. In Briefen* (→ 10,41), vol. 2, pp. 87f.

22 **Fichte speaks in one place of "besondere Zeit"**] "Particular time"; refers presumably to *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*, pp. 120f.: "Thus God is not only the eternal one, the temporally *all*-filling one, but *at the same time* he appears in particular temporality. His revelation is *not only* the universal revelation in nature and spirit but rather is concentrated in the particular one of divine illuminations and providential happenings, which runs through all historical development, and which we otherwise already designated as the *divine* element in human history. In a word, the personal God becomes a historical force of a particular revelation *to* human beings, and with this the already implied third and the highest form of his relation to the world is given.

Within this characteristic course of revelation, however, this revelation must be completed *temporally*, as it is since eternity; God must become completely *present* in man, an earthly person. With this, history is given its point of division and its turning-point: just as everything that came before it prepared for this divine original fact, so also everything that comes after it is only the ever more victorious preservation of that first striking instance of the divine-becoming-human, the propagation and dissemination of the sonship of God."

24 **the Chr. doctrine of time**] Refers to the Christian doctrine of the fullness of time based on Gal 4.4–5: "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children."

24 **the Devil's fall from the eternal and therefore man's in time**] Alludes to the idea that the devil was originally a being of higher perfection, a good angel, who rebelled against God but who also retained the power to fight against God in his fallen condition. This view is based on 2 Pet 2:4. In addition, the human fall can be traced back to the fall of the devil since it was the devil who, in the form of a serpent, induced Adam and Eve to sin against God. Human beings thus repeated in time the devil's original rebellion against God before time, and evil entered the world. This might perhaps also allude to the view which Augustine (→ 27,30) set forth in *De civitate Dei*. "The City of God" existed before the creation of the world and consisted of the created world of angels, who had a perfect love of God. But, led by the devil, some prideful angels broke the relationship of dependence on God and formed a diabolical society ("civitas diaboli"), which stood in absolute opposition to the kingdom of God ("civitas dei"). In order to replace the fallen angels, God created human beings, whom he wanted to raise and prepare to enter into the kingdom of God. With Adam's fall, however, the devil was successful in introducing his kingdom into the world. History therefore unfolds as a struggle between God and the devil, a struggle which is also carried out in the life of each human being. Cf. also Anton Günther (→ 35,34) *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des positiven Christenthums. In Briefen* (→ 10,41), vol. 2, pp. 84ff., in which an account of Augustine's doctrine of the fall of the angels and the temptation and fall of the first man is given.

not faith (only the immed. consciousness)] Cf. *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*, pp. 121f.: "This testimony as God-man, this *inner* and *outer* witness, was provided by Christ only for himself, and is now no longer in any way subject to a speculative proof, but rather a purely historical proof. This is the indelible historical element of Christianity; it is not mere speculation, but rather demands recognition, *trust* (πίστις [Greek, (pístis), "faith," "trust"], and from this arises at the same time the original meaning of faith)—in a particular divine-human *fact*, and from this unshakable point of view, everything in Christianity proceeds. Only *in* Christ and *through* him has God given the highest witness, the factual certainty of himself." 26

Fichte . . . going beyond Hegel's abstraction to intuition] Refers to the younger Fichte's criticism of Hegel's conception of the Absolute Idea, which according to Hegel, develops in a completely immanent or a priori fashion; according to Fichte this expression is a pure abstraction. Fichte, by contrast, claims that the development of the Absolute Idea takes place in time, i.e., that it contains an empirical element and thus implies intuition. Intuition is used here in the Kantian sense as sensible perception, which has time and space as its forms. Cf. *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*, pp. 62–65. — **Hegel**'s: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, privatdocent at Jena from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. 26

There must surely be something corresponding to this in F. Baader] Kierkegaard presumably has in mind here lectures 11–16 in the first number of Baader's *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics], no. 1 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828), nos. 2–5 (Münster, 1830–38; ASKB 396), no. 1, pp. 67–103; cf. especially pp. 90f.: "In other words: if man's inner capacity to become heavenly had to be brought and fixed *a potentia ad actum* [Latin, "from possibility to actuality"], then his capacity to become earthly (an animal) as well as his capacity to become hellish (a devil) would have to be radically extinguished within him. And just as the centrifugal tendency (spiritualistic pride), if overcome and transformed, should sup- 31

ply one element of heavenly love, namely sublimity, so the tendency which sinks from the center (materialist baseness) should, in its transformation, supply love's second element, humility. And both together should in this union manifest the divine androgyne.—In what follows we will get an impression of the extent to which history confirms the speculative exposition of the temptation which I have attempted here, in which man should have preserved himself as the image of God. For as [I. H.] *Fichte* op. cit. [*Sätze zur Vorschule der Theologie* [Principles for an Introduction to Theology] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828; ASKB 510)] notes, wherever freedom is concerned, mere speculation is not sufficient—and gentlemen, I here only point out to you, how rightly the Scripture depicts as a snake the power which is hostile to the image of the Virgin, because it is not the devilish spirit of pride alone, nor the animal alone, but because it is only both of them together as obsessed animal, i.e., precisely as snake, that it can effectuate this hostility, just as any desire for sin, and in any twist of the snake's movement this double tendency as obsessed animal can be proven." — **F. Baader**: (Benedikt) Franz (Xaver) von Baader (1765–1841), Catholic, German doctor, government officer for mining in Munich, philosophical and theological writer, in 1826 professor *honoris causa* in philosophy and speculative theology at the University of Munich. Baader was especially influenced by Jacob Böhme's theosophy, by J. G. Fichte (→ 11,*25*), I. H. Fichte (→ 35,*2*), and F. W. J. Schelling (→ 35,*5*), and played a role in connection with the development of the Romantic philosophy of nature. He opposed Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy, in particular Kant's doctrine of the autonomy of the will. Baader also rejected the Hegelian doctrine of the autonomy of self-consciousness. Kierkegaard owned almost all of Baader's works (cf. ASKB 391–418).

32 **on behalf of humankind . . . first discoverer of sin**] Cf. the fifteenth lecture in Fr. Baader's *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* (→ 35,*31*) no. 1, p. 93, note: "In the following we will see that man's first choice was no longer this primal one of producing evil in itself, since he [man] already found it [evil] produced as creature, so that man has to reject the honor ascribed to him by *Kant*, of being the first inventor of evil."

rants against Kant's radical evil] Kant's doctrine 33
of radical evil, i.e., that man has a natural and inborn but nonetheless self-inflicted tendency to act on bad maxims, is developed in his *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (Königsberg, 1793). (For an English translation, cf. *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone*, trans. Theodore M. Green and Hoyt H. Hudson [New York: Harper Torch Books, 1960].) In various places in his works, Baader criticizes this doctrine for being inconsistent with Christianity and, in particular, for standing in opposition to the account of the Creation as an original, natural state of innocence. The passage which is referred to is presumably the seventeenth lecture in Baader's *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* (→ 35,*31*) no. 1, pp. 103–110, where Baader criticizes "philosophy" for placing the concept of a created being on equal terms with the concept of an evil being; from p. 105 forward, the criticism is directed against Kant. — **Kant**: Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), German philosopher, privatdocent from 1755 though 1769, professor at the University of Königsberg beginning in 1770.

Günther's] Anton Günther (1783–1863), Czech, 34
Austrian, Catholic, secular priest (i.e., not belonging to one of the monastic orders), philosopher, neoscholastic. He wished to reformulate the doctrines of the Catholic church on the basis of the philosophical movements of the time, and was especially influenced by J. G. v. Herder, I. Kant (→ 35,*33*), J. G. Fichte (→ 11,*25*), and F. W. J. Schelling (→ 35,*5*). He criticized what he perceived as the age's pantheism and argued for a theistic view based on Descartes's philosophy. Kierkegaard owned a number of his works (cf. ASKB 520–523, 869–870 and 1672).

theory of hereditary sin] Cf. *Süd- und Nordlichter* 34
am Horizonte speculativer Theologie. Fragment eines evangelischen Briefwechsels [Southern and Northern Lights on the Horizon of Speculative Theology: A Fragment of an Evangelical Correspondence] by Anton Günther (Vienna, 1832; ASKB 520). The book consists of a (fictional) correspondence between Reformed pastor David d'Herlice and Protestant pastor Christian Franke. While d'Herlice argues against Augustine's doctrine of hereditary sin and predestination (cf. pp. 114ff.), Franke wishes to reformulate it (cf. pp. 180ff.). Kierkegaard seems to refer to Franke's defense of Augustine's doctrine of

hereditary sin, where Franke interprets Augustine's view based on the late scholastic concept of "humanity" as the universal: "With this presupposition, he now claims that *all human beings* had sinned in Adam and Eve and would have contracted guilt, because *human nature as a whole* would then have been present in them—just as our theologian of natural philosophy claims the same thing with new words when he says: It is not the individual but rather the race which had sinned in Adam and Eve," p. 186. And further, p. 188: "Since the Fall, man is certainly *free to be evil*, but not *free to be good*. *Adam* certainly had *complete* freedom in Paradise, through which he could will and do *both good and evil*; but through the Fall human *nature* as a whole is radically *changed*, and with it, the *freedom of the will is also weakened*. Fallen human beings still have freedom but in a completely different sense. Namely, they do *only* evil and do so out of their *own* impulse and free will, therefore not out of compulsion; they have lost, by contrast, the *complete* freedom which contains the ability to do the good."

35 **Adam and Eve were not conscious of gender difference**] This conception is based on the notion that after the fall, Adam and Eve were frightened when they heard God walking in the Garden of Eden and hid themselves because they were naked (Gen 3:10). Thus, they were not conscious of their nakedness (and thereby gender difference) before the fall. Before God drove Adam and Eve out of the Garden, he clothed them in the skins of animals.

36 2 **the wind . . . whither it blows**] Allusion to Jn 3:8, where Jesus says to Nicodemus: "The wind blows where it chooses, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the Spirit."

5 **Xt is born of a pure virgin**] Cf. Article 3 in the Lutheran confessional book *Confessio Augustana*: "God's son has assumed human nature in the womb of the pure virgin Mary," *Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse med sammes, af Ph. Melanchthon forfattede, Apologie* [The Correct Unchanged Augsburg Confession with Its Apology, by Ph. Melanchton], trans. A. G. Rudelbach (Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386), p. 47.

6 **a creation out of nothing**] Cf. § 62 in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 29,*20*): "*Creatio ex nihilo* [Latin, "creation from nothing"]. In the concept of creation lies the calling forth of being from not-being. In the H.[oly] S.[criptures] the same thing is implied; in church dogmatics it was emphasized even more decidedly in order to distinguish the generation of the son from the divine essence and the creation of the world," p. 154. → 22,*16*.

the spirit of God cast its shadow over the Vrg. Mary] Alludes to the account of the annunciation of the birth of Jesus in Lk 1:26–38. When the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that she would give birth to the son of God, she asked how this could be since she had never been with a man, and Gabriel answered: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God" (verse 35). 6

just as previously it brooded over the waters] Alludes to the account of creation in Gen 1: "The earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters" (verse 2). 7

a new element, the hearing of the Word—faith] Alludes to Rom 10:17, where Paul writes: "So faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes through the word of Christ." 8

subreption] In logic, a consciously mistaken proof, which builds on unproven claims or made-up facts. 11

why God created the world . . . it has a revelation] Cf. Anton Günther's (→ 35,*34*) discussion with the younger Fichte about why God created the world in "Sendschreiben an I. Hermann Fichte" [Open Letter to I. Hermann Fichte] in *Janusköpfe. Zur Philosophie und Theologie* [The Heads of Janus: On Philosophy and Theology], ed. A. Günther and J. H. Pabst (Vienna, 1834; ASKB 524), pp. 395–402. Cf. also § 61 in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 29,*20*): "*Creatio est revelatio Dei universalis et primitiva, qua rerum universitatem ad summum bonum communicandum ex aeterno amore suo esse voluit*" [Latin, "Creation is the universal and original revelation of God, whereby he in his eternal love wished that everything should further participation in the highest good"], p. 151. Cf. further § 60, "Begriff, Ursache und Zweck der Schöpfung" [Concept, Causes, and Purpose of the Creation], in A. Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* [Textbook of the Christian Faith] (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 535), pp. 265–283, especially remark 4, "Zweck der Schöpfung" [The Purpose of 18

Creation] pp. 271–276, where several older dogmaticians are discussed.

28 **the following piece**] There is no following entry of this kind; it does not seem to have been written down and is not registered in *B-cat*. 437.

37 1 **C. Brentano**] Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), German Romantic poet; Brentano and Achim von Arnim published a collection of traditional folk songs, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* [The Boy's Magic Horn] (→ 37,22).

2 **Pretty Ane**] Refers to the story "Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl" [The Story of Brave Kasper and Pretty Ane] Kasper, who is a petty officer, is engaged to Ane, who has been raised by her godmother, who is also Kasper's grandmother. Kasper leaves the army in France in order to visit Ane; he arrives in the middle of the night in the neighborhood where he was born and lodges with the miller. Here he is robbed by his father and stepbrother, whom he seizes and turns in to the authorities. Due to the disgrace of being the son of a thief, Kasper shoots himself at his mother's grave and is found by his grandmother. In a letter he leaves behind, he asks to receive "an honest grave" alongside his mother's. Meanwhile, during Kasper's tour of duty in France, Ane is seduced by a nobleman, who has promised to marry her. She gives birth to a child, which she strangles in her apron, whereafter she reports herself to the judge. Because she does not want to cause the nobleman distress, she refuses to reveal his name. She accepts her punishment and is condemned to death. Kasper's grandmother goes to town with two requests: she asks the duke if Kasper and Ane may receive "an honest grave," and she asks permission to be together with Ane before she is beheaded the next morning. The grandmother spends the night before the execution on the street where she meets a young author to whom she tells the tragic story. She requests that he ask the duke to postpone Ane's execution and give assurance that both she and Kasper will receive "an honest grave." The author seeks out the duke in the middle of the night; the duke becomes deeply moved and immediately orders his ensign, Count Grossinger, to ride to the execution site and shout "pardon" to save Ane. Grossinger rides like a madman but arrives just as the executioner beheads Ane; he falls on his knees and confesses that he was the man who seduced Ane and asks to be executed. The duke then arrives at the execution site. He condemns Grossinger to death and promises the grandmother that both Kasper and Ane will receive "an honest grave" and funeral sermons. As a squadron of soldiers fires the third salute over Kasper and Ane's grave at the funeral, the grandmother falls dead in the arms of the author. She later receives a grave alongside Kasper and Ane. The story was first published in *Gaben der Milde. Für die Bücher-Verloosung "zum Vortheil hülfloser Krieger"* [Alms: Raffle Booklets "for the Benefit of Helpless War Veterans"] ed. by F. W. Gubitz, vols. 1–4 (Berlin, 1817–18), vol. 2, 1817, pp. 7–81; reprinted in an abbreviated form in *Jahrbuch des Nützlichen und Unterhaltenden* [Yearbook of Useful and Entertaining Things], ed. Gubitz (Berlin and Königsberg, 1835), pp. 169–193, in *Deutsche Volks-Kalender für das Jahr 1835* [German Popular Calender for the Year 1835], ed. Gubitz. Published in Danish as "Historien om den brave Kasper og skjøn Ane" in *Harpen. Et æsthetisk Tidsskrift* [The Harp: An Aesthetic Journal], ed. A. P. Liunge, vols. 1–4 (Copenhagen, 1820–24), vol. 1, no. 53, pp. 236–238; no. 54, pp. 239–241; no. 55, pp. 243–245; no. 56, pp. 248f.; no. 57, pp. 251–253; no. 58, pp. 255–257; no. 59, p. [this no. is not found in the copy at the Royal Library]; and no. 60, pp. 264–266; afterward included in *Phantasiestykker. En Samling Fortællinger og Noveller* [Fantasia. A Collection of Short Stories and Novellas], in Danish, ed. A. P. Liunge (Copenhagen, 1821), pp. 80–123.

if it isn't based on a folk-tale . . . a true master] 3
According to tradition, the material for this story is said to come from two orally transmitted stories which Brentano heard from the mother of his girlfriend, Luise Hensel. It seems likely that he used various folktales as sources, including "Weltlich Recht" (→ 37,22).

mens sana in corpore sano] Latin, "a healthy mind 5
in a healthy body," phrase from the Roman satirist Juvenal (ca. 60–140) *Satirae* [Satires], book 10, verse 356.

the simple, pious stanza] "*Naar Dommedag kommer* 12
for Borg og Vraa, / da falde paa Jorden de Stjerner smaae. / I Døde! I Døde! Stat op igjen! / thi I skal gange for Dommen hen; / I skal hen paa de Høie træde, / hvor de Engle sidde i Gammen og Glæde. / Saa kommer den Herre Gud i den Vrimmel / med Regnbuen skjøn alt paa

sin Himmel; / Saa kommer vor Frelser, den Herre Christ, / og Naade da skulle I fange forvist. / De høie Træer da stande i Glød / og haarden Steen skal da vorde saa blød. / Og Hvo som kan bede denne Bøn, / han bede den een Gang om Dagen i Løn; / for Gud da vil hans Sjæl bestaae, / naar vi til Himmelens Rige gaae." ["When Doom on castle and cottage will fall / Then tumble to earth the stars so small. / Oh, you dead! Oh, you dead! Arise again! / For you shall now to judgment wend, / And mount up to the very Height / Where angels are seated in gladness bright. / Then comes the Lord God to those below / And in His Heav'n the lovely rainbow; / Next comes the dear Lord Christ, in grace, / To save all prisoners from that dread place. / The lofty trees are all ablaze, / And stone to liquid melts away. / And whoever this single prayer can say, / Shall say it in secret each single day; / Before God will his soul stand fast / When we to Heav'n's Kingdom come at last."] *Phantasiestykker*, p. 85; cf. pp. 93, 95, 112 and 122.

14 **the executioner's fearful foreboding when the sword moves by itself**] Ane's godmother has taken three-year-old Ane home with her after the death of Ane's mother. They visit the home of the executioner, who is also a veterinarian, in order to purchase herbal remedies. The executioner, also called "the master," asks the godmother to go up to the loft to look for the right herbs; she leaves little Ane downstairs. When she comes downstairs again, Ane is standing in front of a small cabinet and says: "Listen, grandmother, there's a mouse in there! Hear how it rattles; there's a mouse in there!" And the old woman recounts: "With these words from the child, the master took on very serious expression, tore the cabinet open and said: God have mercy on us; for he saw his executioner's sword, which was hanging alone on a nail in the cabinet, swinging to and fro. He took the sword, and I shuddered. Dear woman, he said, if you love this little girl, don't be afraid when I make a small scratch around her neck with my sword; for it moved for her, it demanded her blood, and if I don't make a tiny cut on her neck with it, the child will experience terrible misery in life." The executioner then grabs the girl, who cries out, and the woman pulls the girl away. At just that moment, the mayor enters with his sick dog, reprimands the executioner, and prevents him from doing anything to Ane. *Phantasiestykker*, pp. 108f.

15 **the story . . . tugged at her apron in a special way**] Ane's godmother says, "O! *Ane* has always been a unique girl; often, when no one dreamed of it, she would grasp her apron with both hands and tear it off as if it were on fire; she would then begin to cry terribly. But there was a reason for it: it [i.e., the evil one] had her by its teeth: the evil one never rests." *Phantasiestykker*, pp. 93f.

19 **in the suicides' cemetery**] According to Christian V's Danish Law (1683), book 6, chap. 6, article 21, it was not legal to bury a person who had taken his or her own life in either a church or a churchyard, i.e., in consecrated ground (→ 37*m,1*), unless the suicide was due to insanity. This ordinance was later modified. In Kierkegaard's time, suicides were buried in the cemetery of the poor house (abolished in 1842), which was commonly referred to as "the suicides' cemetery." It was located on Farimagsvei between Nørreport and Sortedam Lake. Before Kierkegaard's time, in some cases suicides could have been buried in the prison cemetery (see the following note).

20 **a day of execution**] Executions of people condemned to death were carried out at the execution site on Amager outside Amager Port; those executed were buried in the prison cemetery nearby.

22 **It also resembles a poem in Knaben Wunderh. . . . p. 204**] Refers to the poem "Weltlich Recht" [Worldly Right] in the famous Romantic collection of traditional folk poems, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder* [The Boy's Magic Horn: Old German Songs], vols. 1–3, ed. L. Achim v. Arnim and Cl. Brentano, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg, 1819 [1806–8]; ASKB 1494–1496, abbreviated hereafter as *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*), vol. 2, p. 204. The poem tells of the execution of an infanticide by the name of Nannerl, where the pardon comes too late, just as in Brentano's story. (According to the receipt from C. A. Reitzel issued December 31, 1836, Kierkegaard bought *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* on March 14, 1836.)

24 **it is a junior lieutenant . . . but too late**] Cf. the two final stanzas of "Weltlich Recht": "The ensign came riding and waved his flag: / 'Stop with the beautiful Nannerl! I bring a pardon.'—/ 'Ensign, dear ensign, she is already dead.'—/ 'Good night, my beautiful Nannerl! Your soul is with God.' " Cf. likewise "The Story of Brave Kasper and Pretty Ane" (→ 37*,2*), where the author tells of the junior

lieutenant Count Grossinger: "*Grossinger* crashed down and the crowd scattered. I looked toward them, and saw the glint of steel in the morning sun—God! It was the sword of the executioner!—I hastened, I heard the lamentations of the crowd. 'Pardon! Pardon!' cried *Grossinger*, and, waving the flag, rushed headlong like a madman into the group; but the executioner lifted the bloody head of pretty *Ane* toward him, which, in death, stared at him with a melancholy smile." *Phantasiestykker*, p. 118.

28 **Steffens's The 4 Norwegians**] *De fire Normænd. En Cyclus af Noveller ved Henrich Steffens* [The Four Norwegians. A Cycle of Novellas by Henrich Steffens], vols. 1–3, trans. J. R. Reiersen, (Copenhagen, 1835 [1828]; ASKB 1586–1588) (vols. 4–6 in *Henrich Steffens's samlede Fortællinger* [Collected Short Stories of Henrich Steffens], ed. C. Fr. Güntelberg, vols. 1–9, Copenhagen, 1834–39). — **Steffens**: Henrich Steffens (1773–1845), Norwegian, Danish, German philosopher, natural scientist, and author; professor at Halle from 1804 to 1806, and again from 1808 to 1811; appointed professor at Breslau directly afterwards, and at Berlin in 1832.

31 **each of his heroes begins . . . by talking about the Norwegian mountains**] Cf., for example, Ingier's long speech at the beginning of the sixth and final story: "I have often decided to withdraw from this dark world; but then it calls to me again with a powerful voice and I feel that I cannot do so. Are the steep cliffs, which high and cold and sharp look down into the sea, and the roaring waves, roaring as if in anger, foaming against the walls of the cliff, are they not the true great spirits of the North? When I listen to their conversations, I am often moved by a strange feeling.—When the sea lies extended before me on a clear day, like a smooth, calm, infinite surface; when the steep rock walls peer gently down over the watery plain, and the sun shines friendly on the wall, reflecting in the sea—who then senses the horror, the secret deception, hidden in this calm? We stand there, giddy, and might truly trust the spirits who lure us with friendliness; but suddenly the horror breaks out, the sun hides itself, the cunning spirits play a destructive game in a magical fog.—It is as if they hated each other.—Bitter and in its naked, desolate darkness, the cliff stares through the moist fog down into the agitated sea; in anger the sea rushes with its towering waves against the cliffs and is dispersed, where the waves venture down into the deep; irritated, it is driven back in foamy but impotent anger, only in order to renew the attack again.—The simple man believes that they hate and fight one another; and yet it is only a secret, destructive drive. Only now, in this apparent struggle do they understand each other and, now, together, have sworn to destroy all life," *De fire Normænd*, vol. 3, pp. 314f.

burial in consecrated ground] → 37,19. According to a decree of February 22, 1805, § 9, when a new cemetery was created, it was ceremonially consecrated with a speech by the parish pastor.—In "The Story of Brave Kasper and Pretty Ane" the duke decides that both Kasper and Ane should have an "honest grave" alongside Kasper's mother, i.e., a grave in consecrated ground; cf. *Phantasiestykker*, pp. 120f. 1 37*m*

the god . . . unto 4 or 5 generations] Cf., for example, Ex 20:5: "For I the Lord am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." 5

King Lear . . . keine gute Theologie] "To say *ay* and *no* to everything I said!—*Ay* and *no*, too, was no good divinity." A part of the speech of the shaken King Lear in act 4, scene 6, in William Shakespeare's tragedy *King Lear*. The German quotation is from *Shakspeare's dramatische Werke* [Shakespeare's Dramatic Works], trans. A. W. v. Schlegel and L. Tieck, vols. 1–9 (Berlin, 1825–33; cf. ASKB 1883–1888, 12 vols. ed., Berlin, 1839–41), vol. 8, 1832, p. 362. 8 38

Baggesen] Jens Immanuel Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish author. 16 38

The Kalundborg Chronicle] Baggesen's comic story "Kallundborgs Krønike, eller Censurens Oprindelse" [Chronicle of Kalundborg, or the Origin of Censorship] (1786), in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesen's Danish Works], ed. the author's sons and C. J. Boye, vols. 1–12 (Copenhagen, 1827–32; ASKB 1509–1520), vol. 1, pp. 221–252. 16

Then came on horseback . . . riding on the hop] Cf. *Jens Baggesens danske Værker*, vol. 1, p. 235, where the passage reads: "Da kom paa Hesten, trap, trap, trap, /*Jens Skovfogd* ridende saa rap." ["Then came 18

on the horse, clop, clop, clop, / *Jens Skovfogd* riding on the hop."]

38 23 **stories of warrior heroes**] These legendary mythic-heroic sagas are inspired by stories set ca. 850 and earlier, and are characterized by supernatural and fantastic subject matter. Cf. *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier efter islandske Haandskrifter* [Tales of Nordic Champions According to Icelandic Manuscripts], trans. C. C. Rafn, vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1821–26; ASKB 1993–1995, abbreviated hereafter as *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier*). Vol. 3 bears the title *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier eller mythiske og romantiske Sagaer efter islandske Haandskrifter* [Tales of Nordic Champions or Mythical and Romantic Sagas According to Icelandic Manuscripts].

24 **the saga of . . . Kong Heidrek**] "Hervørs og Kong Hejdreks Saga, efter den islandske Grundskrift fordansket med oplysende Anmærkninger," [The Saga of Hervør and King Heidrek according to the Icelandic Text, Translated into Danish with Explanatory Notes], by C. C. Rafn, in *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier*, vol. 3, C, pp. 1–124. (Vol. 3 is divided into 3 sections: A, B, and C, each with its own pagination.)

25 **Rafn**'s] Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), researcher of antiquities, editor, and translator; teacher at the Military Academy from 1820 until 1826, co-founder and later secretary of the Royal Danish Society for Nordic Antiquities in 1825, made titular professor in 1826.

28 **every hero out to be the strongest**] There are no examples of this in "Hervørs og Kong Hejdreks Saga"; here, a hero is repeatedly called "a mighty man," "big and strong," "a great warrior," "a famous warrior," "very powerful and a great warrior," "powerful fighter," "a great giant." The following is written about Heidrek, the son of the king: "he was so strong and brave that nowhere was his equal found," *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier*, vol. 3, p. 44; and the later King Heidrek's illegitimate son Lød or Ljótr is described as one who "seemed already at his young age to surpass the others," p. 58.

30 **Svafurlame . . . should really have killed himself**] Odin's grandson Svafurlame, or Svafrlami, receives the sword Tyrfing from the dwarfs Durin and Dvalin, who utter the curse on the sword; in anger, Svafurlame strikes out in vain at one of them but strikes only the stone into which the dwarf has disappeared. The sword Tyrfing is later taken over by Arngrim, who kills Svafurlame in single combat.

Agantyr is about to do battle . . . no steel could make contact] Arngrim's eldest son, Angantyr, takes over the sword Tyrfing. At Samsø, he and his uncle encounter and combat Hjalmar and Odd (also called Ørvarodd), while Ørvarodd is wearing a shirt which makes him invulnerable. 35

At the same time . . . he is even just barely victorious] Ørvarodd kills Angantyr's eleven brothers each in turn, and after a long and violent fight wins the battle. Meanwhile, Angantyr and Hjalmar kill each other, *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier*, vol. 3, pp. 18–24. 11 39

the story of the chain . . . not to be found in the world] Alludes to a saga from Nordic mythology, from the Younger *Edda*, where the myth is told of Loki's three children, the wolf Fenrir, the Midgard serpent, and Hel. Until the wolf escapes at Ragnarok and is ultimately killed by Vidar, the Aesir—i.e., a group of gods in the Nordic pantheon—want to keep it bound with a strong rope, Gleipnir, spun out of six (not *five*) things: the sound of a cat's step, a woman's beard, the roots of a mountain, the sinews of bears, the breath of fish, and the spit of birds. Kierkegaard's source seems to be N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Nordens Mytologi eller Udsigt over Eddalæren for dannede Mænd, der ei selv ere Mytologer* [Nordic Mythology or an Overview of the Teachings of the *Edda* for Educated Men, Who Are Not Themselves Experts in Mythology] (Copenhagen, 1808; ASKB 1948, abbreviated hereafter as *Nordens Mytologi*). Here it is recounted, on p. 73, that the dwarfs made "the strong rope, Gleipnir, soft as silk" of the following *five* things: "Of the clamor of a cat's step / Of the beard of women, / Of the roots of the mountains, / Of the breath of fish / and the spit of birds." And it is added: "This is why these things are still missing in nature." 17

Thor . . . ends up standing on the sea-bed] The story is part of a saga about Thor's journey to Udgårdsloki from the Younger *Edda*. Cf. N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Nordens Mytologi* (1808), p. 121, and J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe* (→ 30,6), p. 439. 21

Ørvarodd] "Ørvarodds Saga" in C. C. Rafn, *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier*, vol. 3, B (→ 38,24), pp. 57–206; p. 118, In the battle with Ørvarodd, Øgmund says 1 39*m*

to him: "I struck you on the shoulders and tried to chop off your arm. But it didn't even scratch your shirt, though I have a sword that cuts through everything."

39*m* 8 **an expensive ointment that heals every wound**] Alludes to "Kong Olger Danskes Krønike [The Chronicle of King Holger Danske]" in *Moerskabslæsning* [Light Reading], vol. 1, 2nd part (→ 41,*9*), pp. 170f. When Holger Danske wanted to leave England and go to Denmark, 100 warriors ambushed him; but his nephew Galter, who was sent to England by his father, came to his rescue. Together they killed most of the traitors, but were themselves badly wounded. "Olger [Holger] took his ointment and smeared it on their wounds, so that both men were healed. When Galter saw this, he asked Olger to give him some of the ointment, which he did. Galter kept it with him as a precious gift and treasure."

40*m* 3 **the idea of the state . . . vanishing . . . in Socrates**] The notion that Socrates brought about the destruction of the universal and the objective, i.e., the state, to the advantage of the individual, i.e., the subjective, comes from Hegel; cf. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. C. L. Michelet, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 2, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 35,*6*), vol. 14, pp. 71ff., especially p. 73: "The state has lost its power, which consisted in the unbroken continuity of the universal spirit, as formed of single individuals, so that the individual consciousness knew no other content and reality than law." (English translation quoted from Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vols. 1–3, trans. E. S. Haldane [Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1955], vol. 1, p. 409.); and pp. 91ff. (*Jub*. vol. 18, pp. 71ff. and 91ff.) (English translation, vol. 1, pp. 407ff.)

40 15 **an older German poet**] Unidentified.

16 **O starker Gott . . . mich armen Dichter**] "O powerful God! O just Judge / Have mercy on me, a poor poet." Quotation from the poem "Vorrede in die klegliche Zukunft" [Prologue in the Deplorable Future] (see the following note).

18 **altdeutsche Lieder, ed. Görres, p. 159**] *Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder aus den Handschriften der Heidelberger Bibliothek* [Old German Folk Songs and Meistersinger Songs, from the Manuscripts in the Heidelberg Library], ed. J. Görres (Frankfurt am Main, 1817; ASKB 1486; according to the records of the bookseller Schubothe, Kierkegaard bought the book on November 29, 1836). The poem, "Vorrede in die klegliche Zukunft," is found on pp. 158–163 and the quoted passage on p. 159. — **Görres**: Joseph Görres (1776–1848), German editor, philologist, and historian, professor at Munich.

Andersen's] Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75), Danish author. 23 40

novel, The Improvisor] *Improvisatoren. Original Roman i to Dele* [The Improvisor: Original Novel in Two Parts] was published April 9, 1835. 23

felicissima notte] Italian, "happiest night!" 26

"The Scandinavian wishes . . . Part I, p. 102] Quoted from H. C. Andersen's footnote in *Improvisatoren*, part 1, chap. 8, p. 102. 26

watchmen . . . in old German songs] Refers to the literary genre "Tagelied," or aubade, which was widespread in the German minnesinger tradition. 30

Wach uff, wach uff . . . that the day is dawning] Quotation from the German folksong "Wächtersruf," where the first verse is as follows: "*Wach uff! Wach uff! mit heller Stimm / Hub an ein Wächter gute; / Wo zwey Hertzlieb bey einander sin, / Die halten sich in Hute, / Daß ihnen kein Arges wiederfahr, / Und ihnen ihre Sach nit mißlinge*" ["Wake up! Wake up! With a bright voice / a good watchman began; / Where two heartmates are together, / they take care, / so no evil overcomes them, / and they do not fail their cause."] *Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder* (→ 40,*18*), p. 111; cf. also p. 117. See also pp. 113, 115, and 120 for other references to watchmen's songs that remind lovers that the day is breaking. 31

Holger Danske "come running," . . . smites him] Refers to "Kong Olger Danskes Krønike," in *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,*9*). The phrase "come running" appears frequently, also in the sense of "come riding." With regard to Holger Danske, for example, see part 2, pp. 26–30. The phrase "he ran" is used countless times both in "Kong Olger Danskes Krønike" and in "Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus" (→ 41,*9*); in the latter chronicle, one reads that Emperor Charlemagne "ran" alone after the pagan King Janemund, who fled, but the emperor followed him for "two miles," *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 71. Later it is said 4 41

that Roland and Oliver (→ 41*m*,7) "ran seven miles," vol. 1, part 1, p. 113.

9 **Holger Danske . . . he remembers the past**] Refers to the French version of "Olger Danskes Krønike" (→ 41,*29*), in *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,*9*), pp. 273–308; pp. 289–293. Holger Danske meets princess Morgana (Morgan le Fay), who lives in the castle Avalon. The crown which she gives him brings eternal youth and makes him forget all other feelings besides her love; according to the legend, Morgana was a fairy, the daughter of the wizard Merlin and sister of the legendary Celtic king Artus or Arthur. It was not Morgana who took the crown off Holger Danske; it came loose on its own, fell to the bottom of a well and could not be recovered; Morgana looked for it in vain, p. 293.

9 **Rabeck**'s] *Dansk og Norsk Nationalværk, eller Almindelig ældgammel Moerskabslæsning* [Danish and Norwegian National Work, or General Ancient Light Reading], ed. K. L. Rahbek, vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1828–30; ASKB 1457–1459, abbreviated hereafter as *Moerskabslæsning*). Vol. 1 contains, in two separately paginated parts, a modernized reworking of Christiern Pedersen's translation of "Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus" [Chronicle of Emperor Charlemagne] and "Kong Olger Danskes Krønike" [Chronicle of King Holger Danske]. — **Rabeck**: Knud Lyne Rahbek (→ 31,*20*).

21 **The theological disputes . . . during the battle**] Cf. *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,*9*), for example, pp. 157–160 and 266, where Holger Danske makes a confession, which is similar to the Apostles' Creed. Cf. also vol. 1, part 1, for example, pp. 85–88, where the Christian hero Roland (→ 41*m*,7) has a discussion with the Muslim hero Ferakunde about the Trinity and the resurrection of the dead.

23 **a Mohammedan . . . our other false gods**] The maiden Gloriant, who is the fiancée of King Carvel, Holger Danske's opponent, cries out: "O God Mohammed and our other false gods, help my betrothed soon, that this mighty hero Olger Danske does not kill him and take him from me," *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,*9*), p. 45.

41*m* 3 **the huge mass of troops we frequently hear spoken of**] "Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus" often tells of 10,000, 20,000, or 30,000 men, who are either coming or fleeing; sometimes there is talk of 120,000, 300,000, 400,000; cf. *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 1 (→ 41,*9*), for example, p. 25, p. 38, p. 139, p. 113, p. 165, and p. 167. In one instance, the size of Emperor Charlemagne's troops is described as follows: "The army was two days' journey in length and breadth, and for twelve miles one could hear a din and clamor coming from them," p. 53.

Oliver . . . and Roland . . . slew 1000] Oliver and 7
Roland are heroes in "Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus." Here the reference is presumably to the single combat between Roland and the pagan king's son, Otuel, who became Christian, and the ensuing fatal battle which Roland, Oliver, Otuel, and Holger Danske fight against the powerful pagan King Garsia and his fellow conspirators, *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 1 (→ 41,*9*), pp. 143–148. Kierkegaard seems to conflate several episodes.

the long rigmarole . . . warriors vanquished] Cf. 18
"Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus," *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 1 (→ 41,*9*), p. 179, where ten countries are enumerated. Accounts of numerous heroes who are overcome in battle appear again and again, though not in the form of a long rigmarole.

Papageno in The Magic Flute . . . I am a man of 30
nature] Papageno, an amusing bird-catcher, is one of the main characters in Mozart's (→ 7,*6*) opera *Die Zauberflöte* [The Magic Flute], composed in 1791 to the lyrics of Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812). Cf. *Trylleføiten. Syngestykke i to Acter af Emmanuel Schickaneder. Oversat til Mozarts Musik* [The Magic Flute: A Singspiel in Two Acts by Emmanuel Schikaneder, Translated and Adapted to Mozart's Music], by N. T. Bruun (Copenhagen, 1816) and *Trylleføiten. Syngestykke af Schikaneder. Med Musik af Mozart*, 2nd modified ed. (Copenhagen, 1826), which divided the opera into four acts; here the edition from 1816 is used. In act 2, scene 3 Papageno sings: "I am, then, what the learned call a man of nature, who is satisfied with sleep, food, and drink—and, if chance has it, a pretty little wife!" p. 59.

Holger D. . . . from a Catholic country] The French 29 41
tale of "Ogier le Danois" is known in several different versions. Christiern Pedersen's Danish translation *Kong Olger Danskes Krønicke* [Chronicle of King Holger Danske] appeared in 1534. He writes the following in his preface: "I took great pains to find it, and I finally found it in Paris in France, printed in French, and so I first had it translated into Latin, and for this gave gold and money, for I could not myself understand French. Later, with

great effort, I wrote it in Danish following the Latin text, and had it printed." *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,9), pp. 4f. — **Christen Pedersen**: Christiern Pedersen (ca. 1480–1554), magister, theologian, author, translator of the New Testament (1529).

33 **Holger D's later wondrous days**] Presumably refers to Holger Danske's 200-year stay in Paradise, after which the virgin Morgua allowed him to leave to see the state of Christianity. As long as he wore the gold ring that Morgua had given him, he was like a young man of thirty years. He saved many Christians from capture by the Turks.

34 **Whosoever believes . . . it is not in the Creed**] Refers to a statement by King Artus (→ 41,9), when he arrived at the castle where Holger Danske was staying after the latter had been stranded on a deserted island: "Here we should all be joyous together; for many foolish people believe they will approach the final day and fight against the Antichrist and his giants, and that Enoch and Elias will come forth and preach against him. Whether one believes or doesn't believe, is not a matter of sin. For it is not written in the Creed, nor is it believable that it will happen." *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,9), pp. 251f. — **credo**: Latin, "I believe"; common designation for the Apostles' Creed, which begins with the word "credo."

37 **The person who wrote it (i.e., the Chronicle) . . . it is not to be found in Holy Scripture**] Cf. the quotation that appears at the end of Christiern Pedersen's translation: "He who wrote [the chronicle] thought that he [Holger Danske] would return at Judgment Day and fight against the Antichrist with sword and spear, which is not believable, nor should it be believed, for it is not found in Holy Scripture; but one can say about it what God puts in one's mind to say." *Moerskabslæsning*, vol. 1, part 2 (→ 41,9), p. 272.

42 24 **Kant**] → 35,33.

25 **the categories' approximation . . . took it all back**] In his main work on epistemology, *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 35,6), Kant argues that when empirical intuitions (spatial and temporal representations with indeterminate experiential content) are brought under the so-called categories (concepts of the understanding), the understanding forms concepts for objects of experience, about which it is possible to have certain knowledge. If the categories are applied nonempirically, i.e., if representations are formed for objects which cannot be possible objects of experience, then what Kant calls "ideas" are formed. These ideas do not refer to objects of experience, and theoretical knowledge based on them is impossible. Knowledge of what affects the sense organs and thus produces representations which are intuited in space and time, which Kant calls the "Ding an sich," the thing in itself, is impossible. Kant wants to guarantee knowledge within the framework of the world of experience, but he also wants to exclude knowledge of things in themselves, the soul, the cosmos, and God. This criticism of Kant was originally formulated by J. G. Fichte (→ 11,25) and F. W. J. Schelling (→ 35,5) and paved the way for the philosophy of Romanticism. — **νοουμενα**: Greek, "noumena. "*The Republic*, 508d ff., distinguishes between noumena, i.e., objects which can only be known with reason, and phenomena, i.e., objects known through the senses. The same distinction is found in Kant in the section "Von dem Grunde der Unterscheidung aller Gegenstände überhaupt in *Phaenomena* und *Noumena*" [On the Basis of the Division of All Objects Generally into Phenomena and Noumena] in *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, pp. 294–315. Things in themselves are thus noumena.

use of the word "infinite" . . . in philosophy] It is 28
implied in Kant's epistemology that the thing in itself is infinite since it is not determinate, i.e., is not an object for possible representations.

Hegel was fructified by Xnty . . . to skim off the 31 42
humorous.] The traditional distinction between God and the world is found in Romantic poetry as the opposition between the infinite and ideal on the one hand, and the finite and real on the other. In *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (→ 23,28) Jean Paul, in § 31ff., vol. 1, pp. 235ff., defines the humorous or the Romantic-comic as an expression of the view that the opposition is subjective, and that the finite should be understood in light of the infinite. Thus, humor implies a mediation between the finite and the infinite. Or to use Jean Paul's example: for the humorist, there are no individual fools or individual follies, but only folly in general and a foolish world. If the Christian mediation between God and world (as expressed, for example, in the figure of

Christ) is conceived as humorous in Jean Paul's sense, i.e., as that which is here called the "humorous element" in Christianity, this implies that there are no sinners but only sin and a sinful world in general, whereby personal responsibility disappears. (For an English translation, cf. *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973], pp. 88f.) When Hegel (→ 35,*26*) is said to have skimmed off this element, he alludes to the notion that the individual—the finite—is determined by world history, i.e., the infinite.

33 **somewhere else in my papers**] Refers perhaps to an entry dated July 19, 1836, written on a loose sheet of paper: "Might not the irony in Chrstnty inhere in the fact that it attempted to encompass the entire world while the seeds of the impossibility of doing so lay within itself? And this is related to the other aspect—the humorous—its view of what it really calls the world (this notion is indeed connected to it [Christianity] and thus in a sense it stands midway), since it placed everything that had thus far mattered in the world, or continued to matter, in relation to the Christians' supposed sole truth; and thus from the Christian perspective, kings and princes, power and glory, philosophers and artists, enemies and persecutors, etc., etc., seemed to be nothing, and their opinions of their own greatness seemed ridiculous" (*Pap*. I A 207). Cf. also BB:50, p. 134.

35 **quietism**] Originally the designation for the doctrine of Spanish Jesuit and theologian, Luis de Molina, that salvation is obtained by eliminating everything subjective and individual, and by losing oneself in God. Here the term is used to emphasize that Hegel's view of the individual "losing himself" in the universal, i.e., the individual seen as a product of historical development, eliminates the individual's ethical responsibility. At the time, Hegel's philosophy was frequently accused of leading to quietism. This criticism stems from a misunderstanding of his claim that "what is rational is actual; and what is actual is rational," *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, ed. E. Gans (Berlin, 1833 [1820]; ASKB 551), "Vorrede" [Preface], in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 35,*6*), vol. 8, p. 17 (*Jub*. vol. 7, p. 33), and *Enzyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (→ 35,*6*), vol. 1, "Die Logik" [Logic], § 6, in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 6, p. 10 (*Jub*. vol. 8, p. 48). (English translation quoted from Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen Wood [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991], p. 20.)

Goethe in his Faust . . . Part Two has therefore a 35
far more subjective side] → 14,*38*.

Goethe . . . this or that work of . . . this confession 4 43
of faith] Alludes to Goethe's autobiography *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* (in 4 parts, 1811–31), where he says that his poetical works are "fragments of one great confession," having arisen from the desire "to transform whatever gladdened or tormented me, or otherwise occupied my mind, into an image, a poem." *Goethe's Werke* (→ 14,*38*), vols. 24–26, 1829, and vol. 48, 1833; vol. 25, pp. 108f. (English translation quoted from *From My Life: Poetry and Truth*, trans. Robert R. Heitner, in *Goethe: The Collected Works*, vols. 1–12 [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994–95], vol. 4, p. 214.)

Hegel's later standpoint . . . its validity] In the He- 9 43
gelian dialectic, each stage in its historical or conceptual development (which are two sides of the same thing) produces its opposite and thus its own dissolution; the two then constitute a higher unity which does not negate or destroy the two previous stages, but takes them up into itself, whereby each of them "maintains its validity." For example, in the Hegelian doctrine of categories, the category "becoming" contains the union of "being" and "nothing," whereby the opposition between them is sublated. — **Hegel**: → 35,*26*.

as the counsellor of justice swallows . . . cham- 11
ber counsellor] According to the ordinance concerning ranks from October 14, 1746, a counsellor of justice was placed higher than a chamber counsellor. Being named to a higher rank did not eliminate a lower one but assimilated it, and only the higher rank was used.

a little piece . . . on Lenau's Faust] *Ueber Lenau's* 13 43
Faust. Von Johannes M . . . . . n [On Lenau's Faust by Johannes M . . . . . n] (Stuttgart, 1836). Johannes M . . . . . n is a pseudonym for Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–84). Martensen started his theological studies in 1832; he traveled abroad from 1834 until 1836 (where he stayed primarily in Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, and Paris); he finished his theological studies in 1837, and in 1838 was ap-

pointed lecturer in theology at the University of Copenhagen. Lenau was the pseudonym for Austrian Romantic author Nikolaus Franz Niembsch Edler von Strehlenau (1802–50), with whom Martensen became close friends during his stay in Vienna in 1836. Martensen interprets the difference between Lenau's epic-dramatic poem *Faust. Ein Gedicht* [Faust, A Poem] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836), and Goethe's tragedy *Faust* (→ 14,*38*), and argues that Lenau's *Faust* is an entirely Christian poem. Martensen reworked this treatise in his essay in Danish, "Betragtninger over *Ideen af Faust*. Med Hensyn paa *Lenaus* Faust" [Observations on the Idea of Faust, with Reference to Lenau's *Faust*], in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg, no. 1 (June 1837; ASKB 569, abbreviated here as *Perseus*), pp. 91–164. Cf. F. C. Sibbern's review in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 20 (Copenhagen, 1838), pp. 405–415.

14 **the play is said to end . . . Mephistopheles giving an epilogue**] In Lenau's version, Faust ultimately commits suicide, and in an epilogue Mephistopheles exults over the fact that Faust mistakenly believed that he could escape him in this way. Cf. Martensen's account in *Ueber Lenau's Faust*, p. 57, and in "Betragtninger over *Ideen af Faust*. Med Hensyn paa *Lenaus* Faust," in *Perseus*, pp. 162f. Martensen interprets the epilogue—contrary to Goethe's view—as a sign that Mephistopheles is not a force belonging to life but the enemy and destroyer of life, *Ueber Lenau's Faust*, p. 57.

18 **Goethe was right . . . Heinrich! Heinrich!**] The first part of Goethe's *Faust* (→ 14,*38*) ends not with Mephistopheles, but with a "Voice from within, growing faint" calling to Faust by his first name: "Heinrich! Heinrich!" as Mephistopheles disappears together with Faust. Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 12, 1828, p. 247. (English translation quoted from *Faust I & II*, trans. Stuart Atkins, in *Goethe: The Collected Works*, vols. 1–12 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994–95), vol. 2, p. 119.)

22 **with D. Juan**] In Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (→ 7,*6*).

23 **the Wandering Jew**] Ahasuerus, known from several legends recorded in chronicles in southern Europe and England at the beginning of the 13th century, which have lived on in popular books; cf. for example, J. Görres, *Die teutschen Volksbücher* [German Popular Books] (Heidelberg, 1807; ASKB 1440), pp. 200–203. According to one of the legends, which possibly has its origin in Armenia, the Wandering Jew is supposed to have been Pontius Pilate's watchman who disdainfully struck Jesus on the back with his fist when Jesus was being led out of the palace; he is also said to have shouted to Jesus: "Go faster!" whereupon Jesus turned and replied: "I am going, but you shall wait until I come again." According to other legends, the Wandering Jew is supposed to have refused to allow Jesus to rest on the doorsill of his house when bearing the cross to Golgotha. Later legends claim that he was a cobbler in Jerusalem, from which the term "Jerusalem's cobbler" originates. As a punishment for what the Wandering Jew did to Jesus, he is supposed to wander the earth eternally, without rest and in despair.

the case of Prometheus] According to Greek myth, 24
Prometheus stole fire from heaven and gave it to humankind, which he had created. Zeus punished him by chaining him to a cliff, where a vulture tore out his liver, which then grew back during the night. Prometheus is often regarded as the progenitor of human culture. Cf. *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 18,*17*), vol. 2, p. 4Cf. also *Ueber Lenau's Faust*, p. 55, where Martensen writes of Lenau's Faust: "Thus, he who was cast out by God and humanity walked out into the gloomy night. Sitting alone on the stormy, rocky shore, the Christian Prometheus stares out into the wild sea. The vulture of immeasurable longing, never satisfied, gnaws at his heart : 'Would that I could forget that I am a created being!' " ("Betragtninger over *Ideen af Faust*. Med Hensyn paa *Lenaus* Faust," in *Perseus*, p. 161). Martensen considered Faust, Don Juan, and Prometheus to be related figures: "A common feature among characters associated with Faust is that they themselves have destroyed their heaven. Therefore, Don Juan should not be understood as a common rake, for he knew the poetry of true love; he had an inborn genius for love, which is precisely the ideal point at which evil is affixed. Thus, also in the ancient world, the vulture gnaws only at the heart of Prometheus, who has looked upon the countenance of the gods and sat at their tables. Wild Görg, by contrast, never made such ideal excursions; he is always comfortable in the thick air of his surroundings, which the ray of the idea has

not yet penetrated," pp. 54f. (in *Perseus*, p. 160f.). Cf. also pp. 6f.: "The idea of Faust is even more profound than that of Prometheus, who struggles with the gods for rule of the world, and more profound than that of Don Juan, who enters into a struggle with religion for his false poetry of life. For with Faust, the content is Absolute Spirit itself, and the created spirit does not fight and bicker with its creator over worldly content but over spiritual equality of rank" (in *Perseus*, p. 96).

43 *26* **a poem (Knaben Wunderhorn)**] Refers to the folk song, "Die schwarzbraune Hexe [The Dark Brown Witch]," included in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (→ 37,*22*), vol. 1, pp. 34f.

28 **Ein Jäger stieß . . . das war verlorn**] Quotation from the folk song, "Die schwarzbraune Hexe," where the first stanza is, "*Es blies ein Jäger wohl in sein Horn, / Wohl in sein Horn, / Und alles was er blies das war verlorn.*" ["A hunter blew into his horn / into his horn, / and everything that he blew was lost."]

44 *5* **the Magister**] Presumably an allusion to H. L. Martensen, who on his journey abroad (→ 43,*13*) visited P. Marheineke, Henrich Steffens (→ 37,*28*), L. Tieck, C. Daub, F. Baader (→ 35,*31*), F. W. J. Schelling (→ 35,*5*), G. H. Schubert (→ 45,*32*), and Lenau (→ 43,*13*). Cf. Martensen's autobiography *Af mit Levnet* [From My Life], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1882–83), vol. 1, pp. 85–231.

44 *8* **Socrates . . . severing the individual from the state**] → 40*m*,*3*.

44 *16* **ordinary book-merchants' boutiques . . . Arch-Sorcerer Faust, etc**.] Refers to *Den i den gandske Verden bekiendte Ertz- Sort- Kunstner og Trold-Karl Doctor Johan Faust, og Hans med Dievelen oprettede Forbund, Forundringsfulde Levnet og skrækkelige Endeligt* [The Arch-Magician and Sorcerer, Doctor Johan Faust, Known throughout the Whole World, and the Pact He Made with the Devil, His Astonishing Life and Terrible End] (Copenhagen, no date [German 1587]; ASKB U 35). The book was published by "Tribler's Widow," a publishing house and bookseller run by E. M. Tribler, the widow of the bookbinder J. F. Tribler, which published and sold popular books, street songs, and the like. The shop was originally in Ulkegade 7, which in 1823 was renamed Holmensgade 107 (*see map 2, C2–3*).

D. Juan] → 43,*22*. *21* 44

Faust is unable to commit suicide] The suicide motif is found both in the Faust legends and in Lenau's *Faust* (→ 43,*14*). *23* 44

the Wandering Jew] → 43,*23*. *25*

King David . . . Thou art the man, O King!] Refers to the account in 2 Sam 12:1–7 about the prophet Nathan who tells King David a parable about a rich man who, because he does not want to kill one of his own sheep, though he has many, takes a poor man's only lamb and prepares it for a guest. David became angry, replying that the rich man should replace the lamb fourfold and die; then Nathan said to David: "Thou *art* the man." For David had ordered Uriah killed and had married his wife Bathsheba. *1* 44*m*

Benvenuto Cellini] (1500–71), Italian, Renaissance artist, goldsmith, and sculptor. *9* 45

having sat long . . . got a glimpse of the sun] Refers to Goethe's translation of Cellini's autobiography (began in 1557) *Leben des Benvenuto Cellini, florentischen Goldschmieds und Bildhauers, von ihm selbst geschrieben* [The Life of Benvenuto Cellini, Florentine Goldsmith and Sculptor, Written by Himself] (1803), part 1, chap. 13, about Cellini's long and painful stay in a dark prison. Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 14,*38*), vol. 34 (part 1), 1830, and vol. 35 (part 2), 1830; vol. 34, pp. 357–380, especially pp. 369f. *9*

die Gewalt der Strahlen . . . mit festem Blick stehen] "The strength of the rays compelled me, as usual, to close my eyes, but I soon recovered, opened my eyes again, looked for her steadfastly and said: O my sun, for whom I have longed for so long, I now want to see nothing else, even if your rays would make me blind, and thus I remained standing with a fixed gaze." Quoted from *Leben des Benvenuto Cellini*, part 1, chapter 13, in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 14,*38*), vol. 34, 1830, p. 370. *10*

Goethe] *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand*, octavo edition, vols. 1–60 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–42), vol. 34, 1830, pp. 365f. *Goethe's Werke* was simultaneously published in two formats, one in sextodecimo (16°), which Kierkegaard normally seems to make reference to, and one in *17*

octavo (8°), which, according to a receipt from February 10, 1836, Kierkegaard bought at the university bookseller, C. A. Reitzel.

45 22 **Der arme Heinrich**] Verse epic by the German minnesinger Hartmann v. Aue (1165–1215) about the rich Swabian knight Heinrich, who, like Job, suddenly loses everything and becomes a leper. Heinrich seeks out all the famous doctors and learns that he can only be cured if an innocent virgin surrenders her life blood for him. Heinrich manages to find such a virgin, but when a doctor sharpens the knife in preparation to kill the beautiful young girl, he changes his mind and decides to accept his sufferings as an expression of the will of God instead of letting the girl sacrifice herself. On the journey home he is cured by a miracle; after this he marries the girl. Cf. G. Schwab, *Buch der schönsten Geschichten und Sagen für Alt und Jung wieder erzählt* [Book of the Most Beautiful Stories and Legends, Retold for Old and Young], vols. 1–2 (Stuttgart, 1836–37; ASKB 1429–1430), vol. 1, pp. 115–137. (According to a receipt from the university bookseller C. A. Reitzel made out on December 31, 1836, Kierkegaard bought the two volumes on January 10 and September 17, 1836, respectively.)

45 23 **The Wandering Jew**] → 43,23.

45 32 **Schubert**] Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1780–1860), German physician, natural scientist, and philosopher: appointed professor of natural science at Erlangen in 1819 and at Munich in 1827. Schubert was influenced by F. W. J. Schelling's philosophy of nature (→ 35,5) and later (ca. 1820) came under the influence of a mystic-pietistic asceticism.

32 **Symbolik des Traums, 2nd ed., p. 27**] *Die Symbolik des Traumes*, 2nd ed. (→ 16,33), p. 27: "A powerful army, innumerable as specks of dust and well armed, is compared to an impotent vision in a nightly dream, its undertakings compared with the action of one who is hungry in a dream, who believes that his appetite is being satisfied with a dreamed-up meal, and awakens from his sleep all the more lacking in strength."

46 1 **cites them as images . . . primal form**] Cf. *Die Symbolik des Traumes*, 2nd ed. (→ 16,33), pp. 20–31.

46 5 **satisfactio vicaria**] Latin, "vicarious satisfaction" or "substitutionary satisfaction"; in Christian dogmatics, a common expression concerning Christ who, by his death on the cross, has once and for all, as a proxy, atoned for humanity's sins by taking upon himself the punishment that humanity deserved to suffer. Cf. for example, § 96 in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 29,20), pp. 268–277.

He has to go back . . . he advanced] Cf. an entry on 11
a loose sheet of paper, dated the 13th of some month (presumably from the latter half of 1836), where Kierkegaard writes: "Conversion goes slowly. As Franz Baader rightly observes, one must walk back up the same road down which one came," (*Pap*. I A 174). Here reference is made to Baader's *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* (→ 35,31), p. 80.

the spell is broken . . . again backwards (in re- 25
verse)] Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. and W. Grimm (Leipzig, 1826 (based on Thomas Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, London, 1825); ASKB 1423), p. lxxxiii, where it is said concerning a piece of music from Zealand, "Elverkongestykket" [The Fairy King Song], that it could compel everyone, young and old, indeed even inanimate objects, to dance, and that the fiddler himself could not stop playing if he did not know precisely how to play the melody backwards or if someone sneaking up behind him did not cut the strings of his violin. Cf. also *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen; vom Ursprunge dieses Glaubens bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Aus dem Englischen* [Mythology of Fairies and Elves, from the Origins of These Beliefs to the Most Recent Times. Translated from the English], trans. O. L. B. Wolff, vols. 1–2 (Weimar, 1828), vol. 1, p. 153; a work which Kierkegaard read; cf. DD:23, pp. 218–219.

in his Tischreden] As they gradually became more 30
prosperous, Luther and his wife Katharina kept an open house, which was constantly full of relatives, friends, and students who lived there with his financial support. Luther spoke at the table at mealtimes, sometimes in German, sometimes in Latin, about all sorts of different themes, not only about Christian and church matters, but also about daily and political events, often seasoned with jokes. These "Tischreden," [table talk] were written down by the young admirers who stayed in his home, and after Luther's death were collected and published by his close friend, J. A. Aurifaber, as *Tisch-*

reden und Colloqvia D. M. Luthers [D. M. Luther's Table Speeches and Colloquia] (1566). Kierkegaard owned *D. Martin Luthers Geist- und Sinnreiche auserlesene Tisch-Reden und andere erbauliche Gespräche* [Selections from D. Martin Luther's Brilliant and Profound Table Speeches and other Edifying Conversations], ed. B. Lindnern, vols. 1–2 (Salfeld, 1745; ASKB 225–226). (For an English translation, cf. *Table Talk*, vol. 54, in *Luther's Works*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967].)

31 **Er starb ... in seiner Leibesstraffe**] "In his death sentence, he died with a joyful heart." Quotation from one of Luther's table talks, where he discusses the public burning of a repentant sorcerer, included in F. L. F. v. Dobeneck, *Des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglaube und Heroensagen* [Popular Beliefs and Heroic Sagas from the German Middle Ages], ed. Jean Paul (→ 42,31), vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1815), vol. 1, pp. 149–150. Kierkegaard refers to this work in DD:40, p. 227.

46 38 **to him that rejoices ... no need of repentence**] Cf. Lk 15:7, where Jesus says to the Pharisees and the scribes, after having told the parable of the lost sheep: "Just so, I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance."

47 7 **gained the whole world ... lost his own soul**] Cf. Mt 16:26, where Jesus says: "For what will it profit them, if they gain the whole world but forfeit their life?"

10 **Rørdam's**] Cathrine Georgia Rørdam, born Teilmann (1777–1842), widow of pastor Thomas Schatt Rørdam (d. 1831), lived in Frederiksberg. At the time mentioned here, her son, cand. theol. Peter Rørdam, (later a teacher at Copenhagen's orphanage schools, a Grundtvigian, and an ordained pastor), was living at his mother's home together with his 3 sisters, of whom the youngest was Bolette (see following note).

11 **Bolette**] Bolette Christine Rørdam (1815–87), engaged to cand. theol. Peter Køpke (d. 1839), in charge of the household at the home of her brother Peter Rørdam from1841 to 1850 (see previous note), married parish pastor N. L. Feilberg in 1857.

that angel who with blazing sword] Alludes to the 12
angels or cherubim who guarded the entrance to the Garden of Eden with gleaming swords of flame (Gen 3:24); cf. S. B. Hersleb, *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien. Udarbeidet især med Hensyn paa de høiere Religionsklasser i de lærde Skoler* [Textbook on Bible History. Specifically Prepared for the Advanced Classes in Preparatory Schools], 3rd printing (Copenhagen, 1826 [1812]; ASKB 186 and 187), p. 5: "Then Jehova drove man out of the Garden of Eden so that he would not eat of the tree of life and live eternally. And he set cherubim with blazing swords to guard the way."

Rørdam's] → 47,10. 21 47

When he was cast out ... work] Alludes to the 28 47
curse which God pronounced upon Adam after the fall, Gen 3:17–19: the earth is cursed because of him, he will find food only with difficulty, the earth will let thorns and thistles grow, and he will eat bread in the sweat of his face.

ora et labora] Latin, "pray and work"; known from 30
the saying "Ora et labora, Deoque committe futura" [pray and work, and let God take care of the future]. The slogan "ora et labora" appears in the book *De modo bene vivendi* [*On the Good Life*] from ca. 1174 by the Cistercian Thomas de Froidmont, but it has roots in the origins of monastic life. The saying celebrates the unity of work, asceticism and prayer, and is found in several variants in the Middle Ages. Since the eighteenth century, the slogan has often been used as a short formulation for the contents of the Monastic Rule of St. Benedict, though it does not appear there.

A. von Arnim] Ludwig Achim von Arnim 31 47
(1781–1831), German Romantic poet, editor (→ 37,22).

Armuth ... Buße der Gräfinn Dolores. 2 volumes] 32
The novel *Armuth Reichthum Schuld und Buße der Gräfin Dolores. Eine wahre Geschichte zur lehrreichen Unterhaltung armer Fräulein aufgeschrieben* [The Poverty, Wealth, Guilt, and Repentance af Countess Dolores: A True Story, Written Down for the Instructive Entertainment of an Impoverished Young Lady], by L. A. v. Arnim, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, no date [1809 or 1810]).

34 **her seducer**] Countess Dolores yields and lets herself be seduced by a marquis, while her husband, Karl, is away taking care of their large estate.

35 **Von einem Don Juan … vom Teufel los geschwatzt**] "He was already different from a Don Juan by the fact that he was by no means merely sensual with any and every woman; he was only sensual with the sensual ones; even more zealously could he examine and improve his life together with morally strict women, and pray with a religious one. If Don Juan had had his versatility, he would have been able to talk his way free of the devil via the devil's grandmother." Quotation from part 3, chap. 5, vol. 2, p. 21.

D. J.] Don Juan (→ 43,22). 7

the marvelous doctor] An exhausted Faust, a conjurer. 9

hier wurde ihm sehr öde … nicht hineindringen kann] "Here it became dreary and lonely for him, but something happened that none of the artificial machines could bring about: he trembled and was seized by a nameless anxiety for the life of a completely lonely person, who like the last man on earth, had become lost and confused in his own dreams, had stumbled upon both heaven and hell simultaneously but could not force his way in." Quotation from part 3, chapter 9, vol. 2, p. 60. 10

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL BB

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Journal BB is a bound book, marked "BB" by Kierkegaard. The journal originally consisted of sixty-four sheets or 128 pages.[1] Some individual sheets of the manuscript have been lost, but in the cases where they are lacking, the entries were indirectly transmitted in Barfod's edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [From the Posthumous Papers of Søren Kierkegaard] (*EP*)[2] —which is based upon the original manuscripts—and, in two cases, in Barfod's copy.[3] In two cases where the text is missing, the opening words of the entry are recorded in Barfod's inventory of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-cat*.).[4] The surviving part of the journal can be found in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

The majority of the entries in *Journal BB* are not dated. The first entry, BB:1, is dated March 24, 1836, and is an excerpt of the second

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1) *B-cat*., p. 438. There are 120 pages, corresponding to sixty sheets, registered in *B-cat*. *Pap*. indicates that the journal consisted of sixty-four sheets. The discrepancy between *Pap*. and *B-cat*. is probably due to the fact that Barfod does not count sheets 1–2, nor the two loose sheets, since the pagination does not begin until sheet 3.

2) *EP* I–II, pp. 112–117, 120–121, 136–145 and 179. According to *B-cat*., the entries were found in the journal on pp. 88–90, 95–96, 98–108, 114 and 120.

3) BB:32 and BB:34. The first entry is copied on a blue sheet of paper, now inserted into the manuscript. The other can be found in the margin of the manuscript on p. 97.

4) BB:33 and BB:35. According to *B-cat*., the entries were found on pp. 97 and 98.

part of Christian Molbech's *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie, særdeles efter Digterne Evalds, Baggesens and Oehlenschlägers Værker* [Lectures on Modern Danish Poetry, Especially with Reference to the Works of Evald, Baggesen, and Oehlenschläger]. The last dated entry, BB:49, deals with Faust and the way in which he is representative of the age; it is dated March 19, 1837. Two entries follow, BB:50–51, which are undated.

One entry (BB:19), dated February 29, 1837, relating to a Danish translation of *The Wandering Jew*, is dated incorrectly, since that year was not a leap year.

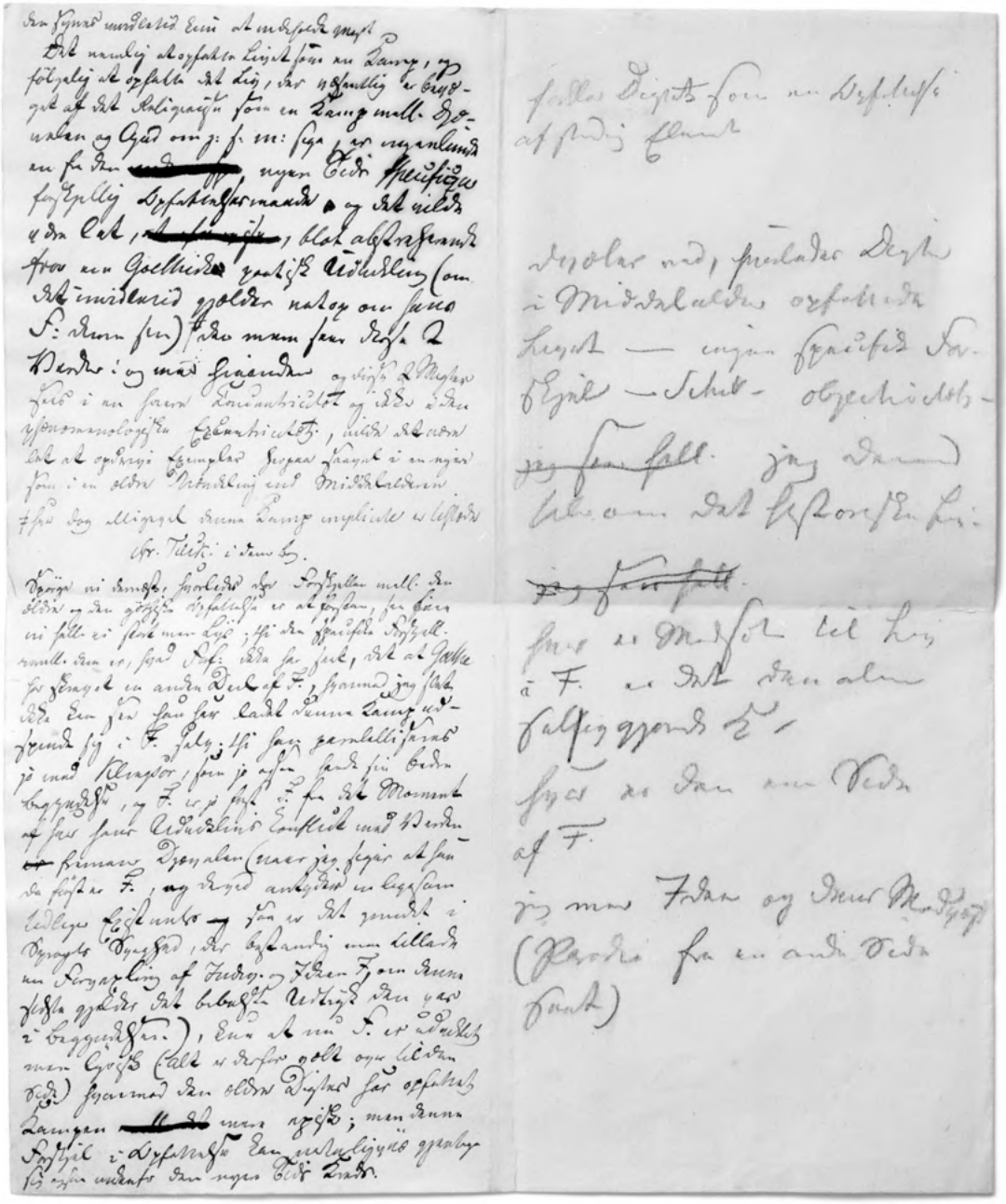
There is a gap in the chronology between entry BB:20, dated August 28, 1837, and BB:23, a diagram of the development of comedy, dated January 16, 1837. This gap is probably due to the fact that Kierkegaard later returned to *Journal BB* and added BB:20, which is the last of five entries he wrote under the heading "Literature on The Wandering Jew."

III. Contents

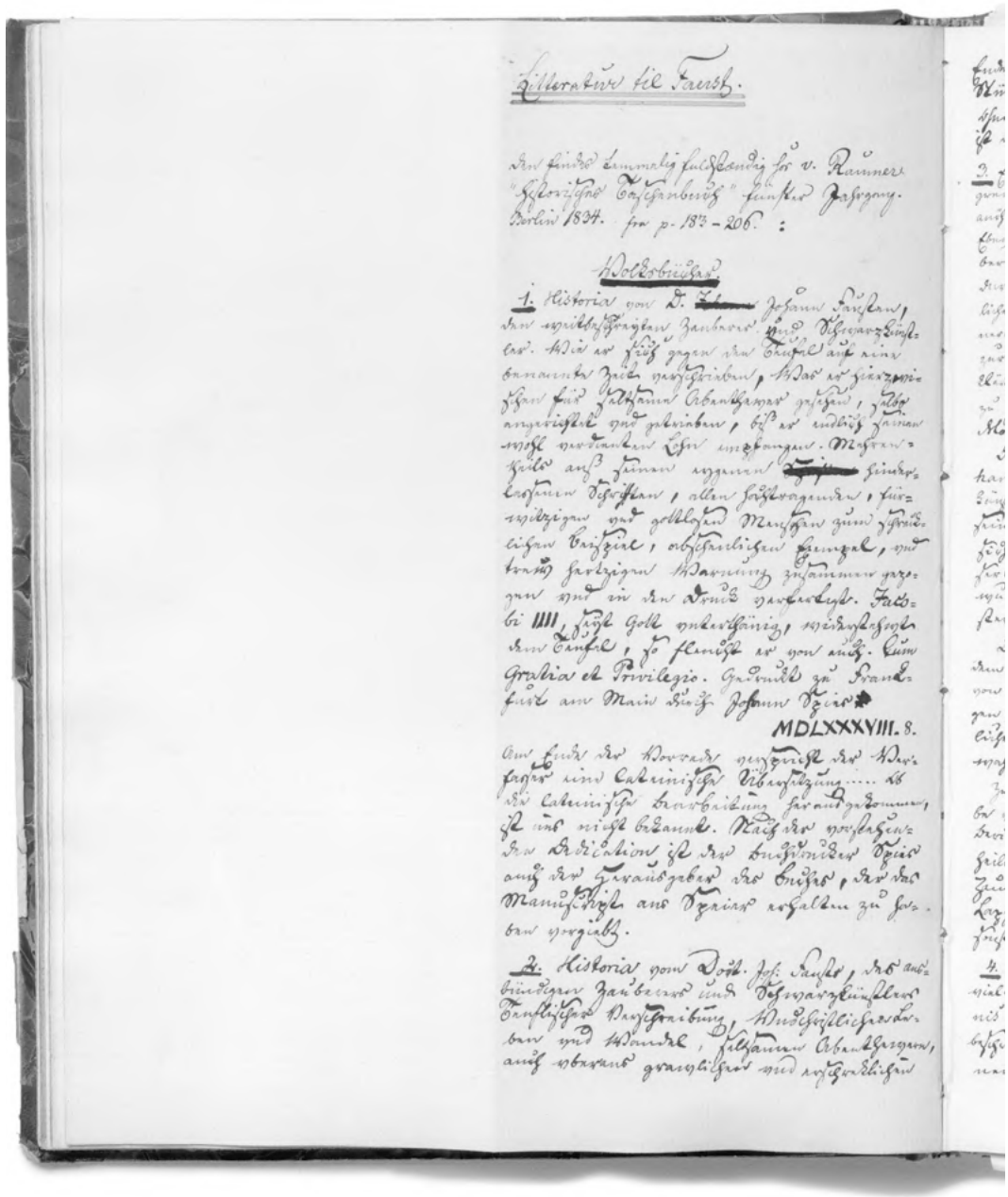
In all, *Journal BB* consists of fifty-one entries. The entries can be grouped into two general categories: The first, dominated by Kierkegaard's excerpts—especially from his reading of the literature on Faust—includes twenty-five entries and comprises by far the longest section of the journal. It corresponds to the first ninety-three pages of the journal, of which twenty-three are blank. The second category includes the remaining twenty-six entries, which have diverse content; this section corresponds to the last sixteen pages of the journal, of which the last five are blank. The majority of the blank pages come after the entries BB:16–20, introduced by the title "Literature on the Wandering Jew," and then again after the heading "Literature on Don Juan" (BB:21), which is not, however, followed by any entries on that theme. In both cases there are nine blank pages. Kierkegaard must have intended to develop these themes in the journal more than he actually did.

As already mentioned, BB:1, the first entry, consists of excerpts from the second part of Christian Molbech's lectures on Danish poetry. It was written in direct continuation of *Notebook 3*.[1] This

[1]) KA, C pk. 2 laeg 3.



3. Last portion of BB:14, with Kierkegaard's supplementary remarks pencilled in the margin; see *KJN* 1, 97–98.



4. The heading of the bibliography, BB:12, "Literature on Faust", was underlined with red ink; see *KJN* 1, 85.

notebook, begun in October of 1835, concluded in March of 1836 with an excerpt from the first part of Molbech's lectures.

The remaining excerpts in the journal relate primarily to Kierkegaard's reading of Friedrich Diez's *Die Poesie der Troubadours* [The Poetry of the Troubadours] (BB:2) and K. E. Schubarth's *Ueber Goethe's Faust* [On Goethe's Faust] (BB:7). Appended to the latter is a comprehensive bibliography (107 references in all) of the Faust literature, based upon a compilation by Christian Ludwig Stieglitz which had been published in Friedrich von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook] (BB:12). See illustration 4.[1]

A large portion of these excerpts are copied down in German. Kierkegaard quotes often from the sources, with few departures. A small number of excerpts contain various grammatical or orthographical mistakes, or irregularities—for example, mistaken suffixes and missing or mistaken umlauts (e.g., "aü" for "äu"). Where there have been slight alterations, this is indicated in the explanatory notes.

The comprehensive excerpting from Schubarth (BB:7), the extensive bibliography, and various lesser entries in the journal, all bear witness to Kierkegaard's intensive preoccupation with the figure of Faust—especially as represented in the poetry of Goethe. Beyond Faust, two other figures were of special interest to him: the Wandering Jew and Don Juan.[2] The Wandering Jew is the theme of the

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1) See first two explanatory notes to BB:12 in this volume.

2) Kierkegaard had already begun to investigate the three figures of Faust, the Wandering Jew, and Don Juan in *Notebook 2* from 1835. On the theme of Kierkegaard and Faust, see especially Carl Roos's study *Kierkegaard og Goethe* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1955), pp. 56–157. On Kierkegaard's relation in the 1830s to "Goethe fever," see especially Henning Fenger's *Kierkegaard, the Myths and Their Origins*, trans. George Schoolfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). In that work, Fenger criticizes the editors of the *Papirer* for their hypothesis concerning Kierkegaard's "intentions" (cf. *Pap*. I C 83) which, according to them, were the following: "To contribute to a characterization of the spiritual epoch of the Middle Ages through a general historical survey of the characteristic phenomena of the age in all the areas of spiritual life—in literature, art, religion, science and social relations—and by so doing to undertake a more penetrating study of the medieval folk spirit as it found expression in poetry, legends, fairy tales, and stories. Of special interest to Kierkegaard were the figures

entries BB:16–20. As noted, BB:20, dated August 28, 1837, was added after the entry was finished in March of 1837. Hence, a full five months after completing the journal Kierkegaard returned to it in order to revisit the theme of the Wandering Jew, for which he had originally allotted space.

As indicated, Kierkegaard intended to complete a bibliography relating to Don Juan and set aside blank pages for this purpose, but only the heading remains (BB:21). In recompense, however, he included Don Juan as a stage in BB:24, which has the heading "Something on the Page in *Figaro*; Papageno in *The Magic Flute* and *Don Giovanni*." This entry previews ideas that are developed only later in the treatise "The Immediate Stages of the Erotic or the Musical Erotic" in *Either/Or* (1843).[1] In the next entry (BB:25), titled "Something on life's four stages, also with regard to mythology," Kierkegaard attempts to show that life as well as world history consists of four stages, whereas "the system" (i.e., Hegel) only has three.[2]

The last section of the *Journal BB* contains, on the whole, entries of such diverse content that they cannot be categorized according to any simple formula. A particular example of this is the long entry BB:37, written between the end of January and February 4, 1837, which deals with "the art of story-telling," and especially with "telling stories to children." In the first edition of Poul Martin Møller's *Efterladte Skrifter* [Posthumous Writings] there is a draft of a piece

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of Don Juan, Faust, and the Wandering Jew, each of whom represented ideas which had sprung from the folk consciousness of the medieval world. All of these studies were carried out in the context of a more objective, abstract-Hegelian-philosophical interest in fixing the stages in the development of spirit as a whole—whether within world history or the microcosm of the individual—by determining concepts such as the ancient, the romantic ('dialectical'), the modern, the comic, the tragic, irony, humor, resignation, etc. etc. (*Pap*. vol. I, pp. xv–xvi)." With respect to this characterization Fenger remarks: "There is no purpose in trying to enforce some plan or model upon such an incoherent body of material. It shows us Kierkegaard in his *Sturm-und-Drang* period, when his genius sought expression in many different ways, in religion, philosophy, aesthetics, and, last but not least, literature," p. 87.

1) Cf. the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten/Eller* in *SKS* K2–3, p. 39.

2) In BB:25 Kierkegaard develops only two of the four stages, however. Furthermore, he does not take into account that Hegel himself outlines four world-historical epochs. See explanatory notes to BB:25.

entitled "On Telling Children Fairy Tales,"[1] which, according to Møller's editors, was written in 1836 or 1837. Several points of similarity between Kierkegaard's and Møller's texts show that Kierkegaard could have been acquainted with Møller's essay, and thus it is not improbable that it occasioned Kierkegaard's own presentation.

One further entry is of central importance: BB:42, written between February 4 and March 19, 1837, along with the six marginal comments that belong to it (BB:42.a–f.). They show Kierkegaard's work on a theory of anxiety whose central point is the connection between anxiety and original sin.[2] This is a theory he later develops in *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844).

The last entry of the journal, BB:51, has the heading: "Writings whose titles I have come across at various places and which might have significance for my studies." The expression "studies" here refers generally to the kind of work that *Journal BB* clearly evidences: Kierkegaard's wide-ranging studies of the Romantic, of the folk poetry of the Middle Ages, of artistic poetry, the spirit of knights, mythology, troubadours, and, last but not least, the three figures of Faust, Don Juan, and the Wandering Jew.[3]

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1) Poul Martin Møller's *Efterladte Skrifter*, vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1839–43), vol. 3, pp. 322–325.

2) This is apparent especially in BB:42.a, where Kierkegaard writes: "The significance of typology in respect of a theory of presentiment." Cf. also BB:42.e, which reads: "All sin begins with fear (just as fear of a sickness disposes one to it—see Schubert, *Symbolik*); yet the first human beings did not begin with it—there was no original sin." Cf. the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest* in *SKS* K4, pp. 318f.

3) As mentioned, Kierkegaard had already begun his studies of Faust, Don Juan, and the Wandering Jew in *Notebook 2* as early as 1835. The latter can be seen as a kind of preparatory work for *Journal BB*, which further develops these themes. A significant point of connection is that *Notebook 2* contains a section of the bibliography on Faust that Kierkegaard later copies down in its entirety (BB:12).

Explanatory Notes

53 *1* **Lectures by Molbech. 2nd part, Copenhagen, 1832**.] Christian Molbech (1783–1857), Danish author, critic, historian, and linguist, appointed professor of the history of literature at the University of Copenhagen in 1829. His work *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie, særdeles efter Digterne Evalds, Baggesens og Oehlenschlägers Værker* [Lectures on Modern Danish Poetry, Especially with Reference to the Works of Evald, Baggesen, and Oehlenschläger] (Copenhagen, 1832), consists of 26 lectures divided into 2 volumes (vol. 1 contains lectures 1–12; vol. 2, 13–26). Kierkegaard's excerpt from vol. 1 is dated March 1836 and appears in a notebook he had already begun (Not3:18 / *Pap*. I C 87). The excerpts here come from the 13th lecture (vol. 2, pp. 2–26), the 16th lecture (pp. 67–89), the 17th lecture (pp. 90–113)—the main concern of which is Jens Baggesen (→ 53,*13*)—and, finally, the 21st lecture (pp. 180–203), which deals with the concept of "the Romantic."

3 **To confine . . . of losing it**] Quotation from pp. 15f., where Molbech uses a criticism of Baggesen's (→ 53,*13*) earlier elegies he had raised as a point of departure for discussing the difference between the form and essence of ancient and modern elegies.

13 **In going through . . . as passion**] Quotation from p. 91, where Molbech attempts to account for the psychological basis of Baggesen's lack of seriousness and ideality. The added parenthesis is Kierkegaard's. — **Baggesen**: Molbech presents Jens Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish author and poet, as an intermediary figure between the poets Johannes Ewald (1743–81) and Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850). Kierkegaard owned *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesen's Danish Works], edited by the author's sons and C. J. Boye, vols. 1–12 (1827–32; ASKB 1509–1520). Baggesen's works are found on a receipt from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated January 14, 1836.

27 **Some clarification of the concept . . . not new**] In this lecture Molbech digresses from the discussion of Baggesen, before coming to Oehlenschläger, in order to discuss the concept of "the Romantic" in general along with, more particularly, its contrast to "the classic." Molbech does not hide the fact that he relies heavily upon Jean Paul's (→ 53,*29*) analysis.

since this . . . a sublime infinite] Quotation from Molbech pp. 181f. — **Jean Paul**: pseudonym for Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825), German author and aesthetician who was highly esteemed for the unique humor of his novels, novellas, and aesthetic works. He published the much-read *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, vols. 1–3 (Hamburg, 1804; 2nd expanded edition, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813; ASKB 1381–1383). Molbech, who uses the 2nd edition, cites from the 5th course ("On Romantic Poetry"), § 22 (titled "The Character of Romantic Poetry and Differences between Southern and Northern Forms"), where Jean Paul writes: "The Romantic is beauty without limit, or *beautiful* infinity, just as there is a sublime infinity," *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, vol. 1, p. 145 (for an English translation, cf. *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973], p. 61). *29*

The author mentions . . . pp. 419 f.] In the presentation of Baggesen's lyric poetry Molbech discusses "the peculiarly lyrical character of the older songs of praise, hymns, and psalms" and in the course of this refers to German author Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), specifically to his description of hymns (Molbech translates the passages into Danish, pp. 84f.). He refers, first of all, to Herder's *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* [Letters toward the Furtherance of Humanity], series 1–10 (Riga, 1793–97), the 7th series (1796), p. 21 [–51], which is the 82nd letter (titled "Christian Hymns"); also, to Herder's treatise "Ueber die Wirkung der Dichtkunst auf die Sitten der Völker in alten und neuen Zeiten. Eine Preißschrift" [On the Effect of Poetry on the Customs of Peoples of Ancient and Contemporary Times: A Prize Essay] (1778), in *Johann Gottfried von Herder's sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Literatur und Kunst* [Johann Gottfried von Herder's Complete Works: On Literature and Art], ed. Jo- *1* 53*m*

hann von Müller, vol. 2, pp. 1–12 (Tübingen 1805–9; vol. 9, 1807), pp. 418–422, especially p. 420, which is chapter 2 (titled "Wirkung der christlichen Poesie auf die Sitten der Völker" [The Effect of Christian Poetry on the Customs of Peoples]) of the 3rd section of the treatise "Welche Veränderung geschah mit der Poesie in den mittlern und neuen Zeiten? Und wie wirkt sie jetzo" [What Changes Occurred in Poetry in the Middle Ages and Modern Times?]. Kierkegaard owned Herder's *Sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Litteratur und Kunst*, vols. 1–20 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827–30; ASKB 1685–1694).

54 18 **Jean P. likens the Romantic ... outside us it is quiet**] Quotation from p. 183. Molbech refers to the fifth course, § 22, in Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, vol. 1, p. 146 (*Horn of Oberon*, p. 61).

24 **all poetizing ... a greater future**] Quotation from p. 183, where Molbech writes: "But concerning this poetry Jean Paul says further that 'all poetizing is a kind of soothsayer's art, so Romantic poetry is a *presentiment of a greater future than finds room here below*.'" Molbech again refers to § 22 of Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, vol. 1, p. 147 (*Horn of Oberon*, p. 61).

26 **That is why ... poetry of presentiment**] After the above-cited quotation from Jean Paul, Molbech continues: "This is undeniably one of the main thoughts we ought to hold fast in forming a representation of the Romantic in life and art. There has been a desire to explain the Romantic, insofar as it finds expression in poetry, by calling it the *poetry of presentiment*. Yet this expression, though often useful, nevertheless does not seem comprehensive enough," pp. 183f.

27 **But if we consider ... the first place**] Quotation from Molbech p. 186.

35 **Then come poetry, painting, the plastic arts**] Molbech continues the above passage as follows: "After this follows the art of poetizing, which is richer than that in terms of spiritual content and more comprehensive, but less strong and deep in terms of its immediate expression. Finally, after poetry follows *painting*, and at the end come the *plastic arts*, which are the least romantic of all—not because they do not aim at producing the beautiful form animated by spiritual life, but because they most require the limiting material mass in order to bring the ideal into view," pp. 186f.

Music ... belongs wholly to our period] Quotation from p. 187, slightly altered. 36

modern painting ... full range of color] Molbech writes on p. 187: "We are not yet familiar enough with older painting to be able to say, with any definiteness, how much they achieved in the development of the romantic element in painting. But from everything that has survived of ancient painting, we are not able to say that the older painting attained a knowledge of chiriascuro and the full range of color." 40

whereas the plastic arts belong to the anc. period] Molbech continues the above passage: "In terms of their specific ideals and criteria of artistic perfection, the plastic arts belong so entirely to the ancient period—i.e., to the world of Greek art—that we do not even know how to praise the most excellent works of our modern times any more highly than to say that they come close to, or perhaps reach, the level of ancient masterpieces. Yet we never say that our modern pieces surpass the ancient ones, nor that the beautiful form of the plastic ought to be represented in a specifically different way, i.e, with a higher ideal character, by modern plastic artists," pp. 187f. 42

Here it may be required ... much rom. material] Kierkegaard summarizes Molbech, p. 189, which corresponds to § 22 of Jean Paul. Jean Paul introduces this quotation with the following passage from the first edition: "The origin and character of all of modern poetry can be derived from Christianity so easily that romantic poetry might as well be called Christian poetry," *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, vol. 1, p. 141 (*Horn of Oberon*, p. 59). After this Jean Paul broadens the concept of "the Romantic" so that it relates also to certain parts of "the Oriental," especially Indian and Old Norse literature. He does not, however, mention Celtic literature. 1 55

Another remark ... nonetheless frequently formless] Quotation from pp. 198f., where Molbech in fact writes: "which contrasts with the ancient, and which we have above ascribed to a freer, unlimited activity of the life of spirit through the imagination—we could also add, through feeling, presentiment, faith in the extrasensory, supernatural, divine. This Romantic, I say, must not at all be confused with an exclusivist position." 5

Another ... course of events] Quotation from p. 200, slightly altered. 39

56 *11* **Die Poesie der Troubadours ... Zwickau 1826**] [The Poetry of the Troubadours] by Friedrich Christian Diez (1794–1876), German linguist, professor of Germanic studies and romance philology at the University of Bonn. The work contains a preface (pp. v–xvi), followed by the main section ("Poesie der Troubadours," pp. 3–282), then a smaller section ("Ueber die provenzalische Sprache," pp. 285–328), together with an appendix including selections of poetry from four troubadour poets (pp. 331–360). Kierkegaard excerpts passages from the preface and, especially, the main section, which consists of the following 5 parts (along with a foreword, pp. 3–13, which Kierkegaard skips): "Geist und Schicksale der Poesie" [The Spirit and Fate of Poetry] (→ 56,*14*), "Form" (→ 60,*42*), "Inhalt" [Content] (→ 63,*32*), "Erzählende und belehrende Poesie" [Narrative and Didactic Poetry] (→ 66,*39*), "Verhältniß zu auswärtiger Litteratur" [Relation to Foreign Literature] (→ 68,*13*). Kierkegaard touches upon the preface and the last part (→ 68,*25*) only briefly.

14 **Erster Abschnitt ... der Poesie**] The title of the first section (→ 56,*11*), pp. 13–83.

22 **Folk poetry ... contemporary writers**] Kierkegaard translates from Diez, pp. 14:26–16:5, with few departures. In a note Diez gives textual examples and literary references in order to explain the terms "joculatores ... mimi."

30 **But knighthood ... southern France**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, p. 17.

32 **Shortly after ... earlier traces**] Kierkegaard translates and summarizes Diez, pp. 17:18–25.—The first crusade (1096–99) was declared at the synod at Clermont in the Auvergne in 1095 and began the year after under the banner of Raymond of St. Gilles (→ 59,*31*) and others. Six crusades followed (1147–49, 1187–92, 1202–04, 1228–29, 1248–54, and 1270), but when the city of Acre fell in 1291, the crusaders had no military bastions. — **Peire Rogiers**: Provençal troubadour, born in Auvergne, left his post as canon at the cathedral in Clermont in order to travel from court to court as a "jongleur" [itinerant minstrel]. He was active around 1160–80 and contributed to establishing the norms of chivalry. Nine of his poems have been preserved.

36 **From what station in life did this artistic poetry issue**?] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 19:27–28, where Diez himself asks the question (his answer is recorded by Kierkegaard below).

"Offenbar gaben ... poetische Gesellschaften] *37* "Evidently the nobility gave rise to artistic poetry—not only in the indirect sense that it was the spirit of the upper classes that brought forth the poetry, but also in the direct sense of constructing the first pieces. This can be confirmed historically, for both of the oldest artistic poets, the Count of Poitiers and his contemporary and friend the Viscount Ebles von Ventadour, belong in this line. However, the servants of the nobles, who themselves lived at the courts, soon seized upon this new kind of poetry. They courted the favor of their masters and mistresses by singing their praises with the new poetry. Thus it was the servants of the nobility who developed artistic poetry, both as an art and as a way of earning a living. They appear immediately after to Guillem, as they must have been at the time: in part they consisted of the servant knights, and in part they belonged to the lower rung of society, as for example Bernart v. Ventadour, the most important of the older court poets."—**the Count of Poitiers**: the name that figures in the manuscript of the oldest preserved troubadour song, and since the Middle Ages has been identified with Guillaume (Guillem; Vilhelm) IX (1071–1127), who was the seventh count of Poitiers and the ninth duke of Aquitaine. Eleven songs have been preserved from this "earliest" troubadour. — **Viscount Ebles of Ventadour**: i.e., Eble II of Ventadour, who was a vassal and friend of Guillaume. He is mentioned in relation to several troubadours, but nothing from him has been preserved. — **Guillem**: i.e., Guillaume, cf. above. — **Bernart v. Ventadour**: Bernart de Ventadour (or Ventadorn; 2nd half of the 12th century), belonging to the 3rd generation of Provençal troubadours. He grew up in impoverished circumstances and became affiliated with, among others, the court of the count of Toulouse, as well as the royal court of Henry II. He ended his days in a monastery. Forty-four of his songs have been preserved, all on the theme of chivalrous love. — **poetische Gesellschaften**: Poetic societies. This point (→ 56,*14*) can be found in Diez, pp. 25–30.

a range of lesser, related literature] In the preface *1* 56*m* (→ 56,*11*) Diez summarizes the history of research in the field, which begins in 1575 with Johann Nos-

tradamus's history of Provençal literature. When this work was translated into Italian in 1710 (in an edition with commentary by G. M. Crescimbeni), new primary source material, consisting of a collection of songs in the original language, appeared for the first time. In 1724 Antonio Bastero published the first volume of a projected larger work that was supposed to include a Provençal dictionary and source quotations; the later volumes, however, never appeared. Finally, in the middle of the eighteenth century, La Curne de Sainte-Palaye collected additional source material, which then became the basis for the literary history of the troubadour poems. It was published in French by the abbot Millet in 1774. These are the 4 books Kierkegaard refers to as "a range of lesser, related literature." Diez continues to discuss the more recent literature, which Kierkegaard introduces in the margins.

3 **Raynouard . . . Paris 1816–21. VI B**.] Diez discusses the work on pp. xf. of François Juste Marie Raynouard (1761–1836), French philologist, who, with *Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours* [Selection of Original Poetry by the Troubadours], vols. 1–6 (Paris, 1816–21), was one of the first to publish the poetry of the troubadours. Raynouard's work contains, as Diez indicates, a large collection of text-critical notes (with French translation) on the Provençal poetry, as well as an extensive survey of old-Provençal grammar and history. This work functions for Diez as the standard work to which he, as a rule, refers when he cites the poetry of the troubadours.

5 **Adrian (Prof. in Giesen) "Grundzüge . . . Gramatik 1825"**] Diez discusses the work on p. x in a note concerning the description of Raynourd's 1st volume, which includes the Provençal grammar. **—Johann Valentin Adrian** (1793–1864), German author and linguist, professor of contemporary language and literature from 1823 to 1827 at the university in Gießen, where he published *Grundzüge zu einer Provenzalischen Grammatik, nebst Chrestomathie* [Basic Elements of a Provençal Grammar, with Chrestomathy] (Frankfurt am Main, 1825 [110 pgs.]). In addition to the Provençal grammar (pp. 3–60), the book contains a section titled "Provenzalische Lieder zur Uebung im Lesen und Uebersetzen" (pp. 61–110).

7 **Observations sur la langue . . . A. W. von Schlegel**] Diez discusses this work on pp. xiif. — **August Wilhelm von Schlegel**: (1767–1845), German philologist, critic, poet, and translator, professor at Jena in 1798, held a series of lectures on art and literature between 1801 and 1804 in Berlin, and again in 1808 in Vienna. Among other things, Schlegel discusses Goethe's *Faust* (→ 82,*34*). These lectures were published in the critical edition of his work. In the years before he became professor of art and literary history at Bonn, Schlegel spent time in Paris and worked on the manuscripts of the troubadourian poets. This resulted first in an essay on the French language, and then in his study *Observations sur la langue et la littérature provençales* [Observations on Provençal Language and Literature] (Paris, 1818 [122 pp.]; microform, Tübingen, 1971). The latter was directly occasioned by Raynouard's work on the troubadours (→ 56*m*,*3*). Schlegel's poetic production includes, among other things, a romance featuring the Wandering Jew (→ 100,*17*).

9 **Rochegude . . . 1819**] Diez discusses Rochegude's works on p. xiii.—The reference is to the former French admiral Henri-Pascal Rochegude (1741–1834), who published two volumes in 1819 in Toulouse: the first, *Le Parnasse occitanien, ou choix de poésies originales des Troubadours tirées des manuscrits nationaux* [The Occitanian Parnassus, or A Selection of the Original Poetry of the Troubadours, Drawn from National Manuscripts], containing a lengthy preface and 198 poems with historical-critical notes; and the second, *L'Essai de Glossaire occitanien* [An Essay in a Glossary of Occitanian], which in addition to the preface contains a glossary of 334 pages.

15 **Leben und Werke des Troubadours . . . Zwickau 1829**] *Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Ein Beitrag zur nähern Kenntniß des Mittelalters von Friedrich Diez* [Lives and Works of the Troubadors: A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Middle Ages] (Zwickau, 1829 [XII + 616 pp.]). This is a later work by Diez (→ 56,*11*) which presents the life and work of more than 60 troubadour poets. It includes a catalogue listing all of the troubadours.

17 **Did such things exist**?] Diez poses the question (p. 25): "Were formal poetic societies, in which contests were held and prizes awarded—whether at definite times or only occasionally—usual for the troubadours?" 57

17 **No! ... poetry contest**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, pp. 25–29, where the above question is answered (→ 57,17).

18 **"Unter die förmlichen ... Troubadour und Jongleur"**] "Among the formal poetic societies one must also include those groups of imaginary women who would gather in order to discuss and render a verdict concerning certain contested theses—in particular, those found in the tensons—relating to the nature of love. These groups are usually called 'Courts of Love' (*Minnehöfe*). The whole claim that such societies existed rests upon Nostradamus's *History of the Troubadours*. ... Such imaginary 'Courts of Love' are also said to have been active in arbitrating matters of love. ... The strongest argument against the existence of poetic academies and 'Courts of Love' is that these groups are never mentioned. Northern France, however, possessed the same institutions, and its poetry did not pass over the latter in silence.—p. 30 Concepts of Troubadour and Jongleur," quotation from Diez, p. 29. — **the tensons**: → 66,22. — **Nostradamus ... Troubadours**: Johann Nostradamus (actually, Jean de Nostredame, ca. 1507–77) *Les vies des plus celebres et anciens poetes provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des contes de Provence. Recueillies des oeuvres de divers autheurs nommez en la page suyvante, qui les ont escrites et redigees premierement en langue provensale, et depuis mises en langue françoyse par Jehan de nostre Dame, Procureur en la cour de Parlement de Provence. Par lesquelles est monstrée l'ancienneté de plusieurs nobles maisons tant de Provence, Languedoc, France, que d'Italie et d'ailleurs* [The Lives of the Most Celebrated Ancient Provençal Poets, Who Flourished in the Days of the Counts of Provence. Collected from the works of diverse authors, named on the following page, who wrote and published primarily in the Provençal language, subsequently rendered in French by Jehan de Nostre Dame, Attorney to the Court of the *Parlement* of Provence, showing the antiquity of many noble houses of Provence, Languedoc, France, Italy, and elsewhere], published by Alexandre Marsilij (Lyon, 1575; microfiche, Hildesheim, 1971) (→ 56*m*,1).

32 **Begriff von Troubadour und Jongleur**] Concept of Troubadour and Jongleur. Diez develops this point (→ 56,14) on pp. 30–34.

Some have wanted ... for their own pleasure] 33
Diez writes: "The reasonable opinion that the troubadours ought to be considered primarily as poets, and the jongleurs as their servants, should at any rate receive confirmation here," p. 30. He continues with an account of the relation between the troubadours and the jongleurs: "Jongleurs are all those who made a living from poetry or music," p. 31; whereas "troubadours refer, by contrast, to those who produced artistic poetry, regardless of their station and whether they did it in order to earn a living or simply for their own pleasure," p. 32. — **Jongleurs**: the itinerant minstrels and musicians who earned a living by setting the songs of the troubadours to music and performing them for money, sometimes in the service of a particular troubadour. They often lived as artists, circus performers, etc.

It is in the class ... to support themselves] Kierke- 40
gaard translates Diez, pp. 33–34, with some minor discrepancies. — **Guillem v. Cabestaing**: Guillem de Cabestany (or Guilhem de Cabestanh), Provençal troubadour, who wrote ca. 1180–1210, presumably died after 1212. Seven, and possibly 9, of his love poems have been preserved and are considered to be among the finest productions of troubadourian poetry. — **Pons v. Capdueil**: (Pons de) Capdueil or Capduelh, hailed from the diocese of Puy-Sainte-Marie in Velay and wrote ca. 1180–90. At least 12 of his poems have survived, of which 3 are crusade songs, reflecting his participation in the 3rd crusade (→ 56,32). — **Peurol**: Peirol, Provençal troubadour from Auvergne, who worked from the end of the 12th century to ca. 1225. He is said to have been a poor knight, but one of the age's greatest troubadours. Thirty-two of his poems and 17 of his melodies have been preserved. — **Rambaut v. Vaqueiras**: Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Provençal troubadour, from a family of lower nobility in Provence, became a knight and participated in the 4th crusade, 1202–04. He was active ca. 1180–1210, during which time he mastered the tradition of the love ballad and developed new forms. He authored, e.g., a "descort" (→ 63,20) in several languages.—**Peire Cardinal**: Peire Cardenal, Provençal troubadour, originally from Puy-en-Velay. He was from a good family and was educated as a priest, but later gave up his clerical office. Almost 100 poems of his have survived, which were

probably written between 1205 and 1272. He is believed to have lived to be nearly 100 years old and was affiliated with several courts, among them Raymond VI's and Raymond VII's (→ 59,31).

58 6 **Others ... the life of the free poet**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 34. — **Folquet von Marseille**: Folquet from Marseille (also Foulque), troubadour, the son of a merchant from Toulouse, wrote ca. 1180–95. Twenty-seven of his poems have been preserved. Later, he joined the Cistercian order, where he became abbot and then bishop. In this post, he persecuted the Albigensians (→ 68,7), and died in 1232. — **Peire Rogier**: → 56,32. — **Gaubert von Puicibot**: or Jausbert de Puycibot, son of a poor landlord in Limousin, troubadour, active during the period 1210 to 1230. Seventeen of his texts survive: 15 chansons, 1 tenson, and 1 sirventes.

13 **Kunstbereich der Trobadours ... gelten können**] "Artistic classification of the Troubadours; Trob., i.e., 'inventor' (Provenç 'troubair' or 'trobador'), signifies properly an artistic poet in contrast, it seems, to a popular poet. The classification relates solely to the form insofar as it is developed artistically; in other words, to the form of the stanza or musical poem. It is fairly certain that 'troubadour' means nothing other than the lyric poet. The novel and novella lack the elegant character of the song. Their simpler style, along with their artless form, reminds one too much of popular poetry for them to be able to count as the twin-sister of the lyrical." Quotation from Diez, p. 35.

26 **That's why ... the romance**] Diez takes a passage from Guiraut von Borneil (→ 60,15), who is amazed that anyone would value a story more highly than noble songs and elevated things of that nature.

28 **In general ... (art de trobar)**] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Diez, pp. 36:4–9.—**art de trobar**: Provençal, meaning the art of poetizing (inventing). From the expression "trobar" (inventor) are derived also "troubadour," and "trouvère," which in fact means to compose a poem.

30 **Most troub. ... a poem dictation**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 39:1–11 and 40:2–5.

37 **Kunstbereich der Jongleurs ... oder Musiker**] "Artistic classification of the jongleurs. The word 'Jongleur' (Prov. 'joglar') comes from *jocus*, i.e., 'play' in Middle-Latin, which means 'music', and so the term signifies a performer or musician." Quotation from Diez, p. 40.

The jongleurs' trade ... among others] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 41,1–7. — **The jongleurs**: → 57,32. — **Viol**: The juggler's "viola" was a stringed instrument, similar to a guitar, with, for example, 7 strings that one could stroke with a bow or strum by turning a wheel. Diez continues (on pp. 42f.) by mentioning over a dozen other instruments. 40

They accompanied ... in his service] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 43:5–14. 1 59

In addition ... recited stories] Kierkegaard translates in shortened form Diez, p. 45:1–3. 5

The one skilled ... also to understand] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 45:21–46:6. The passage continues below. — **Comtaire**: storyteller. — **Contrafazedor**: imitator. — **mimic und Possenspiele**: "mimic and farcical plays." 6

die Künste des Seiltänzers ... den Lustigmacher] "Understanding the arts of the trapezists and clowns. These figures danced, somersaulted, jumped through hoops, caught small apples with two knives, imitated the songs of birds, made dogs and monkeys perform tricks, ran and jumped upon tightropes, and in general played the role of the comedian.—p. 46. poetic entertainment." Quotation from Diez, p. 46. 12

poetische Unterhaltung] "Poetic entertainment." Cf. Diez (→ 56,14), pp. 46–50. 18

The courts and ... large hospitality] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, pp. 46:14–47:5. 19

Time ... present themselves] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, pp. 48:10–18. 20

The amazing stories ... gain entry] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 49:11–19. — **cortesia**: i.e., chivalry — **mesura**: "self-mastery, modesty." 23

Lohn und Ehre der Sänger] "Reward and honor of the singers." Cf. Diez (→ 56,14), pp. 50–57. 30

Gönner der Poesie] "Patrons of poetry." Cf. Diez (→ 56,14), pp. 57–62. 30

Among them ... etc.] Diez names especially the counts of Provence (pp. 57–59) and Toulouse (pp. 59f.) as the benefactors of the troubadours, but he also mentions various princes from France and Italy (pp. 60f.). From Provence, he names Raymond Berengar III (1167–81), along with his son Alphons II (1196–1209) and his son Raymond Berengar IV (1209–45). From among the counts of Toulouse (i.e., the 7 who have the name Raymond), Diez mentions the following: Raymond IV (count 31

1088–1105), also called Raymond of St. Gilles, who made his estate into one of the most powerful of the time (→ 56,*32*); Raymond V (1148–95), who retained famous troubadours such as Peire Rogier (→ 56,*32*) and Bernart de Ventadour (→ 56,*32*) at his court; his son Raymond VI (1192–1222), who expanded the family estate in the Albigensian war (→ 68,*7*); and, finally, his son Raymond VII (1222–49), with whom the estate noticeably shrank.

33 **Verfall und Untergang der Poesie**] "Decline and Fall of poetry." Cf. Diez (→ 56,*14*), pp. 62–69.

34 **This can ... 1250–90**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, p. 62:17–18.

35 **Court poetry ... impoverishment of the nobility**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 63:28–64:9.

42 **This can also be seen ... examples are cited pp. 66–69**] Diez writes on p. 65: "The complaint begins around the middle of the 13th century." In the following pages Diez provides a number of examples of this.

60 2 **Zeitraüme der Poesie**] "Epochs of Poetry." Cf. Diez (→ 56,*14*), pp. 69–74.

3 **1090–1140; 1140–1250; 1250–1290**] Diez formulates his division on p. 69: "Development, blossoming, and decay mark three distinctive periods of time: the first and last, as far as it is possible to be precise, have already been determined (from 1090 to 1140 and from 1250 to 1290 respectively). What lies in the middle divides the 2."

3 **Remarkable are ... to its peak**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 70:22–31. — **das schwere Reim**: "the difficult rhyme," i.e., that rhyme which is unusual and difficult to make, also called "rimas caras" or "trobar ric," which the Provençal troubadour Raimbaut d'Aurenga had introduced in the middle of the 12th century. The poet Arnaut Daniel carried this form to its extreme. — **Arnaut Daniel**: Provençal troubadour (2nd half of the 12th century), born in Ribérac, studied philosophy, and by 1195 became known for writing "obscurely." He left 18 lyrical poems, which were often cited well into the 15th century. — **die dunkle Rede**: "obscure speech."

8 **From the middle of ... from the mass of poets**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 71:15–72:1.

14 **dem erhabenen und gelerhten Dichten**] "sublime and learned poetry." Kierkegaard translates and cites Diez, p. 73:15–17.

15 **Wenn schon Guiraut v. Borneil ... Doctoren der Poesie**] "Since Guiraut v. Borneil already speaks of great undertakings, of the times and years as the objects of song, this should be taken as a not insignificant sign of a poetic striving. Guirant Riquier alone reveals this striving at its most transparent, because he mentions the higher artistic poetry in many places ... He asked that the poet of this rank be called by the honorific title 'doctor of poetry.'—p. 75. Guiraut Riquier on the court poetry." Cf. Diez, pp. 73f. — **Guiraut v. Borneil**: Guiraut de Bornelh, Provençal troubadour, active between 1162 and 1199 in Exideuil (Charente). In the Middle Ages he was called "the master of troubadours." Seventy-six of his poems have been preserved, including some "sirventes" (→ 62,*38*), in which he laments the collapse of the age of the knights. — **Guiraut Riquier**: Provençal troubadour from Narbonne (ca. 1230–92). He was called "the last troubadour" and worked in various courts, including that of Alphons X of Castile (1252–84), where he was employed for at least 10 years. He left behind an extensive body of work in many genres including the didactic petition to Alphons X, in which he describes the various titles and ranks of the poets.

24 **This work ... important information**] Kierkegaard follows Diez, p. 75:4–14.

27 **He asks ... call them "jongleurs"**] Diez cites a more extensive passage from Guiraut Riquier's petition (Cf. pp. 75–79). For example: "It would be not inappropriate to distinguish the jongleurs by more specific titles, for it does not seem right that the best among them should do without the honor of a title on which they could make their claim. That is to say, they are mistreated if they are confused with people who have no knowledge—with those, for example, who play an instrument on the street and beg for their bread, and who would not dare show themselves in polite society. Nor ought one to confuse the jongleurs with those who perform somersaults, dance with apes, and know nothing of good morals," p. 75. He continues: "My opinion is therefore this: you, honorable King, stand so high in honor and power, in understanding and knowledge, that you are able to remedy this misuse—and in so doing, you will set yourself apart from every other king," p. 77.

30 **The king ordained ... should be constituted**] Diez cites (pp. 79–83) an excerpt from the declaration

that the Castilian king, Alphons X, issued as a result of Guiraut Riquier's petition. Kierkegaard quotes first from Diez (p. 81:12–23) and then from the petition itself (pp. 81:24–83,1), where the king establishes the distinctions between the terms "jongleur," "troubadour," and "doctor of poetry. "—**verse and canzones**: → 62,*36*.

42 **Form. Vers. . . . zu betrachten**] "The troubadours called it *môt*, which means word—a term probably borrowed from popular poetry—because each verse expressed some whole. The expression 'verse' had a different meaning for them. In Provençal and other romance languages, the verse is essentially distinct from the high poetry of Latin. Whereas the structure of the Latin verse is based upon the law of quantity, or the measurement of syllables, it is the accent—which in the romance languages plays such a peculiar role—that defines the verse structure of romance poetry. In the latter the structure of the verse no longer depends upon the measurement of syllables or the metric foot." Quotation from Diez, p. 85. "—Stanza. (cobla). In the structure of the stanza, the true significance and full brilliance of artistic poetry can be seen. The formal characteristics of popular poetry are these: firstly, popular poetry always rhymes together in a continuous way two or more similar verses; secondly, it concludes the thought, or a part thereof, with the verse. Artistic poetry does away with these features in the spirit of more simply grounded rules. It links together dissimilar verses and rhymes, combining them primarily according to the fittingness of the meaning. This is everywhere the mark of more educated poetry, and however familiar this method may seem to us, it must nevertheless be regarded as a significant innovation." Quotation from Diez, pp. 88f. — **Form**: The title of the 2nd section (→ 56,*11*) of Diez, pp. 84–121, which consists of the following points: "Verse," "Stanza" (→ 60,*42*), "Song" (pp. 90–95), "Rhyme" (→ 61,*35*), and "Poetic genres" (→ 62,*35*). — **Vers.**: On this point cf. Diez, pp. 85–88. — **Stanza**: On this point cf. Diez, pp. 88–90. — **cobla**: Old Provençal term for stanza. Cf. Diez, p. 88.

61 26 **But the forms . . . were favored**] Kierkegaard translates and summarizes Diez p. 89:11–26. — **Petrarch's book of songs**: Francesco Petrarca (1304–74), Italian humanist and poet, whose formally perfected erotic poems are collected in *Il Canzoniere*, which contains 317 sonnets (including the famous poems to the beloved Laura), 29 canzones, and scores of poems in other forms. Through Petrarch the sonnet form later became popular (for an English translation see *Petrarch: The Canzonieri, or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, trans. Mark Musa [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996]).—**the Spanish Cancionero**: The Spanish expression means a collection of songs or poems, by one or more poets, from the same school or period (especially in relation to the court poetry of the 15th century). It was used for the many Spanish anthologies that were collected in the 15th and 16th centuries. They generally contain a varying number of poems in fixed genres, e.g., courtly verse, whose paradigm was the Provençal troubadour poetry.

Rhyme] On this point (→ 60,*42*) cf. Diez, pp. 95–103. 35

(rima) . . . in practice] Diez introduces the discussion of rhyme in this way (p. 95): "It is called *rima*, a word which many derive from *rhytmus*, though others, with better reason, derive it from the German. The division of rhymes into two genders was already known to the troubadours, and was probably established by them. The two-syllable rhyme is called feminine, and the one-syllable is called masculine." Diez continues by laying out some rules of the troubadour's use of rhyme. **—rima**: Italian, plural for rhyme. The word was previously thought to derive from the Latin "rhytmus" (originally from the Greek "rhythmos"). Recent scholarship, however, considers it to be a loan-word from West-German dialect. 35

Only a literal . . . the sextain] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 96:8–16. — **Sextain**: A "sestina" is a complex poetic form, assiduously used by the Provençal poets. Its invention is attributed to Arnaut Daniel (→ 60,*3*). The sestina consists of 6 stanzas, each of 6 lines, together with a concluding stanza of 3 lines. The poem is designed ingeniously so that the last rhyming words in the lines of the 1st stanza are again repeated in all the following stanzas. 37

Überhaupt ist die Bestimmung . . . der folgenden wiederholt] "Overall the definition of the rhyme is quite extensive. It functions to link not only individual verses, in which case it appears in the middle of the verse, but it also serves to combine the stanzas below it—so that the rhymes of the 1st 42

stanza reappear in all the later stanzas. Thus, the song as a whole is presented as a system of rhymes. The systematic character of the poetry is one of the characteristic traits about which the poetry of the troubadours has so much to show. There are many cases of this. In rare cases the rhymes are linked not in the same stanza, but only in subsequent stanzas. Generally they all link up, or at least partly link up, within the same stanza. Sometimes, finally, the order of the rhyme changes in the stanza according to definite rules. Thus, the system of comprehensive rhyme is not unconditionally the dominant fundamental principle. There are songs in which other rhymes appear with each stanza—just as occurs in modern poetry. However, this form is less utilized. . . . Many songs follow a totally unique rule of rhyming: in each stanza, excepting the first, a part of the rhyme is replaced by a new one. This procedure must be treated skillfully if the order of the rhymes in the stanzas, along with their derivatives in the verses, is not to be done incorrectly. It is not unusual for the two stanzas, coupled on the basis of their rhyme, nonetheless to weave together particular rhymes along the way, linking them through the whole stanza. Another connection of stanzas is thereby achieved, such that either the last word, or even the last verse of that stanza, is repeated at the beginning of the following one." Quotation from Diez, pp. 96–99 (slightly altered by Kierkegaard).

61*m* 1 **Zumpt's Gramatik, 6th edition. 1828. § 811**] Reference to C. G. Zumpt's *Lateinische Grammatik* [Latin Grammar] from 1818, which came out in many editions. Cf. ASKB 1009–1010 (which are the 6th and 7th editions from Berlin, 1828 and 1834 respectively). This citation is from the 6th edition of 1828, § 811, p. 597.

2 **Die metrische Betonung . . . von dem Wortaccente**] "In both of the older languages, the metric emphasis, or the *ictus*, which such syllables maintain, that according to the rhythm falls after the *Arsis*, is entirely independent of the accent on the words," etc. Quotation from Zumpt, slightly altered. — **Arsis**: indicates a long syllable where the voice is raised (opposite of "thesis"). By the 2 "older languages," Zumpt is referring to Greek and Latin. Zumpt took his examples from the comic tradition of those languages.

8 **Schlegel sämtliche Wercke 2[d] B: pp. 264–267**] The reference pertains to a little excursus in the 15th lecture of *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur. Vorlesungen gehalten zu Wien im Jahre 1812*, 2nd edition, published in *Friedrich Schlegel's sämmtliche Werke* [The Complete Works of Friedrich Schlegel], vols. 1–10 (Vienna, 1822–25; ASKB 1816–1825); vol. 2, 1822, pp. 264–267. In this section Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), himself an author and a critic, turns his attention to the unique relation of rhyme and rhythm that characterizes the poetry of various language traditions. (For an English translation of Schlegel's lectures, cf. *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern* [microform], trans. J. G. Lockhart [Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson and Son, 1818].)

There are also instances . . . in Diez] Kierkegaard 32 62
summarizes Diez, p. 100:10–15. Diez's examples are found on pp. 100–103.

Gattungsnamen der Gedichte] "Classifications of 35
the Poems." On this point (→ 60,42) cf. Diez, pp. 103–121.

The distinction . . . in Diez] Diez writes: "Most 36
difficult to determine is the difference between *Vers* or *vêrs*, and *Canzone*, *cansôs*, or *chansôs*. The poets often speak about both as different things, and yet this difference is not really known." Diez defines the 2 types of poems first according to their content, and then according to their form. He writes: "The difference is to be sought in the form. However, the poets themselves seem not to have regarded the formal distinction," p. 105. **—Vers (vêrs)**: In the poetry of the troubadours, this signifies a definite type of poem or song, yet it is difficult to distinguish the "vêrs" from the "canso." The "vêrs," however, is often less elaborate in its formal structure. The term itself is of older provenance than the term "canso." **—Canzone (cansôs or chansos)**: These terms mean the same as "canso" and "chanson." In the poetry of Provence, the "canso" signifies a love song or love poem, composed of 5 or 6 stanzas, which is well-suited to variation and improvisation. It became the paradigm for the later Italian canzone.

The contrast to Canzone . . . sirventesca] Diez 38
writes on p. 111: "The sirventes (*sirventês*, also *sirventesc, sirventesca*) forms the most complete contrast to the Canzone" Kierkegaard continues below. — **sirvente (sirventês . . . sirventesca)**: A "sirventes" is a Provençal occasional poem that usually has its form in common with the canso (cf.

above). In contrast to the latter, however, it deals in a witty and sarcastic manner with everything *except* the theme of love (e.g., with political, religious, moral, or literary affairs).

40 **worunter man ein Lob- oder Rügelied ... verstand**] "By which is understood a song of praise or reproof, whether in public or private affairs, yet excluding matters of love." Quotation from Diez, p. 111.

42 **An important place ... stanzas in pairs**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 113:10–114:12.—A "tenzone" or "tenso" (from "tendere," Latin for to "struggle or to contest"), which is also called a "contenciôs" (which has same meaning), is a type of Provençal poetry that appeared in the 12th century. The tenso is written in "canso"-stanzas (cf. above), but it is structured as a dialogue or debate between 2 poets, usually with alternating themes in each stanza (e.g., love, politics, or literary criticism). The tenso typically begins with the posing of a question by an actual or merely fictive dialogue partner. Once the question is posed, there begins what is called a "partimens" (from "partida," "division") or a "jocx partitz" (from the French term "jeu parti," "divided game"). Typically, the poet presents 2 alternatives and asks the dialogue partner to choose. Related to the tenso is the "jocs d'amour" or "jocs enamoratz" (love play), which takes love as its theme. This form is connected to the chivalrous society game known as "the court of love." In this game an intricate love problem is posed and handled with juridical scrupulosity before a definite judgment is rendered. If there were several participants in such a contest, it was also called a "torneiamens" (tournament).

63 16 **Schäferlied ... pastorella**] Diez writes on p. 114: "The *Schäferlied*,*pastoreta*, or *pastorella*, presents a conversation between the poet and a shepherd or a shepherdess, prefaced by a short introduction. It first appears only with the later poets, but then it appears quite often. Concerning its form, it prefers long stanzas with short verses." — **Schäferlied**: German for pastoral song (Provençal "pastoreta," "pastorela," or usually "pastourelle"). This poetic form typically narrates a dialogue between a knight and a rural shepherdess, where the knight either wins her over with his advances, or is denied. The genre was especially employed in the northern French trouvèrs.

Taglied alba ... den Tagesanbruch verwünscht] 17 Quotation from Diez, p. 115, "Taglied alba, i.e., dawn, celebrating the happiness of two lovers, while lamenting the break of day." — **Taglied alba**: "Taglied," German for "morning song." The term is a translation from the Provençal "alba," i.e., "dawn." The "alba" form of poetry builds upon the well-known theme of the lament over the coming of the dawn, which signifies the separation of two lovers.

Abendlied ... evening] Diez writes (on p. 115) in 19 continuation of the above: "In the *Abendlied* or *serena* (from *sers*, evening) the lover longs for the coming of the evening."

A poem ... treated him well] Kierkegaard trans- 20 lates Diez, pp. 115:11–116:1. — **Descort**: From "discordia" (disunity), a type of lyrical poem which, in contrast to the "canso," (→ 62,*36*) strives after discord, whether it be in language (e.g., the use of different types of voices), or in the relation between the text and music, or in the theme (e.g., unhappy love). — **Guiraut v. Salignac**: Guiraut de Salignac, troubadour, of whom nothing is known. Four of his poems have been preserved.

The Occitanic language ... and the short story] 26 Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 119:21–120:1. — **The Occitanic language**: i.e., the Provençal language of southern France. Provence is actually only a part of the larger area called "Occitania"—i.e., the place where one spoke "langue d'oc" or Occitan. The medieval mention of langue d'oc, along with the northern French "langue d'oïl" (its contemporary), used by the trouvères poets (epic poets of that area), refers to the expression in those languages for the word "yes"—i.e., "oc" or "oïl." — **Rômans**: Diez has a later chapter on the romance [*roman*], which originally signified any work in the Romance folk languages.

Indhalt] "Inhalt" [Content], the title of the 3rd part 32 of the main section (→ 56,*11*), pp. 122–194. This consists of the following subsections: "Allgemeine Bemerkungen" [General Remarks] (→ 63,*32*), "Bemerkungen über die lyrischen Gattungen" [Remarks concerning Lyrical Genres] (→ 64,*31*), "Das Minnelied" [The Love Song] (→ 64,*31*), "Das Sirventes" [The Sirvente] (→ 66,*4*) and "Die Tenzone" [The Tenson] (→ 66,*22*).

Allgemeine Bemerkungen] "General Remarks." 32 This subsection (→ 63,*32*) cf. Diez, pp. 122–135, con-

tains the following: "Geist der Liederpoesie—Ursprünglichkeit und Nationalität derselben" [The Spirit of *Liederpoesie*—Its Origin and Nationality].

32 **One can take . . . poetic standpoint**] Kierkegaard translates and summarizes Diez, pp. 122:26–123:12.

37 **If this poetizing . . . sustains interest**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 125:12–20.

41 **In diesem Stück . . . der Betrachtung zu zerspringen**] "In this respect the troubadours are masters, and this shows another brilliant side of their poetry. Viewed as a whole, it would be preferable to call their poetry a poetry of the understanding rather than a poetry of feeling. At any rate, this is how the troubadours presented their poetry in contrast to popular songs. The popular song is a pure expression of nature. It is characterized by its simplicity. However, its effect is greater because it immediately indicates the feeling in the sentiment. By contrast, artistic poetry plays with its object in a more expansive way. It is more the poetry itself than the object of the poetry that claims one's attention. Thus, artistic songs generally lack a midpoint. The poet expends significant intellectual powers, but without creating a whole. Thus, the work makes a weaker impression upon one; it occupies one's thoughts only so long as one is reading the poem—just like soap bubbles that appear before one's gaze with all their beautiful colors only in order to break up." Quotation from Diez, pp. 125f, slightly modified.

64 17 **It is curious . . . Ovid**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, p. 127: 4–12. Though Diez adds that Cato (→ 64,27) and Virgil were also known. — **Ovid**: Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.–17 A.D.), Roman poet, in his youth wrote *Amores* (love poems) and the simulated love letter *Heroides*. During that same period Ovid also wrote the popular didactic poem (popular also in the Middle Ages) *Ars amandi* or *Ars amatoria* [The Art of Love]. He dampened the effect of this poem, however, by writing the later *Remedia Amoris* [Cures for Love]. In his middle age he wrote the great work *Metamorphoses*.

19 **In contrast to . . . treasure trove**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, pp. 131:24–132:12.

21 **von Sagen und Fictionen . . . also ächt national**] "of legends and stories, which they knew how to put to the same aesthetic use as the ancients did their mythology. These poems, which are divided into several myth cycles, emerged out of the spirit of the age. They were widespread and intelligible to everyone, and thus authentically national." Quotation from Diez, p. 132.

One said . . . and Blancaflor, etc.] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 132:26–29.—**brave as Roland and Olivier**: The brave epic hero Roland and his level-headed friend, Olivier, whose bloody struggles against the heathen enemy are recorded in "The Song of Roland" (*Chanson de Roland*, ca. 1100). "The Song of Roland" is a heroic poem relating to the period of Charlemagne (cf. below).—**charitable as Alexander, Charlemagne, and Artus**: The legend about the Macedonian king **Alexander the Great** (356–323 B.C.), which was retold in a novel by Pseudo-Callisthenes in the 2nd century. Through its Latin translation, it became the basis for the chivalrous heroic poem. Albéric, a French cleric from Dauphiné, wrote a "chanson de geste" in the 12th century using the content of Pseudo-Callisthenes's novel on Alexander. It was translated into German and later into French and Latin hexameter (by Gautier de Châtillon *Alexandrëis*, ca. 1175). **Charlemagne** (ca. 742–814), French king, Roman Emperor, became soon after his death the object of a fantastical narrative poetry, not least in the many hero-songs ("chansons de geste") that either dealt with the king and his closest associates, or with the crusade against the heathen by his faithful vassals, or with the confrontation between the king and the heathen enemy. The oldest and best known of these poems is "The Song of Roland." From this and other fantastical poems, which built upon the Latin chronicle, French chivalric poetry spread throughout Europe. The poetic history of **Arthur**, a Celtic military commander (in the 5th or 6th century A.D.), was written in a Latin chronicle at an early date by, among others, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and can be found in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (ca. 1137). In 1155 it was translated into French by Wace and composed in verse as the *Roman de Brut*. Beginning with these chronicles, but also in the more widespread folk poetry, a rich French Arthur legend (le cycle breton) was created in the 12th century. The greatest author in this regard was the French trouvère poet Chrétien de Troyes (2nd half of the 12th century). Because of him, Arthur became known as the righteous, chivalrous, ideal ruler, whom the knights looked up to as the stuff of fairy tales. Cf., 27

among others, *Perceval ou Le conte du Graal* (circa 1190, → 67,22) and *Ivain ou Le chevalier au Lion* (ca. 1177–81), and below. — **wise as Cato**: refers probably to Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.), also called "the wise" ("Sapiens"). In the Middle Ages he was viewed (incorrectly) as the author of a much-expanded collection of moral principles, the *Disticha Catonis*, supposedly written in the 3rd or 4th century B.C. — **courteous as Ivan**: i.e., as chivalrous as Ivan (Yvain), son of the king and Arthurian knight (known as the "Lion Knight"), who, after having broken his promise to go on knightly campaigns for only 1 year, put his power and bravery into helping the distressed. By so doing he was able to win back the favor of his wife, Laudine. Ivan's fantastical deeds are known from Chrétien de Troyes's verse novel (cf. above), and were also rewritten around 1203 in German by the love poet (→ 68*m*,6) Hartmann von der Aue. — **faithful in love as Tristan and Isolde**: → 67,22. — **as Floris and Blancaflor**: → 67,22.

31 **Bemerkungen über ... Poesie zu rechnen**] "Remarks concerning the lyrical genres. (1) The commemorative song; (2) the sirventes; (3) the tensons. These are again divided into different subcategories. For good reasons, then, we would claim the liberty to consider everything that relates to musical performance or stanza poetry—and thus also to the romances—to be lyrical poetry." Quotation from Diez, p. 135 (→ 63,32).

31 **Das Minnelied**] [The Love Song] (→ 63,32) cf. Diez, pp. 135–169.

38 **First, this characterizes ... by examples**] The examples are given in Diez, pp. 135–139.

40 **First, as far as the erotic is concerned**] Kierkegaard translates Diez's divisions in the following passage, p. 139:13.

41 **Hier begegnet uns ... die Herzen verwundet**] "Here we encounter a very simple allegory of love derived from antiquity: love is almost universally conceived as a feminine creature. Without a doubt, this is because the word *amor*, along with the other substantives that have this ending, is feminine. The goddess of love carries a lance or an arrow, with which she wounds the heart." Quotation from Diez, p. 139.

64*m* 1 **thus ... the difference ... these two concepts**] Refers to the German poet and philosopher Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). In his *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795), Schiller distinguishes between the concepts of the naive and the sentimental, each of which he regards simultaneously as a conception of life and an aesthetic category. He argues that the "naive" (here taking Goethe as his paradigm) is defined by nature (it *is* nature) and is oriented toward content, whereas the "sentimental" is reflective (it *seeks* lost nature) and is oriented toward form. An undated, loose paper (*Pap*. I A 129) shows that Kierkegaard knew of Schiller's distinction from Molbech's lectures (→ 53,1), vol. 2, pp. 233f. (For an English translation, cf. *"Naive and Sentimental Poetry" and "On the Sublime": Two Essays*, by Friedrich Schiller, trans. Julius A. Ellas [New York: Frederick Ungar, 1966]).

Then some other ... in the examples] Diez illuminates the point on pp. 139–148 with a number of quotations relating to the troubadour's conception of love. He points, for example, to their representation of Amor as a goddess and thus not, as in traditional representation, a young boy. 5 65

Caution ... necessary] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 148:30–31. 8

In order not ... allegorical description] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 149:23–28. 9

This delicacy ... delivered them] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 150:5–9. 12

From the sensuous ... really typical] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, p. 151:7–27. The example of the alba genre (→ 63,17) that Diez cites on pp. 151f. reads: "In einem Garten, unter'm Weißdornzelt / Ist die Geliebte mit dem Freund gesellt, / Bis daß des Wächters Warnungszeichen gellt. / 'Ach Gott, ach Gott, wie kommt der Tag so früh.' // 'Blieb' es doch Nacht, O Gott, wenn das geschäh', / Der traute Freund nicht sagen dürft': Ade! / Der Wächter auch nicht Tag noch Morgen säh.' / Ach Gott, ach Gott, wie kommt der Tag so früh.' // 'Schön süßer Freund, gehn wir die Wies' entlang, / Uns dort zu küssen bei der Vöglein Sang; / Der Eifersücht'ge mach' uns nimmer bang. / Ach Gott, ach Gott, wie kommt der Tag so Früh.' / Schön süßer Freund, ein neues Spiel uns winkt / Im Garten dort, wo manch ein Vöglein singt, / Wohlauf denn, eh' des Wächters Pfeife klingt. / Ach Gott, ach Gott, wie kommt der Tag so früh.' // Ein sanfter Luftzug, der sich eben rührt, / Hat dort vom Freund, den Luft und Anmuth ziert, / Des Odems süßen Trank mir zugeführt. / Ach Gott, ach Gott, 15

wie kommt der Tag so früh.' // Hold ist die Frau, mit jedem Reiz geschmückt; / Von ihrer Schönheit ist die Welt entzückt; / Sie fühlt sich nur durch treue Lieb' beglückt. / 'Ach Gott, ach Gott, wie kommt der Tag so Früh.' " ["In a garden, under a canopy of hawthorn, / The beloved is together with his friend, / Until the watchman's words of warning sound. 'O God, O God, how early the day comes.' // 'Let it but remain night, O God, if it could. / The beloved friend would not dare say: Adieu! / The watchman, too, would not wish the day to break. / O God, O God, how early the day comes.' // 'Lovely, sweet friend, let us go down the meadow; / There we will kiss amid the birdsong. / The envious will not make us afraid. / O God, O God, how early the day comes.' / Lovely, sweet friend, a new game beckons beautifully to us / In the garden there, where many a little bird sings. / Cheer up, then, before the watchman's pipe sounds. / O God, O God, how early the day comes.' // A gentle breeze stirring / Brought me the sweet drink of breath / From a friend, adorned with an air of grace. / O God, O God, how early the day comes.' // Gracious the woman, adorned with every charm, / The world is enchanted by her beauty; / She feels happy only through true love. / 'O God, O God, how early the day comes.' "]

19 **Fervor for their lady**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, pp. 163:1–165:5. Beyond the 5 examples of this fervor, Diez cites (in the notes on p. 165) the "tenzon" (→ 62,*42*) between Bertran and Granet in its entirety.

27 **Laments . . . achievements**] Kierkegaard translates and summarizes Diez, p. 167:12–16.

29 **Zum Kreise des Minnelieds . . . bemerken ist**] "In the circle of what we call the love song, we also include the romance and the religious song. If one discounts the albas, along with the numerous pastorals—two poetic types that follow the narrative form—then the romances appear to be extremely rare. What is distinctive about them is their subjective manner of presentation. That is, the poet presents himself either as a direct participant in the act he is narrating, or as an observer of the latter. This is a characteristic that can also be seen in the novella." Quotation from p. 167, slightly modified. — **Albas**: → 63,*17*. — **Pastorals**: → 63,*16*.

39 **An example . . . especially fine**] Diez cites the poem by Marcabru (pp. 168f.): "Im Garten an der Quelle Rand, / Wo Rasen grünte dicht am Sand, / Am Fruchtbaum, wo man Kühlung fand, / Der, voll von neu erwachtem Sang, / Im Schmuck der weißen Blüthen stand, / Da war's, wo einsam sich befand / Sie, die mir keinen Trost gewährt. // Ein Fräulein in der Schönheit Zier, / Des Burgherrn Tochter, traf ich hier; / Sie freut sich wohl, so dacht' ich mir, / Am frischen Lenz und Liederklang / Und an dem grünen Luftrevier, / Und reden wollt' ich schon zu ihr, / Da, merkt' ich, war es umgekehrt. // Vom Weinen war ihr Aug' entstellt, Von Seufzern ihre Brust geschwellt: 'O Jesus—sprach sie—Herr der Welt, / Du bist an meinem Jammer Schuld, / Dein Schimpf hat mir mein Glück vergällt: / Denn all die Besten dieser Welt / Ziehn aus für dich, da du's verlangst.' // 'Dir hat sich auch mein Freund geweiht, / Den Anmuth ziert und Tapferkeit, / Nichts bleibt mir hier, als bittres Leid, / Als Thränen nur und Ungeduld. / Dem König Ludwig werd' es leid, / Der alles aufruft weit und breit, / Und mir nichts schafft als Herzensangst!' // Kaum merkt' ich, wie betrübt sie war, / So kam ich zu der Quelle dar, / 'O Schöne—hub ich an—fürwahr, / Vom Weinen wird die Haut getrübt, / Und Gram ist unnütz offenbar, / Denn wer es blühn läßt Jahr für Jahr, / Erfreut auch ein bedrängt Gemüth.' // 'Herr—sprach sie drauf—das mag wohl seyn, / Daß Gott von aller Noth und Pein / In jener Welt mich will befrein, / Er, der den Sündern oft vergiebt; / Doch hier büß' ich den Liebsten ein; / Auch ihn muß ich der Kälte zeihn, / Da er so weit von dannen zieht" ["At the edge of a fountain in the garden, / Where the lawn was green near the sand, / At the fruit tree where one found the breeze— / Full of fresh, awakened song, / Standing, adorned in white blossoms— / There she was, alone, / She who granted me no consolation. // A young woman, adorned in beauty, / The daughter of a castellan, I met here; / She was quite happy, so I thought / Of the fresh spring and the sound of singing, / And of the green precincts of the air — / And I was just about to speak to her. / Then I noticed, it was the opposite. // Her eyes were distorted with crying, her breast was swollen with sighs; / 'O Jesus,' she said, 'Lord of the World, / You are the cause of my misery; / Your affront has embittered my happiness: / For in accordance with your orders, / All the best men in this world have been called away [to the Crusades]. // My

friend, adorned with grace and bravery, / Has also dedicated himself to your cause; / Nothing remains for me here but bitter sorrow, / Only tears and impatience. / May King Louis, who called up everyone, far and wide, / And gave me nothing but heartache, / Come to regret it!' // I had scarcely noticed how distressed she was, / So I went to the fountain there. / 'O, beautiful one,' I began, 'in truth / Tears will dull the complxion / And sorrow is plainly useless, / For He Who causes it to blossom, year after year, / Will also give joy to an oppressed spirit.' // 'Sir,' she then said, 'it may well be / That in the next world / God—He Who often forgives the sinner— / Will free me of all distress and pain, / But here I am losing my beloved— / Him, too, I must accuse of coldness, / Since he is going so far away' "]. — **Marcabrun**: Or Marcabru, Provençal troubadour poet (French, in the beginning of the 12th century), from whom 44 poems have been preserved, all probably written between 1130 and 1150. He is known for his artistic mastery and, especially, for the themes of disappointed love, contempt of women, and the critique of nobility which permeate the majority of his poems.

40 **The religious poem ... to be found**] Kierkegaard summarizes Diez, p. 169:8–12.

42 **Here the love letters ... stands out here**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 169:22–25.—**Arnaut v. Marueil**: Arnaut de Maruelh from the town Mareuil-sur-Belle in Dordogne, wrote between 1170 and 1190 and was employed as a troubadour. Twenty-five of his canzones, 5 of his love letters, and 1 of his didactic poems have been preserved.

66 4 **Das Sirventes**] [The Sirvente] (→ 63,*32*), cf. Diez, pp. 169–186. This subsection has the following divisions: "Importance for the Poet—Effect and Character—Forms, (a) The Political, to which belong the War Song, the Appeal, the Song of Praise and the Song of Rebuke; (b) The Personal; (c) The Moral."

4 **With this genre ... answer for them**] Diez describes this on pp. 169–175.

13 **Diez divides sirventes ... sharp division**] Diez writes on p. 175: "We divide the sirventes into the political, the moral, and the personal. The first deals with worldly deeds, the second with morals and misdeeds, and the third is devoted to personal circumstances, though it sometimes also treats the political—for it is often the case that the boundaries between the personal and the political are not very strict." — **sirvente**: → 62,*38*.

15 **To the first ... glowing fervor**] Diez writes on p. 176: "In the battle song [Kampflied], the desire for battle and feud is expressed with fervor and the turmoil of slaughter is powerfully and truly reported."

16 **and among ... to crusade**] Diez writes on p. 178: "Among those sirventes which have as their goal the *call* to some kind of action, the crusade song [Kreuzlied] stands at the pinnacle." — **Crusade**: → 56,*32*.

18 **the personal s. ... the political**] Kierkegaard translates Diez, p. 184:29–30. Diez gives a short description of this poetic genre.

20 **The moral s. ... frequent target**] Diez describes this poetic genre on pp. 185f.

22 **Die Tenzone**] [The Tenson]. This subsection (→ 63,*32*), cf. Diez, pp. 186–195, has the following heading: "Its uniqueness and development; composition; manner of decision."

22 **This remarkable kind ... own**] Kierkegaard translates Diez's examination of the tenson on p. 186:27–28.

23 **Wettgesänge sind zwar schon ... jener ganzen Zeit**] "Contest songs are already familiar to us from the history of poetry, whether ancient or, especially, modern poetry. These contest songs, however—whether in the form of stanzas or songs—only deal with objects that are real. They are of a serious type and commemorate or celebrate real events in a competitive way. By contrast, the contest songs in the Provençal and French languages, in the form of tensons, originally relate to hypothetical cases. They are pure play, the exercise of wit. ... As concerns the emergence of this type of contest song, it is undoubtedly a product of the dialectical spirit of the entire age." Quotation from Diez, pp. 186f.

34 **But did the t. ... proved historically**] Diez discusses this on pp. 188–191.

37 **Examples of tenson themes**] Diez writes on p. 192: "Among the great number of disputed questions related to the tensons, it would be desirable to explore the characteristics of this poetic genre in relation to matters of love. An answer to this can be rendered through an examination of the broader concept of the *ars amandi* among the Troubadours."

— **ars amandi**: Latin, art of love (cf. the title of the work of Ovid [→ 64,17]). After this passage, Diez cites 9 examples of "Themata," i.e., themes, or disputed questions. For example: "what is the greatest, love's joy or its suffering?" and, "Must a woman do just as much for her beloved as the man for his beloved?"

39 **Erzählende und belehrende Poesie**] The title of the 4th section (→ 56,11) in Diez, pp. 195–231, which consists of the following points: "Erzählende Poesie" [Narrative Poetry] and "Belehrende Poesie" [Didactic Poetry] (→ 68,11).

40 **Offenbar enthielt . . . zuschreiben lassen**] "Narrative and didactic poetry. Evidently the song contains the blossoming of the whole Occitanian poetry, for the best minds turned their powers to this genre which, on account of the diversity of both its form and its content, on account of the charm of its musical performance, and on account of its great impact upon society, recommended itself above all other forms. The poet of song considered his field to be the highest one and generally avoided narratives, lacking artistic form, as well as didactic poems, which, at least with respect to their subject matter, seemed to be a higher genre. Narrative Poetry. (a) Romances. Girart v. Roussillon, from the mythical circle of Charlemagne, in 10-syllable verses with long pausing rhyme sequences. According to Raynouard, the romance form belongs at the beginning of the 12th century and possibly even after that. (2) Jaufre, son of Dovon, or Doon, from the myth cycle concerning the Round Table. (3) Philomena, also from the myth cycle concerning Charlemagne, written in prose to the honor of the Cloister of our Lady from la Grasse (otherwise known as Carcassone).—With this piece concludes the small group of romances that have been preserved in the original language. However, there are others that have been ascribed to the Provençal, some with certainty, some with probability." Quotation from Diez, pp. 195f., slightly altered. — **Occitanian**: → 63,26. — **Narrative Poetry**: On this point (→ 66,39) cf. Diez, pp. 198–217. It consists of the following 4 parts: "Romane" [Novels], "Novellen" [Novellas] (→ 68,3), "Legenden" [Legends] (→ 68,3) and "Reimchroniken" [Chronicles in Rhyme] (→ 68,3). — **(a) Romances**: Diez describes this type of poetry under 3 sections: 1. "Girart von Roussillon" (→ 67,9), 2. "Jaufre" (→ 67,13), and 3. "Philomena" (→ 67,15). Cf. Diez, pp. 201–214.

Girart v. Roussillon] The courtly novel (chanson de geste) *Girard de Roussillon*. Diez's reference pertains to Raynouard (→ 56*m*,3), vol. 2, p. 284, in respect to which he dates this novel. The novel was written in a mixture of French and Provençal and transmitted in 6 different manuscript versions, of which the most complete—comprising over 10,000 verses—was written down in the 1st half of the 13th century. The original form of the work, however, is undoubtedly much older. The novel deals with Girard, known from the poetry of the Charlemagne period (→ 64,27), who united with Charles Martel in order to conquer the Arabs near Rome. The emperor of Constantinople paid them with his 2 daughters. When Charles took the daughter that was given to Girard, however, the two began a long war against each other. 9 67

2) Jaufre . . . der Tafelrunde] On p. 202 Diez, following Raynouard (→ 56*m*,3) vol. 2, pp. 285–293, gives a short characterization of *Jaufré*. — **Jaufre**: This epic poem dates from the beginning of the 13th century at the latest. It comprises nearly 11,000 8-syllable verses, in coupled rhyme, and is 1 of 2 preserved "romances" in the Provençal language (the other is *Flamenca*, ca. 1235). The romance, written by 2 authors of whom nothing is known, adopts an ironic tone in relation to matters of chivalry. It tells the story of the young knight Jaufré, son of the Arthurian knight Dovon, who took up the struggle against the fearsome Taulat de Rogimon, who scorned and insulted King Arthur. Jaufré is victorious and, in addition, wins the beautiful Brunissen. 13

3) Philomena] The chronicle *Philomena* (not to be confused with Chrétien de Troyes's work of the same name), receives its name from its implicit author, a monk from the time of Charlemagne, who was supposed to have been charged with the task of recording the latter's achievements in Carcassonne and Narbonne in southern France—specifically, his founding of a cloister that the enemy, the invading Arabs, could not conquer. Diez discusses at length the dating of the work and its sources, following the characterization of Raynouard (→ 56*m*,3) in vol. 2, pp. 293f., among others. The *Philomena* probably dates from the middle of the 13th century. 15

22 **Here belong . . . and Blancaflor**] Diez discusses the work mentioned on pp. 206–213. He writes: "Here belongs the story of the beautiful Maguelone, which was written toward the end of the 12th century by Bernart von Treviez, the ruler of Maguelona," pp. 206ff. "In addition, one can demonstrate the existence of an earlier novel on the Holy Grail, or on Titurel and Parsival, on the basis of the well-known declaration of our own Wolfram von Eschenbach, who expressely names a 'Kyot,' i.e., Guiot from Provence, as the true, original author," p. 207. "There are frequent allusions to the novel *Tristan and Iseut*," p. 212. "The novels *Floris* and *Blancaflor* . . . are too old for them to have been translated from the French," p. 213. — **the story of the beautiful Maguelone**: Refers to the "romance" *Pierre de Provence et de la Belle Maguelone*, written by Bernard de Treviez, ruling lord of the Mediterranean island of Maguelone, at the end of the 12th century, and reworked again in the middle of the 15th century. After this time the story lived on in ever new forms in many folk books. Diez refers specifically to Raynouard (→ 56*m*,3), vol. 2, pp. 317f. — **story of Titurel and Parsival**: Refers to the poetry devoted to the theme of the Holy Grail. In particular, it refers to the saga of Titurel (French, Tidorel), the first Grail king, and Parsival, an epic hero, who was 2 generations younger than Titurel. Titurel was the first king to whom it was entrusted to tend God's sanctuary and the communion cup. Parsival, who was kept in the dark about knighthood by his mother, nevertheless ends up as the trusted knight of King Arthur in the hunt for the Holy Grail and the Christian faith. The novel that became famous was Chrétien de Troyes's French (incomplete) epic poem *Perceval* (→ 64,27). Around 1210 it was reworked and expanded into German by the love poet Wolfram von Eschenbach (→ 97,7). Wolfram himself claimed that he had used a Provençal poet named Kyot as a source, something that has been strongly debated in contemporary research. At the beginning of the 19th century there was also an extensive debate about Wolfram's work *Titurel*. Among others, both Docen (→ 68*m*,2) and A. W. Schlegel (→ 56*m*,7) participated in this discussion. — **Tristan and Iseut**: Refers to the story of the Celtic epic hero Tristan, who was sent to Ireland by his uncle to fetch his bride, the blond princess Isolde. It tells the story of how the two, through an error, drank a love potion that bound them indissolubly together, ending in the death of both of them. This story was known in France in the Middle Ages, appearing in several Tristan novels, of which only fragments have been preserved. One of these was written by the trouvèr poet Béroul, another by the Anglo-Norman poet Thomas, both dating probably from the 1160s. A Tristan novel by Chrétien de Troyes (→ 64,27) has been lost. These poems were translated early on and reworked into several languages, e.g., German, where Gottfried von Strassburg (ca. 1219) authored his powerful love epic *Tristan and Isolde*. — **Floris and Blancaflor**: The story of Flores and Blancheflor, which is based upon a late-Greek love story, became widely known in the Middle Ages through the French verse novel *Floire et Blancheflor* (circa 1170). Flores, son of the king, and Blancheflor, the daughter of the lady in waiting, grow up together and fall in love, but must be separated because the king wants Flores to marry a woman of privileged station. Blancheflor ends up with the emir in Babylon, who imprisons her, so that he can marry her a year later—something that would lead to her death. As it turns out, Flores prevents this, they get married and in the end become king and queen.

Es soll hiermit . . . so gut wie keine] "It should not 23
be claimed thereby that the romance was unconditionally excluded from musical performance. In his excellent treatise on the Old French epic (in the periodical *Die Musen*, 1812) Uhland has demonstrated that in Northern France the national epic (composed in Alexandrian and 5-footed iambs) was definitely performed musically. However, the issue here relates to the music just as much as to the poetic style. It is illuminating that the music, when accompanied by verse, depends upon the form of the poem. As Uhland also believes, it is certain that both of the verse types for the heroic poems utilized only two simple melodies. By contrast, the lyric—on account of the diversity of its stanza structures—required a great diversity of melodies. The difference between the musical accompaniment for the epic and for the lyric respectively, therefore, was the same as the difference between popular and artistic poetry. In the eyes of the artistic poet, the epic did not count as a poem." Quotation from Diez, the note to pp. 195f., slightly altered. — **Uhland**: Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862),

German poet. — **die Musen 1812 3s Quartal**: *Die Musen. Eine norddeutsche Zeitschrift* [The Muses: A North German Journal], published by Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué and Wilhelm Neumann, 3rd quarterly (Berlin, 1812; microfiche, Nendeln, 1971). Uhland's treatise, "Ueber das altfranzösische Epos" [On the Old French Epic], can be found on pp. 59–109. The study concludes in the next issue of the quarterly (pp. 101–155) with samples of the Old French poetry.

68 3 **b) Novellen.(. . .) (c) Legenden. (d) Reimchroniken.**] "(b) Novellas. (c) Legends. (d) Rhymed chronicles. — **Novellen**: Diez describes this poetic type on p. 214. — **Of these 5 are cited**: namely: "1. Allegorische Erzählung von Peire Vidal," "2. Der gestrafte Eifersüchtige von Raimon Vidal," "3. Das Minnegericht von demselben," "4. Lanfranc Cigala's Erzählung von zwei Rittern," and "5. Antiphanor, die Dame und der Papagei von Arnaut von Carcasses." — **Legenden**: Under this poetic type Diez refers (pp. 214–216) to 5 legends. In the legend (Latin, "legenda," "something that ought to be read") the life, death, and miracles of a saint are recounted. Due to their edifying and Christian character, they were originally used liturgically in the church and in the cloister on the feast day of the saint. — **Reimchroniken**: Under this genre Diez refers (pp. 216f.) only to the work cited. The rhyming chronicle was a way of presenting a historical narrative in verse form. It was a wide-spread genre in the Middle Ages.

4 **Wir besitßen nur . . . Meister Guillem v. Tudela**] "We possess only one: *The History of the Albigensian War*, written in Alexandrian meter, with longer rhyme sequences by Meister Guillem v. Tudela." Quotation from pp. 216f., slightly altered.—The reference is to the narrative poem *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*. The latter is a type of rhyming chronicle from the beginning of the 13th century, whose theme is the Albigensian war (cf. below). As Diez indicates, at his time the work had not yet been published. It was authored by the priest Guillaume de Tudela, who died around 1214. Guillaume was an eye-witness to the crusaders' campaign through the country. In May of 1210, he began his work on the Albigensian war from its beginning up to the middle of 1213. After his death the work, which consisted only of the first 2,800 verses, was continued by an anonymous author.

7 **This entirely . . . The author is an eyewitness**.] Kierkegaard translates Diez, pp. 216:10–217:5. — **The siege of Toulouse . . . an eyewitness**: In the 12th century the town of Albi and the countryside of Albigeois came to be regarded as the center of a heresy. At that time the term "Albigensians" appeared for the 1st time in order to designate all those people of southern France (especially the gnostic Cathars) who resisted the Church. With a view toward wiping them out, the Pope preached a sermon advocating a crusade against the Albigensians and, in particular, against their defender, the powerful Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI (→ 59,*31*). In 1209, under the banner of Phillip II Augustus (king of France from 1180 to 1223), a large military force advanced against Raymond VI. He prevented the assault only by doing penance and joining the crusades. The fighting continued, however, even after Philip II Augustus's death when his son, Louis VIII (king of France from 1187 to 1226) besieged Toulouse. Only in 1229 was peace achieved, and then Raymond VII (→ 59,*31*), who in 1222 had succeeded his father, not only had to consent to supporting the inquisition, but also had to hand over 2/3 of his land—part of it to the church, part of it to the king.

11 **Belehrende Poesie . . . Altdeutsche Liederpoesie**] "Didactic poetry (1) scientific poetry (2) moral poetry (3) spiritual poetry. Relation to foreign literature. Old French song poetry; Old German song poetry." Diez discusses the general category of didactic poetry on pp. 217–233. He analyzes the three sub-types in the following pages: scientific poems on pp. 218–222, moral poems on pp. 222–229, and spiritual poems on pp. 229–231.

13 **Verhältniß zu auswärtiger Litteratur**] "Relation to foreign literature." This is the title of the 5th section (→ 56,*11*) in Diez, pp. 232–282. It consists of the following points: "Vorläufige Bemerkungen" [Preliminary Remarks] (pp. 232–239), "Altfranzösische Liederpoesie" [Old French Poetic Songs] (→ 68,*14*), "Altdeutsche Liederpoesie" [Old German Poetic Songs] (→ 68,*14*), and "Altitaliänische Liederpoesie" [Old Italian Poetic Songs] (→ 68,*19*).

14 **Altfranzösische Liederpoesie**] "Old French Song Poetry." On this point (→ 68,*13*), cf. Diez, pp. 218–222.

14 **Altdeutsche Liederpoesie**] "Old German Song Poetry." On this point (→ 68,*13*), cf. Diez, pp. 255–271.

15 **Regarding the latter . . . Meisterliedern 1817**.] Diez discusses these 3 works on pp. 255f. Though Diez refers to the Swiss poet Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783)—who acheived recognition through his critical writings on, and editions of, the older Swabian poetry and the poetry of the "Minnesänger"—he probably means to refer to J. J. Bodmer *and* J. J. Breitinger and their *Neue Kritische Briefe* [New Critical Letters] (Zürich, 1763). The next reference is to Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785–1863), German encyclopedist and linguist, who published among other things *Ueber den altdeutschen Meistergesang* [On Old German Meister Songs] (Göttingen, 1811) (→ 68*m*,*2*). Finally, there is a reference to the German literary figure and author Josef von Görres (1776–1848)—in particular, to his work *Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder aus den Handschriften der Heidelberger Bibliothek* [Old German Folk and Meister Songs, from the Manuscripts of the Heidelberg Library], published by J. Görres, (Frankfurt a. M., 1817; ASKB 1486). The book is listed on one of Kierkegaard's receipts from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated November 29, 1836. Beyond the introduction (pp. i–lxiv), which Diez refers to, the work contains 132 songs.

19 **Die altitalienische Liederpoesie**] "Old Italian Song Poetry." On this point (→ 68,*13*) cf. Diez, pp. 272–282.

25 **Ueber die provenzalische Sprache**] "On the Language of Provence." This section (→ 56,*11*) contains the following points: "Derivation of the Branch of Romance Languages," pp. 285–291; "Principles of the Provençal Dialect" (→ 68,*26*); "Aspects of Grammar," pp. 293–312; "Melody and Pronunciation," pp. 312–318; "Historical Elements," pp. 318–328.

26 **Princip der provenzalischen Mundart**] "Principles of the Provençal Dialect." This point (→ 68,*13*) is found in Diez, pp. 291–293.

26 **Das Princip . . . concentrirt werden**] "On the Provençal language. Principle of the Provençal dialect. The principle that lies at the basis of the formation of the Provençal dialect consists of the shortening of the words after the accented syllable through syncopation or apocapation, so that the formative syllables and consonants are concentrated against the vowels." Quotation from Diez, p. 291.

68*m* 2 **Univ. Library**] The University Library in Copenhagen, officially inaugurated in 1657, was housed in the loft of Trinitatis Kirke [Church of the Trinity] until 1861 (see map 2, C1).

It is a polemical pamphlet against Docen] The 2
196-page treatise (→ 68,*15*) is a detailed argument against the German author Bernhard Joseph Docen (1782–1828), who, beginning in 1811, was adjunct and research assistant at the Scientific Academy in Munich. Docen had attacked a monograph that Grimm had published on German poetry from the Middle Ages. The literary quarrel turned especially on the definition of, and relation between, love songs and master songs (cf. the following note). Among other things, special attention was focused upon the cycle of poems entitled "Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg" [Battle of Minstrels at the Wartburg Court] (→ 97,*6*).

love song and master song] Minnelied singers— 6
deriving from "minne," the Old German for "love"—were active in the high Middle Ages (12th–14th centuries). Their poetry was related to the troubadour poetry of Provence and to the trouvère poetry of northern France. The Minnelied, in which the ideals of chivalry and knighthood were cultivated, reached its high point between 1160 and 1220. The list of Minnelied poets includes such names as Walther von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach (→ 97,*7*). The master songs, whose authors were trained in the rigorous and detailed rules of poetry, developed from the Minnelied in the period between the 14th and 16th centuries. Through practice in guilds and poetic societies, the poet could climb in rank from "student" to "master." The best known master singer was Hans Sachs (1494–1576).

Hoffmann Klein Zaches . . . Berlin 1828. p. 30] Ref- 33 68
erence to the German author Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann's (1776–1822) fantastic fairy tale *Klein Zaches genannt Zinnober, ein Mährchen* [Little Zaches, Named Zinnober, a Fairy Tale] (1819), printed in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [E. T. A. Hoffmann's Selected Writings], vols. 1–10 (Berlin, 1827–28, ASKB 1712–1716); vol. 9, 1828, pp. 1–126. Kierkegaard quotes from the 2nd chapter, which narrates the following situation: Immediately after professor Mosch Terpin concludes his lectures on natural science, the melancholy student, Balthasar, heads for the woods in order to find solitude. However, he cannot escape the company of

his loquacious friend Fabian. Balthasar confides to him how much the professor's conception of nature is contrary to his own. To this Fabian responds, laughing, that he can well understand that it is not the professor's *lectures* that Balthasar is interested in, but the professor's pretty *daughter*, Candida. He suggests further that Balthasar's strange behavior is a result of lovesickness. At first Balthasar feels that something he had believed to be a deep, holy secret had been drawn forth into the light of day and made an object of ridicule and laughter. Later, however, he makes the acknowledgment that Kierkegaard cites.

34 **Erst jetzt fühlte ... Treiben gelegt**] "For the first time here he (Balthasar) really feels how unspeakably he loves the beautiful Candida. But at the same time he feels, oddly enough, how the purest and most inward love has something ridiculous about it when expressed in outward life—a circumstance that may be ascribed to the deep irony which lies in the nature of all human passions." Quotation from Hoffmann, p. 30. Parentheses are Kierkegaard's.

69 1 **Prinzessin Brambilla ein Capricio nach Jacob Callot**] Hoffmann's story *Prinzessin Brambilla, ein Capriccio nach Jakob Callot* [Princess Brambilla, a Capriccio according to Jakob Callot] (1820) is printed in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* (→ 68,33), vol. 9, 1828, pp. 127–282. In this delightfully strange masquerade, Hoffmann takes humor as his direct theme. In the third chapter, for example, Celionati tells a myth to a circle of serious German artists. In her myth the wise Hermod creates the spring called Urdar, whose reflecting water brings anyone who looks into it to break out into uncontainable laughter. For this reason, the philosophers of the lake at Urdar dissuade people from looking down into the spring by telling them that it will make anyone who looks into it dizzy—for they will see themselves, and the world, upside-down. After she tells this myth, the painter Franz Reinhold ventures an interpretation: he suggests that the Urdar spring is what the Germans call "humor."

69 4 **Ditto Ditto 8th volume ... Makulaturblättern. p. 124**] Hoffmann's (unfinished) 2-volume novel *Leben-Ansichten des Katers Murr nebst fragmentarischer Biographie des Kapellmeisters Johannes Kreisler in zufälligen Makulaturblättern* [Life-Views of a Grumbling Cat, along with a Fragmentary Biography of the Orchestra Director Johannes Kreisler in Haphazard Waste-Paper Sheets] (1820–21) is printed in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* (→ 68,33), vol. 8, 1828 [XII + 492 pp.]. The passage that Kierkegaard cites comes from the 1st part of the 2nd section, where Hoffmann tells the story of the boyhood of the orchestra director Johannes Kreisler and the interest which the eccentric organ builder, Abraham Liscov, took in him.

Ein durchdringendes Verstand ... die geheimsten 6
Winkel] "A penetrating understanding, a deep sensibility, an unusual excitability of spirit—these were the acknowledged advantages of the organ builder. However, what one generally calls humor is not that rare, wonderful feeling in the soul that is produced through a deeper intuition, in the midst of struggle against hostile forces, of the conditions of life. Rather, humor is a definite feeling for the impertinent, paired with a talent for creating it in life, and a sense of the necessity of its uniquely bizarre manifestations. This is the basis of that derisive mockery which Liskov everywhere emanates, that *Schadenfreude*, with which he recognized everything as impertinent, relentlessly following it even into the most secret corner." Quotation from p. 124, slightly altered.

Dto Dto 3ter Band. Die Serapionsbrüder ... in the 21 69
popular mind] Refers to the last of the three volumes in Hoffmann's *Die Serapions-Brüder. Gesammelte Erzählungen und Märchen* [The Serapion Brothers: Collected Stories and Fairy Tales], vols. 1–2 (1819), vol. 3 (1820), printed in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* (→ 68,33), vol. 3, pp. 1–320. On pp. 7–23, the three Serapion brothers Lothar, Theodor, and Ottmar, discuss the Devil as he appears in popular belief. As a starting point for the discussion, Lothar is persuaded to read aloud from a manuscript he had written on the subject. — **Dto Dto 3ter Band**: Ditto Ditto volume 3.

Ludvig Tiecks Schriften ... Berlin 1828.] Ludwig 24 69
Tieck (1773–1853), German author, translator, and editor. His 3-volume work *Phantasus* (1812–16), which contains a collection of fairy tales, stories, plays, and novels, is published as vols. 4 and 5 of *Ludwig Tieck's Schriften* [Ludvig Tieck's Writings], vols. 1–28 (Berlin, 1828 [vols. 1–15]; 1843–54 [vols.

16–28]; microfiche, Berlin, 1966). The citation is from vol. 4, pp. 129f.

26 **Es giebt vielleicht . . . die ermüdenste Unterhaltung**] "There is perhaps no invention that does not have allegory, perhaps unconsciously, as its ground and basis. Good and evil are the double manifestation which the child already easily understands in every poem. Allegory is that which moves us anew in each presentation, that which appeals to us in the most diverse forms in every enigma, and that which—through a struggle—wants to disclose itself to the understanding. It is possible to regard the most normal life as a fairy tale; and, similarly, it is possible to make oneself intimate with the most miraculous things, as if they were the everyday. One could say that everything—the most normal, the most miraculous, the plainest and most amusing—has truth and moves us only insofar as an allegory serves in the deepest background as the anchor for the whole. It is just for this reason that Dante's allegories are so convincing: i.e., because they are carried through to the most tangible reality. Novalis said: 'Only that history is a history which can also be a fable.' Certainly there are many poor and weak poems of this sort, which only draw our thinking in and do not engage our imagination—and this is the most tedious entertainment." Quotation from Tieck, pp. 129f. (cf. above). —**Dante's allegories**: refers probably to the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) and his posthumously published work *The Divine Comedy* (originally *La Commedia*, later *La Divina Commedia*). —**Novalis said: "Only that. . .be a fable"**: Refers to a fragment of the German poet and author Novalis (pseudonym for Friedrich von Hardenberg [1772–1801]), which is printed in *Novalis Schriften* [Works of Novalis], edited by Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel, vols. 1–2, 4th edition (Berlin, 1826 [1802]; ASKB 1776). The book was found listed on a receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated January 4, 1836, vol. 2, p. 198. The section referred to contains "Fragments of Diverse Content" under the rubric "Moral Opinions." The complete quotation is the following: "The history of Christ is just as certainly a poem as a history: and, in general, only *that* history is a history which can also be a fable."

70 13 **Heyne (romantische Schule p. 20,)**] Heinrich Heine (1797–1857), German poet and critic. Refers to *Die romantische Schule* [The Romantic School] (Hamburg, 1836; ASKB U 63), as found on a receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated February 16, 1836. On pp. 19–21 Heine discusses the difference between classical and Romantic poetry. He remarks, contrary to prevalent opinion, that the difference does not lie in the fact that only classical poetry utilizes a plastic manner of presentation. Thus he writes: "The plastic manner of presentation ought to be the main element of modern romantic art just as much as ancient art. And in fact, are not the figures in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, or in the paintings of Raphael, just as plastic as those in Virgil, or on the walls of the Herculaneum? The difference consists rather in this: the plastic forms in ancient art are completely identical to the mode of presentation, i.e., with the idea that the artist wants to present. . . . It is different in romantic art. In the latter, for example, the errancies of the knight are given an esoteric significance—they point perhaps to the errancy of love as such. Or again, the dragon to be conquered signifies sin; or, the almond tree, which smells so sweet to the hero from a distance, signifies the Trinity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, united together just as the nut, the fiber, and the shell of the almond."

Ueber Goethe's Faust . . . Berlin 1830] Refers to the 14 70
German author and Gymnasium teacher Karl Ernst Schubarth's (1796–1861) treatise *Ueber Goethe's Faust* [On Goethe's Faust] (Berlin, 1830, 8º [X + 385 pp.]; ASKB U 96). The book contains 12 lectures on Goethe's *Faust*, mainly on part 1. Schubarth was not acquainted with the complete version of part 2 of the tragedy, which appeared only in 1831 (→ 79,26). In his excerpt Kierkegaard works through all of Schubarth's lectures except the 1st, which deals in a more general way with Goethe's life and work (→ 70,18). Beginning with the 3rd lecture, Schubarth follows Goethe's *Faust* scene by scene. (All English references to Goethe's *Faust* will be from *Faust I and II*, ed. and trans. Stuart Atkins [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], hereafter cited as *Faust*).

We pass . . . prologue in heaven] In his 3rd lecture 16
Schubarth discusses the "Dedication," "Prelude on the Stage," and "Prologue in Heaven," the three

pieces which begin Goethe's *Faust*. Kierkegaard considers these later (→ 83,*1*).

18 **1st scene**] The 4th lecture (pp. 113–147) discusses scene 1 of the tragedy, i.e., "Night," where, in his study, Faust appraises his current research and, unsatisfied, turns to magic.

18 **Göethe**'s] Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832), German poet, natural scientist, theater director (→ 84,*22*), and minister at the court in Weimar. He was one of the most influential authors of his age, writing the famous tragedy *Faust* and a lengthy autobiography (→ 100,*20*). Kierkegaard owned *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, in the Author's Final Version], vols. 1–60 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–42; ASKB 1641–1668; abbreviated as *Goethe's Werke*). This edition came out in 2 formats. The references pertain to the pocket edition (16°), which correspond to Kierkegaard's own references. According to a receipt from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated February 10, 1836, however, Kierkegaard had already purchased the full-sized edition. Yet from an earlier receipt dated January 20, 1836, it can be established that Kierkegaard also owned a separate edition, *Faust. Eine Tragödie von Goethe. Beide Theile in Einem Bande* [Faust, a Tragedy by Goethe. Both Parts in One Volume] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1834; ASKB 1669), whose pagination corresponds to the pocket edition.

19 **weitschweifige**] German, "tedious." The expression probably alludes to the fact that Schubarth sketches the entire progress of the world-historical spirit in order to link Faust to it as a result. Cf. especially Schubarth, pp. 119–121.

20 **enriched by quotations . . . of Goethe**] After his summary and as a preview of what follows, Schubarth quotes Goethe (pp. 118f.): "Education means to familiarize the youth with the conditions, to form oneself in accordance with the conditions in which the world, in general and more particular terms, can exist. The novel by contrast, along with the tragedy—which is like the novel—represent the unconditioned as the most interesting. It is precisely unlimited striving, that unconditioned passion, that drives us outside of human society and outside of the world. For those who remain at these unsurpassable limits the only satisfaction is in doubting and the only peace is in death." The quotation, whose source Schubarth does not give, comes from the article "Gabriele von Johanne Schopenhauer," in Goethe's *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum* [On Art and Antiquity], vols. 1–6 (Stuttgart, 1818–32), vol. 4, number 1, 1823, p. 68.

21 **He then shows . . . inferior purpose**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 121f.

33 **he wanted to embrace everything**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 122:18–123:5.

34 **He has sensed . . . God's image**] Kierkegaard refers to Schubarth, pp. 124:23–125:11.

39 **Finally . . . own view of things**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 125:15–23.

1 71 **Indem er erklärt . . . sich überall wiederholt**] "In that he declares the miracle to be the favorite child of faith, he assigns faith to that kind of narrow-mindedness which can only with difficulty be distinguished from a fantastic gullibility, or from the dull, childlike, weak-minded amazement and the foolish imprisonment of the authentic understanding. Instead, true faith does not stand amazed before a miracle which merely contradicts the understanding; rather, it stands before the true miracle, that in which it finds something unfathomable, which remains even amidst the clearest conceptuality and intuition. The true miracle thus repeats itself everywhere and in a thousand ways." Quotation from Schubarth, pp. 127f, slightly altered.

13 **Quotations from Goethe's works**] On pp. 130–145 Schubarth quotes a number of passages from Goethe's works that treat topics such as magic, superstition, alchemy, etc. (pp. 130–138). In addition, there are quotations on the question of authority (pp. 138–141). The quotations are taken from the historical section of Goethe's *Zur Farbenlehre* [Color Theory] (1810). The first set of passages appears in connection with Goethe's discussion of Roger Bacon, Johann Baptist Porta, and the alchemists who followed Paracelsus. The latter passages are presented under the section title "Authority." Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 53 (1833), pp. 88–108, 129–134, 143–148. Finally, Schubarth includes quotations related to faith, the religious, and the Christian (pp. 141–145), all of which come from the 12th book of Goethe's autobiography (→ 100,*20*). Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 26 (1829), pp. 99–103 (For an English translation of the latter, cf. *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: From My Life, Poetry and Truth (Parts One to Three)*, trans. Robert Heitner [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987]).

16 **the following scene ... sermonizing remarks**] In the 5th lecture (pp. 148–194), Schubarth discusses the 2nd and 3rd scenes of *Faust*. Scene 2, entitled "Outside the City Gate," takes place outside of the city gate amidst the vibrant life of the common people. Faust walks there along with his scientific assistant, Wagner. Scene 3 is the first of 2 "study" scenes, where Faust has returned to his study with a black poodle, who will soon reveal himself to be Mephistopheles. The summary of "Outside the City Gate" and the "sermonizing remarks" that Kierkegaard mentions are found in Schubarth on pp. 148–156.

17 **Regarding the fact of the dog ... their opposites**] Refers to the passage in Goethe's *Faust* (especially verses 1147–1159, cited by Schubarth), where Faust and Wagner see the black poodle and Faust asks whether Wagner can see the streak of fire that follows after the dog. Wagner answers that this must be an illusion—he sees only a black poodle.

22 **aus dichterischer Ahnung ... vorübereilenden Gestalt**] "In the appropriate light of poetic intimation and semi-consciousness, I saw, on the street in front of my window, a black poodle run past. A reflection of light trailed after him, a kind of vague trace, remaining in my eyes, of his loping form." Quotation from p. 158, slightly altered.

27 **S. then ... Mephistopheles makes his appearance**] Kierkegaard refers to Schubarth, pp. 164–166, where he describes Faust's inward transformation.

35 **After this ... Bonaparte, etc.**] Schubarth discusses (pp. 166–179) the significance of evil by illuminating it with reference to Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Jesus in the NT (cf. especially p. 170), and by reference to Napoleon (Bonaparte) I (1769–1821), on pp. 177–179.

39 **he thinks ... excessive endeavor**] Schubarth refers his theory of evil (pp. 179–186) back to Mephistopheles in *Faust*. Cf. also Schubarth's theory of the devil below (→ 72*m*,*1*).

42 **what I would call irony**] Cf. other journal entries at that time, e.g., AA:27.a, p. 39, and loose papers *Pap*. I A 154, 239, 265; I C 102.

71*m* 2 **Man hat oft gesagt ... verneint**] "It has often and rightly been said that unbelief is inverted superstition, and it may be that people in our time suffer primarily from the latter. A noble deed is ascribed to self-interest, a heroic act to vanity, an undeniably poetic product to a feverish condition. What is even more amazing is that the most excellent things to appear, the most remarkable things that are encountered, are—for as long as is possible—denied." Quotation from p. 132. Schubarth takes the quotation from the historical section of Goethe's *Zur Farbenlehre* (1810) on the English philosopher Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–ca. 1292). Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 53, p. 107.

16 71*m* **What Falck says ... antipathy ... dogs**] Refers to the chapter "Goethes wissenschaftliche Ansichten" [Goethe's Scientific Opinions] in Johannes Falk's book on Goethe. By means of a conversation with Goethe, Falk outlines the latter's philosophical opinions on natural science. In the middle of the conversation, as Falk reports, the following occurred: "At that time the repeated barks of a dog could be heard in the street. Goethe, who by nature had an antipathy to dogs, went to the window and shouted vehemently: 'Do what you will, worm, you will never break me!' This would be extremely disconcerting for one who was not familiar with its connection to Goethean ideas, but for one who was familiar with them, it made a humorous impression—as exactly fitting!" p. 59. (Cf. also *Goethe: Conversations and Encounters*, ed. and trans. David Luke and Robert Pick [Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1966)], p. 88.)

4 72 **what S. cites ... made on him**] Schubarth cites (pp. 186–190) a passage from book 1 of Goethe's autobiography, cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*) vol. 24 (1829), pp. 41–44 (*From My Life*, pp. 34–35). Here Goethe recounts how, as a boy, he experienced the reports of the colossal earthquake that destroyed Lisbon on November 1, 1755. In that disaster 60,000 persons perished. Survivors of the earthquake were left defenseless against the murderers, thieves, and violent criminals who had escaped from the prisons. Goethe was deeply shaken: How could the loving God cast down the righteous and the unrighteous in the same destruction? Apropos this theme, Goethe also recounts how, a year later, his home was exposed to a raging hailstorm. He suggests that through these events he came to a knowledge of the wrathful God of the OT.

6 **Daß gewönlich ... empfindlicher wirke**] "Generally, if our souls are attuned in a highly spiritual way, the brutal and shrieking tones of the world's being strike us with the greatest power and violence. The contrast between this and the spiritual,

which always reigns in secret, erupts suddenly and produces even more grievous effects." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 190.

11 **On the chorus of spirits**] In the 6th lecture (pp. 195–228), Schubarth discusses the 2nd "study scene," in which Faust makes a pact with Mephistopheles and the latter, dressed like Faust, advises the striving student. The choir of invisible spirits referred to appears after a long monologue in which Faust curses the whole of existence. See the choir's response, verses 1607–1626.

12 **p. 82 in my edition of Faust**] Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, pp. 82f.

15 **Ein unsichtbares Geisterchor ... Lebenslauf zu beginnen**] "An invisible chorus of spirits ironically allows itself to be interrogated about the destruction of the beautiful world and requires our hero to rebuild the world more splendidly within his own bosom in order, thereby, to begin his new life as a demi-god." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 196.

19 **Here S. wants ... prove salutary**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 205:3–24.

29 **Mephistopheles takes it on himself ... to give pleasure**] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 206:24–207:23.

72*m* 1 **Schubarth on p. 223 seems ... our Lord**] According to Schubarth, Goethe's portrayal of the Devil, Mephistopheles, as a servant of God was something original. On this interpretation, Mephistopheles constitutes a punishing irony that strikes hard at Faust; however, God's intention is not to destroy Faust. The Devil operates only within certain limits established by God. In fact, Schubarth notes, his effect upon Faust does him some ultimate good insofar as he becomes cured of his fantasies. This idea, which runs throughout Schubarth's lectures, is expressed also in several of Kierkegaard's excerpts. Cf. *KJN* 1, 72ff., 75f., 82f. and especially in connection with the 3rd lecture.

8 **seems to him ... disparaging way**] After giving an initial sketch of the theme of enjoyment in *Faust*, Schubarth returns (p. 223) to the text in order to explain some of the difficulties that are found in the 2nd study scene. He writes: "Under the latter category I place, namely, Mephistopheles's wager with Faust, Mephistopheles's monologue on reason and science, and the annihilating critique of the latter upon all human knowledge. The thoughtful reader may be taken aback at the way in which these two elements are thought together, for, on the one hand, Mephistopheles seeks to seduce Faust through his arts, and to this extent he expresses a deep respect for reason; yet, on the other hand, he criticizes human reason as less than the ultimate." Schubarth alludes to the place (verses 1692–1697) where Faust enters into a pact with Mephistopheles and makes a wager: if the latter can get Faust to give up his striving, relax, and be self-satisfied by means of the deceptions of enjoyment, then Faust loses. Cf. Mephistopheles's long monologue in verses 1851–1867, *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, pp. 92f. (*Faust*, pp. 47–48).

an Epicurean] In his discussion of pleasure and 34
enjoyment Schubarth mentions (p. 222) the Greek philosopher Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) as one in whose world-view enjoyment acquires a deep and profound significance. Kierkegaard refers probably to the Epicurean idea that enjoyment is the absence of discomfort. Cf. *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn, i ti Bøger*, trans. B. Riisbrigh, ed. B. Thorlacius, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111), vol. 1, p. 508: "the magnitude of pleasure reaches its limit in the removal of all pain" (English quotation from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vols. 1–2, trans. R. D. Hicks [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1972 [1925], vol. 2, p. 665]).

yet not omniscient standpoint] That Mephistopheles is not omniscient, like God, can be determined from a scene in the study where Mephistopheles says to Faust: "I may not be omniscient, but I do know quite a lot" (verse 1582), *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 81 (*Faust*, p. 40). 39

Mephisto now handles ... his good conscience] 1 73
Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 208:17–209:14.

If we now ask ... easy enjoyment] Kierkegaard 7
summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 212:3–13.

If we further ... psychological masterstroke] 11
Kierkegaard translates Schubarth, pp. 214:18–25.

doesn't throw him ... no doubt serve] Kierke- 14
gaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 215:3–216:4.

Except that ... refined earthly distractions] Kierke- 26
gaard translates Schubarth, pp. 216:5–217:14.

74 4 **One thinks of him ... to leave the world**] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 219:21–221:5.

10 **as for the student ... the words of Mephisto**] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 228:1–9, where the lecture is rounded out with an observation about the student who enters Faust's study and is received by Mephistopheles, clothed as Faust.

16 **Und immer zirkulirt ... rasend werden**] "Yet fresh young blood still keeps on circulating / On and on—it could make anyone see red!" Cf. *Faust*, p. 36. Mephistopheles's reply appears in the first scene in the study (verses 1372f.), where it reads: "To think how many I've already buried!"

18 **For Mephisto ... mother's beardless son**] Kierkegaard translates Schubarth, p. 228:12–15.

21 **The scenes following**] In the 4th lecture (pp. 229–254) Schubarth discusses the 1st scene at "Auerbach's Wine Cellar in Leipzig," where Faust and Mephistopheles arrive at Auerbach's Cellar, an actual tavern in Leipzig. They join up with a drinking club that happens to be holding its raucous meeting. Mephistopheles sings and then asks each one at the gathering what his favorite wine is. After this he bores a hole in the edge of the table and invites each of them to tap their own wine. In the next scene, the "Witch's Kitchen," Faust is taken into the witch's kitchen in order to receive a drink that will restore his youth. Before the witch returns home and Faust receives the drink, however, he and Mephistopheles are entertained by a family of apes who are charged with the task of watching over the witch's magical paraphenalia. It is at this point that Faust sees a woman of great beauty in a magical mirror.

22 **Brander's song about the rat**] Cf. Brander's song in the scene from Auerbach's cellar, verses 2126–2149; *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 106 (*Faust*, p. 54).

23 **Mephisto's about the flea**] Cf. Mephistopheles's song in Auerbach's kitchen before the gathering, verses 2211–2240; *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, pp. 110f. (*Faust*, pp. 56–57).

25 **In the scene in the witch's kitchen**] Reference to the scene in the witch's kitchen in which the young apes pull out a globe. Cf. *Faust*, verses 2402–2415, and below.

26 **p. 122 in my edition**] Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, pp. 122f.

27 **Sehr erbauliche ... zu müssen**] "Very edifying reflections from a monkey on the fleeting transitoriness and emptiness of earthly things. He still lives, the old fellow, and has savored everything. Yet he does not credit his son with the same cleverness, and so he leaves to him, as a testament, the moral recommendation to abstain from the desires of the world so as not to have to die a premature death." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 244, slightly altered.

34 **As baroque a joke ... in speech and affairs**] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 252:17–253:8. — **an ape and its family**: (→ 74,*21*).

75 3 **The scene with Margarete follows**] In the 8th lecture (pp. 255–280) Schubarth discusses scenes 7 through 13 of part 1. Kierkegaard follows Schubarth's remarks on the first scene in the street, where Faust falls in love with the young and innocent Margarete (or Gretchen), and the next scene, where Faust and Mephistopheles sneak into Margarete's room in the evening in order to place a jewelry box in her dresser. Finally, Schubarth discusses the scene in the house of Margarete's neighbor Martha, where Margarete tells her about the jewelry box she found. Just then Mephistopheles shows up—ostensibly, in order to report to Martha that her long missing husband is dead, but in fact in order to arrange a meeting between Margarete and Faust.

3 **as S. correctly remarks, she is**] Pertains to the scene where Faust meets Margarete for the first time on the street. Schubarth characterizes her in the following way on p. 256: "The girl herself, so young and naive, looks him over with a single glance and has to free herself from him unwillingly. O woe to you, poorest one! She is unfortunately no" ... Kierkegaard continues below.

4 **leider keine Kokette ... ist und bleibt**] "Unfortunately no coquette, she is an inexperienced innocent who succumbs to such bold obtrusiveness even more quickly than to the sophisticated arts of love. For precisely because she is innocent and has honorable intentions, she becomes an unwitting advocate, through her good intentions, to shamelessness by trying to interpret in a good light and in terms of good manners that which is and remains impudence." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 256.

11 **Sensuousness now takes . . . among books**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 256f.

14 **Margarete . . . appears**] After Faust's short meeting with Margarete on the street, Mephistopheles intervenes. Faust wants Mephistopheles to obtain Margarete for him, to which Mephistopheles replies: "She is an innocent, and so much so, / that she had nothing to confess; / over that girl I have no power," verses 2624–2626. Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 134 (*Faust*, p. 67). Schubarth briefly discusses the passage on p. 260, and again in greater depth on pp. 262f. According to his interpretation, Mephistopheles's excuse is meant seriously. Cf. note below.

16 **Sch. undertakes . . . his Devil theory**] Schubarth continues (pp. 263f.) with a closer characterization of Mephistopheles, i.e., the Devil (→ 72*m,1*). He writes on pp. 262f: "Here one may ask whether Mephistopheles's explanation concerning Margarete's innocence, and consequently his lack of power over her, was in fact meant seriously; or whether, in this way, he was only dissembling and mocking Faust. As far as the intention of the poet is concerned, however, Mephistopheles speaks with total seriousness."

20 **the scene . . . dumpfig hie")**] Refers to the passage in the "Evening" scene, where Mephistopheles and Faust have placed the jewelry box in Margarete's dresser and then disappear. When Margarete appears in the room with a lamp, she notices the stuffy air and exclaims as she is opening her window: "It is so sultry here, so close, / and yet it's not so warm outside. / I have a feeling I can't describe—/ if only Mother would come home! / Something is making my whole body tremble—/ I really am a silly, timid thing!", verses 2753–2758; *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, pp. 141f (*Faust*, p. 71).

21 **in dem Weben . . . baldige Ankunft**] ("It is so sultry here, so close"). Schubart adds: "in the texture of sympathetic feelings that the poet describes for us, we ought not to wonder that Margarete has, upon her return, a secret, inexplicable intimation of the vanished presence of the two strangers. It was a delicate poetic touch for Goethe to allow us to feel this spirit, given to the human being, in which he senses the destiny of his distant future at the most significant moments of his life and in the most delicate feelings. Thus Margarete shivers with intimation when she enters the room, where the air seems to her so sultry, although outside it is not warm. She feels herself uneasy and alone and wishes that her absent mother would soon return home." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 267.

35 **the scene between Mephisto and Marthe Schwerdtlein**] Reference to the scene in the house of Martha, Margarete's neighbor, where she complains to herself that she does not even know whether her disappeared husband is alive or dead. Margarete then arrives, and not long afterward Martha hears from Mephistopheles that her husband is in fact dead. Mephistopheles answers all of Martha's questions concerning her husband by telling the whole story of his death.

36 **p. 150 in my edition**] Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 150, where Mephistopheles makes his entrance.

37 **one cannot . . . with Margarete**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, p. 274:5–23.—**the tragic denouement with Margarete** → 78,*36*.

1 76 **S. thinks**] In the 9th lecture (pp. 281–310) Schubarth discusses the following scenes: "Forest and Cave," "Gretchen's Room," "Martha's Garden," "At the Well," "By the Ramparts," "Night: Street IV," and "Cathedral." Kierkegaard follows Schubarth's exegesis of the scene in Martha's garden, where Margarete interrogates Faust concerning his Christian belief and confides to him her abhorrence of Mephistopheles. — **köstliche Vexirscene**: splendid teasing scene.

4 **p. 182 in my ed**.] Alludes to the conversation between Faust and Margarete in Martha's garden, where Margarete confides her disgust for Mephistopheles: "The person with you all the time / is someone I detest with all my soul; / never in my whole life has anything / so cut me to the heart / as has that man's repellent face . . . / His presence makes my blood run cold. / There's no one otherwise whom I dislike, / but much as I may long to see you / I dread that man in some mysterious way, / think him a rogue and villain too. / May God forgive me if I do him wrong!" verses 3471–3482; *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 182 (*Faust*, p. 89).

4 **Margarete's anxiety . . . a reproach**] Kierkegaard translates Schubarth, p. 289:8–25. The passage in Schubarth follows after the section in which he

notes the dread that Margarete reveals in the conversation with Faust.

17 **Man kann sagen ... Grauen vor der Hölle**] "One can say that, if at an earlier point Mephistopheles did not exist for Margarete, he now begins to acquire actuality, significance, and power over her. Mephisto also uses the title—from his side disparagingly—'Grasaffe' [foolish one], which he gives to her, though he had earlier called her 'a good, innocent thing.' On the whole this scene is uncommonly strange on account of the powers and forces that are in play in it. Into the most holy and heavenly things, which both these friendly and open-hearted souls are concerned with here, a satanic mark imprints itself, a secret, foreboding dread of Hell." Quotation from pp. 289f., slightly altered.

29 **Regarding the conversation**] Refers to the conversation between Faust and Margarete, the so-called catechism scene in Martha's garden, where Margarete interrogates Faust on his Christian belief; cf. verses 3414–3468.

32 **He then goes over ... the various creeds**] Schubarth argues (pp. 294–296) that the spiritual and national characters of different epochs are reflected in the various religious confessions. As examples he points to the three major branches of the Christian religion (i.e., the Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant) as well as the different confessions within Protestantism (i.e., the Lutheran, Reformed, Calvinist, etc.). Schubarth pursues this theme in the following pages in relation to the conversation between Faust and Margarete on Christian belief.

39 **A character ... the summit of all confusion**] In the 10th lecture (pp. 311–336) Schubarth discusses the last 5 scenes of part 1 of *Faust*: "Walpurgis Night," "Walpurgis Night's Dream. Intermezzo," "An Expanse of Open Country," "Night: Open Fields," and "Prison." In particular, Kierkegaard follows Schubarth's discussion of the scene set on Walpurgis Night, which is the night before May 1. According to popular superstition, the witches fly to Blocksberg mountain on this night. Mephistopheles and Faust, who have fled following the murder of Valentin (→ 78,*36*), appear at Blocksberg for the Walpurgis Night festival. After the dance, Margarete suddenly appears before Faust (→ 77,*34*). The party concludes with the performance of the play "Walpurgis Night's Dream" (→ 78,*15*). Kierkegaard here translates Schubarth, p. 316:4–26. — **Blocksberg**: The name refers to Brocken, the highest mountain in the region of Harz (in central Germany). It has also been used for other mountains in Germany, Hungary, and Sweden. — **Auerbach's Cellar**: → 74,*21*. — **Witch's kitchen**: → 74,*21*.

It was part ... perfect arbitrariness] Kierkegaard translates Schubarth, pp. 317:6–318:2. *10* 77

But the real ... limitations of life] Kierkegaard summarizes and translates Schubarth, pp. 318:23–321:3. — **the mysterious vision of Gretchen's form**: Refers here and in the following to the passage where Faust, in the scene set on Walpurgis Night, sees a pale, beautiful girl slowly moving before him, as if she had shackles on her feet. This is exactly how Faust will later see Margarete as she sits in prison. Faust asks Mephistopheles whether she resembles Margarete, to which he replies that it is only an illusion, a lifeless silhouette, whose glance is dangerous to behold. When Faust continues to see Margarete before him, Mephistopheles calls him a seduced fool, for that is precisely the magical art, that everyone sees in the apparition his own beloved. Faust then sees a scarlet band, like an ornament, around the beautiful woman's neck. This signifies, Mephistopheles remarks, that she has been beheaded, and thus she can also carry her head under her arm. Cf. verses 4183–4209. *34*

The Walpurgis Night dream ... on Blocksberg] The scene "Walpurgis Night's Dream" is a play performed on the night of Walpurgis on Blocksberg. It contains over 40 different, continuous voices, each one expressing itself in 4 lines. Before the play begins, it is announced (verses 4215–4220) as the last of 7 performed that night, and is said to have been both written and performed by dilettantes. Kierkegaard follows Schubarth, pp. 325f. *15* 78

Indem übrigens ... der Weltgeschichte] "In that Blocksberg pertains not merely to one period of time, but rather to the most ancient as well as the most contemporary times, it introduces a significant suspension of the everyday concept of time to which we shall have to accustom ourselves more and more. In what follows, the fate of our hero—which is presented in part 2—becomes more and more detached from a definite time and place. Faust is transformed from the historical-actual person he appeared to us as in part 1 (i.e., in terms of how he spoke and carried himself) into a mythical- *17*

allegorical and symbolic personality. Henceforth the destiny of our hero loses its individual traits and approaches something universal—indeed, approaches the most universal level of the world-historical."

36 **how there developed out of this . . . a real satisfaction**] Kierkegaard translates Schubarth, pp. 334:5–335:21. — **Entzweiung**: dissension. — **Valentin's murder**: Refers to the scene "Night: On the Street in Front of Gretchen's Door," where Faust and Mephistopheles visit Margarete in order to serenade her from below her window. Suddenly the soldier Valentin—Margarete's brother who returned home upon hearing that his sister was pregnant—leaps forward with a sword. A scuffle follows, and through Mephistopheles's prompting, Valentin falls upon Faust's sword. — **Gretchen's wretchedness**: After the murder of Valentin, Faust and Mephistopheles flee, leaving Margarete to wander about unhappily. In a state of disorientation she kills her (and Faust's) child. She is then placed in prison, manacled, and sentenced to death, where she awaits her executioner in a state of anxiety and madness. — **Brocken**: i.e., Blocksberg (→ 76,*39*).

79 26 **Faust Part Two . . . scattered fragments**] Though Goethe had already outlined a plan for part 2 of *Faust* in the 1790s, he did not seriously set to work on it until 1825. By August of 1831 he considered what he had written to be finished and sealed the manuscript for posthumous publication. However, in January of 1832, he read aloud the whole text for his stepdaughter Ottilie and made several corrections to the manuscript. And, as late as 5 days before his death in March of 1832, Goethe wrote (in a letter) that he was contemplating filling the gaps that still existed in the plot. Part 2 of *Faust*, with 5 acts, was published in 1832 as the 1st volume of *Goethe's nachgelassene Werke* [Goethe's Posthumous Works], appearing as vol. 41 of *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*). In a parenthesis on the title page it is said to have been finished in the summer of 1831. Schubarth's discussion of part 2 of the tragedy, in his 11th lecture, is based on those sections that Goethe had already published. In volume 12 of *Goethe's Werke* from 1828 (pp. 249–313), in fact, 2/3 of part 2 of the tragedy was published, including the following scenes: "A Pleasant Landscape" (→ 80,*15*); "An Imperial Palace," with its 2 sections, "Throne Room" (→ 80,*15*) and "Great Hall" (→ 80,*15*); and, finally, the beginning of the scene entitled "A Garden." After this a concluding parenthesis follows with the words "to be continued." In addition to the parts that were "to be continued," Schubarth was acquainted with the Helen scene (→ 80,*18*), which had already been published under the title "Helen: Classico-Romantic Phantasmagoria. An Intermezzo." This scene comprises the 3rd act of part 2. Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 4, 1827, pp. 229–307 (*Faust*, pp. 216–253).

He calls attention . . . by the poet] Kierkegaard 31
summarizes Schubarth's introduction to the 11th lecture, pp. 337:9–19.

He reminds us . . . the second part is unfulfilled] 34
Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth pp. 338:5–19.

Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt] "Men err as 35
long as they keep striving." Quotation from "Prologue in Heaven," verse 317, where the Lord says this to Mephistopheles. Cf. *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,*18*), vol. 12, p. 24 (*Faust*, p. 10).

Ein guter Mensch . . . wohl bewußt] "A good man, 37
in his groping intuition, is well aware of what's his proper course." Quotation from "Prologue in Heaven," verse 328f. of *Faust*, where the Lord says to Mephistopheles that, one day, he will come to see the truth of the statement.

Also, Mephisto . . . such heresies] Kierkegaard 38
translates Schubarth, pp. 338:20–339:7.

a remark by Goethe . . . "Helen" interlude] The 5 80
passage comes from Goethe's article "Helena: Intermezzo," in *Kunst und Alterthum* (→ 70,*20*), vol. 6, no. 1 (1827), p. 201.

Darüber aber mußte . . . Verhältnisse durch- 7
führen] "I am amazed that those who undertook to continue and complete my fragment did not hit upon the thought that was so near at hand: the adaptation of a 2nd part would necessarily have to be raised above the earlier, wretched spheres, and such a man would have to be realized through more meaningful relationships in higher regions." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 339.

the scene of F.'s awakening] The 1st scene in part 15
2, entitled "A Pleasant Landscape" (→ 79,*26*), where Faust is set at ease by the song of the elves and, with new faculties, awakens in a blooming meadow. Schubarth discusses this on pp. 340–343.

at the emperor's court and the great court festival] 15
The 2 scenes at the emperor's palace (→ 79,*26*): the 1st in the throne room, where Mephistopheles, as

the emperor's fool, promises to acquire riches for the country; and the 2nd in the great hall, which is packed with guests for the masquerade. Schubarth discusses these on pp. 343–352.

18 **The Helen fragment**] Schubarth discusses the section where Faust meets the most beautiful of all women, Helen, on pp. 352–363 (→ 79,26). After being liberated from her abduction by prince Paris, the event which had occasioned the Trojan war, Helen returned to her ancestral home in Sparta. She is received by Mephistopheles, now cloaked as the old, despised housekeeper Phorkyas. He tells her that she will herself be the sacrifice that her husband, King Menelaus, will require immediately upon returning home. In order to save her life, Helen follows Phorkyas to the secure, medieval castle, where Faust is the lord. Faust falls in love with Helen, she becomes queen, and they have the playful son Euphorion. Later, after Euphorion falls to the earth and dies in an attempt to fly, Helen leaves Faust so that she can follow her son into the underworld.

18 **in which ... passage from Goethe ... seeing Helen**] On p. 353 Schubarth cites a passage from Goethe's "Helena: Intermezzo," in *Kunst und Alterthum* (→ 70,20), vol. 6, no. 1 (1827), pp. 202f.

38 **As a conclusion ... the whole work**] In the 12th lecture (pp. 364–385) Schubarth outlines some fundamental ideas that he thinks ought to be developed in Goethe's promised sequel to part 1 of *Faust* (→ 79,26).

41 **Wenn das Streben ... im Stande sei**] "If it is really the case that the striving for the absolute characterizes, in diverse ways, the modern and contemporary person, and if it is really the case that this goal is to be pursued along the earnest paths of philosophy, then it is curious how the poet seems innately to know this pursuit to be a delusion in which nothing of positive significance is to be acquired. The poet pursues a contrasting, playful path. In a manner that is deep, more fitting for the task, and self-disavowing, he offers the most brilliant advantages and satisfaction. The poet, that is, is granted the right to be transported beyond the normal limitations of dissatisfied humanity, to pass beyond all the boundaries and limits that apply in necessary and contingent ways to human beings. In this way the poet initiates in his imagination, entering into the unbounded, yet pleasant, kind of arbitrariness and uninhibitedness of the latter, the never-ending struggle against the world. Thus the absolute cannot be grasped in the precincts of philosophy. In philosophy it remains ever rigid, dry, dead, and unenjoyed, and provokes insane combinations. Rather, the concept of the absolute belongs to poetry, which alone gives it validity. Through the unlimited enthusiasm of the imagination, to which poetry corresponds, the absolute becomes living, effective, true, as well as enjoyable and a delight." Quotation from pp. 384f., slightly altered.

I will now ... S's introduction] In the 2nd lecture 27 81
(pp. 32–80 and pp. 80–84 (→ 82,29)) Schubarth gives a general introduction to Goethe's *Faust*.

Eine humoristische ... Resultate null wird] "A 29
humorous treatment and its attendant perspective undoubtedly appear wherever it is the case that different things, e.g., valuable and worthless, are brought together before our intuition—whether simultaneously or immediately one after the other. More precisely, the humorous appears when the well-known difference between the two things seems to disappear in such a way that the intuition is brought at this moment into a relation with something higher, an absolute, which sometimes appears clearly, sometimes recedes into the background. In any case the usual validity of the distinction between the two things is lost and nullified in the acknowledged result." Quotation from Schubarth, pp. 59f.

As an example ... lying below] Kierkegaard fol- 39
lows Schubarth's examples, pp. 60:12–61:12.

Was nun aber dieses ... wirken könnte] "But what 41
exactly this higher element—in terms of which the otherwise established difference and worth of things recedes—represents, that is something which constitutes the differing and varying property of humor. Humor can lift itself into the most elevated regions, yet it can also persist along pathways that are low and trivial. There is nothing ordinary, nothing grotesque, that cannot be viewed humorously and have a humorous effect." "In any case a certain broadness of the state of the world, a certain diversity of objects and situations is presupposed, if humor is to be developed. Therefore it is understandable why this view of life and way of dealing with things is found less among the ancients, and is developed only in the contemporary world." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 61.

82 15 **He then makes ... humor full of longing**] The distinction between naive and sentimental poetry comes from Friedrich Schiller (→ 64*m,1*).

17 **Der Unterschied ... sentimentale Humor**] "The difference between the two kinds of humor shows its effectiveness primarily in the way each intends the absolute: the one by sublating the usual differences between things, the other by drawing new contrasts. That is to say, if the absolute is posited as something present, achievable, immanent, then naive humor emerges; but if it is posited in the distance, in the beyond, in supernatural regions, then sentimental humor emerges." Quotation from Schubarth, p. 62, slightly altered.

25 **E.g., Jean Paul**] Schubarth refers to Jean Paul Richter as an example on pp. 62f. — **Jean Paul**: (→ 53,*29*).

26 **He shows ... a priceless gift**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 64:13–65:2.

29 **From pages 80–84 ... second lecture**] Namely, in a so-called afterword.

31 **a certain one-sided ... all his works**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 80:18–81:2.

34 **S. then tries ... dramatic presentation**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, p. 81:3–19.—**A. W. Schlegel**: → 56*m,7*. Refers to *Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur* [On Dramatic Art and Literature] vols. 1–3, parts 1–2 (Heidelberg, 1809–11; ASKB 1392–1394). Cf. especially vol. 3, pp. 401–404, where Schlegel discusses Goethe's *Faust*.

38 **He shows ... content in F.**] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 81:20–82:3. — **Lord Byron**: English poet (1788–1824), in whose dramatic poem *Manfred* (1817), also cited by Schubarth, he has the conscience-stricken hero cast out demonic spirits. The spirits, however, are unable to grant him the forgetfulness he requires.

83 1 **In the third lecture ... the prologue**] In the 3rd lecture (pp. 85–112) Schubarth discusses the 3 scenes that form the framework for the whole of *Faust*: namely, the "Dedication," the "Prelude on the Stage"—in which the worried theater manager, the high-strung poet, who is ready to give up, and the actor discuss their interpretation of the play—and finally the "Prologue in Heaven," in which Mephistopheles and the Lord wager on whether or not Faust will be brought to a fall.

3 **On p. 103 ... have already developed**] Kierkegaard refers to Schubarth (pp. 103:8–104:2), who points out that Goethe allows God, the Devil, angels, and demons to appear side by side.—Cf. also Schubarth's theory of the Devil (→ 72*m,1*).

p. 106 likewise a contribution] See the following note. 5

He calls attention ... another side] Kierkegaard follows Schubarth, p. 106:11–17. — **Klopstock**: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803), German poet; the reference is to his great epic *Der Messias* [The Messiah] (1748–73). — **Milton**: John Milton (1608–74), English poet, the reference is to his *Paradise Lost* (1667). — **Byron in his Cain**: Lord Byron's (→ 82,*38*) epic drama *Cain* (1821). 5

Goethe thinks ... the book of Job] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth, pp. 106:18–107:9. — **Book of Job**: The story that frames the book of Job is the following: "One day the heavenly beings came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan also came among them. The Lord said to Satan, 'Where have you come from?' Satan answered the Lord, 'From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it.' The Lord said to Satan, 'Have you considered my servant Job? There is no one like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man who fears God and turns away from evil.' Then Satan answered the Lord, 'Does Job fear God for nothing? Have you not put a fence around him and his house and all that he has, on every side? You have blessed the work of his hands, and his possessions have increased in the land. But stretch out your hand now, and touch all that he has, and he will curse you to your face.' The Lord said to Satan, 'Very well, all that he has is in your power; only do not stretch out your hand against him!' So Satan went out from the presence of the Lord," Job 1:6–12. 8

The outcome ... the divine court] Kierkegaard summarizes Schubarth's characterization of Goethe's conception of the Devil, pp. 107:23–108:8. 10

From an earlier excerpt] Cf. an undated entry (Not2:2.b / *Pap*. I C 53) in Notebook 2 from 1835, where Kierkegaard follows Stieglitz's discussion of Lessing's fragment on Faust. 16 83

Lessing's adaptation of Faust ... Band XXII pp. 213–231] G. E. Lessing (1729–81), German author, dramatist, critic, and philosopher. Kierkegaard refers to *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämmtliche Schriften*, edited by K. G. Lessing, J. J. Eschen- 17

burg and F. Nicolai, vols. 1- 31 (Berlin, 1793–1825). Cf. vol. 22 (1794), pp. 213–230, which contains Lessing's work on Faust in 3 parts (see below).

21 **a letter from Engel ... among them F**.] The first section (pp. 213–220) contains a letter from the theater director, the philosopher and poet Johann Jakob Engel (1741–1802), to Lessing's brother K. G. Lessing, who was the editor of Lessing's works. In the letter Engel lets K. G. know of a scene from Lessing's adaptation of Faust. He writes: "It is quite true, my dear friend, that your blessed, most excellent brother communicated to me several of his ideas concerning the dramatic piece ... With respect to his Faust, about which you mainly inquire, I know only a few things. I remember at least the general layout and the last major phrase of the first scene," p. 213.

29 **Gott seinen Liebling zu rauben ... Volks würde**] "God to rob his beloved—a thoughtful, lonely youth, given over entirely to the truth, breathing it in, feeling it, denying every passion, except the passion for truth: he would be dangerous to you and all of us if he would ever become a teacher of the people." Quotation from p. 218, slightly altered.

34 **However, this devil ... You shall not win**] Cf. pp. 218f., where Satan vigorously interrogates the 4th devil about his further plans.

38 **The plot now unfolds**] After developing the 1st scene, Engel anticipates the movement of the whole play by remarking that the youth, who is to be seduced by Satan, is Faust. Kierkegaard continues below.

39 **diesen Faust begräbt ... hat geben wollen**] "The angel puts this Faust into a deep sleep and creates in his place a phantom [who persists] up to the moment when the Devil, being completely convinced of its reality, disappears. Everything that transpires with this phantom is dreamlike for the actually sleeping Faust. He awakens when the devils have already departed—shamefacedly and furiously—and thanks providence for the warning it willed to give him through such an instructive dream." Quotation from pp. 219f., slightly altered.

84 8 **F. now proves ... to seduce him**] Cf. p. 220, where Engel, continuing the above, writes the following: "He is now more firmly in truth and virtue than ever. Concerning the manner in which the Devil spins out and conducts his plan of seduction, do not expect any information from me. With respect to that, I do not know whether it is more your brother's account, or my own memory, that fails me, but those things lie too deeply buried in the dark for me to hope ever to bring them back to light."

In no. 2] The 2nd section (pp. 221–225) contains an outline of Lessing's *Doctor Faust*, consisting of a preamble, together with 4 scenes of act 1. 12

He has ... then a devil] In the 1st scene Faust is in his study, where he tries, once again, to conjure forth a spirit. In the 2nd scene a drowsy spirit does appear who at last says that his name is Aristotle. It is, however, the Devil himself. In the 3rd scene, where the spirit has disappeared again, Faust attempts to cast out another demon who finally appears in the 4th scene. — **Aristotle**: → 132,*21*. 12

3. F. und sieben Geister] 3. "Faust and seven spirits." The title of the 3rd section (pp. 226–230), which contains the only complete scene of Lessing's adaptation of Faust. 14

Here it ends ... evil] Faust has conjured forth 7 spirits, all of whom declare themselves to be the speediest. He interrogates them one by one as to how quick they are, and the last one answers: "Neither more nor less [quick] than the transition from good to evil," p. 230. To this Faust answers: "Ha! Then you are my Devil! So quick as the transition from good to evil!—Yes, that is quick, nothing is quicker than that! ... I have experienced how fast that is, I have experienced it!" p. 230. 15

Doctor Faust fliegendes Blatt aus Cöln] "Doctor Faust, Pamphlet from Cologne." The title of a pamphlet consisting of a ballad (of 92 lines) on Faust and Mephistopheles. The ballad is found in Stieglitz's *Die Sage vom Doctor Faust* [The Legend of Doctor Faust], pp. 179–182, where there is also a reference to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, cf. below. 18 84

Cf. Knaben Wunderhorn] *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutscher Lieder* [The Boy's Magic Horn: Old German Songs], ed. L. Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, vols. 1–3 (Heidelberg, 1806–08; second ed. 1819; ASKB 1494–1496). Cf. especially vol. 1, pp. 214–217. The 2nd edition is mentioned on a receipt from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore to Kierkegaard dated March 14, 1836. 20

In Tieck's Schriften, vol. 5, p. 462] Refers to the 2nd part of Ludwig Tieck's *Phantasus*, printed in 22 84

Ludwig Tieck's Schriften (→ 69,*24*), vol. 5, where the fictional character Ernst (p. 462) speaks about the leadership of the theater in Weimar, yet without mentioning Goethe's name.—**Goethe's activity**: Goethe (→ 70,*18*) became the director of the newly instituted theater in Weimar in 1791. Until his departure in 1817, he managed all of its aspects.

84 *28* **In Tieck's Schriften . . . Tannenhaüser**] Refers to Ludwig Tieck's story "Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser. In zwei Abschnitten" [Faithful Eckart and Tannhäuser] first printed in vol. 1 of *Romantische Dichtungen* (1799), afterward in *Phantasus* and *Ludwig Tieck's Schriften* (→ 69,*24*), vol. 4, pp. 173–213.

32 **the story about Venusberg . . . e.g., p. 210**] Refers to Tannhäuser's description of his sojourn at Venusberg (pp. 209–211), where he sees different human forms wandering about, hears mesmerizing music, beholds the extraordinary colors, and feels that this is what he had always wished for. There then appears a swarm of happy heathen gods, led by Dame Venus, who bid him welcome (pp. 210f.). Kierkegaard's memory of Goethe's *Faust* probably relates to the scene on Blocksberg (→ 76,*39*).

84*m* *2* **in Lenau's Faust where Mephisto strikes up**] Refers to the Austrian author Nikolaus Lenau (actually Nikolaus Niembsch von Strehlenau, 1802–50), whose *Faust. Ein Gedicht* [Faust. A Poem] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836), contains a scene "Der Tanz" [The Dance], pp. 46–51, in which Mephistopheles, accompanied by demonic fiddle music, incites Faust to throw himself into the chaotic dance. Martensen had already published an essay on Lenau's *Faust* (→ 115,*22*) in 1836.

4 **Cf. Irische Elfenmärchen . . . 28, 29, 30**] *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. from English into German by J. and W. Grimm (Leipzig, 1826; ASKB 1423), was originally from Thomas Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London, 1827; 2nd edition). Kierkegaard had probably borrowed the book from the Student Union (→ 135,*25*). Here the reference is to the story "The Young Piper" (pp. 39–54), about a poor family whose only son was a miserable, ugly, ill-tempered brat—a real devil's child—whom the mother, against all advice, could not bring herself to part with. One day a bagpipe player came to the house and it became apparent that the 5-year old boy could play the instrument. Soon thereafter the father bought a bagpipe for the child and he began making music. People from all around would come to listen and to dance.

Literature on Faust] In compiling the list that follows, Kierkegaard relied heavily on Stieglitz' treatise on Faust (→ 96,*34*). When it has not been possible to identify all these works first-hand, the editors of the present edition have relied on two modern bibliographies: Karl Dietrich Leonhard Engel, *Bibliotheca Faustiana. Zusammenstellung der Faust-Schriften vom 16. Jahrhundert bis Mitte 1884* (abbrev. *Bibliotheca Faustiana*) (Oldenburg, 1885, reprinted Hildesheim and New York, 1970) and Hans Henning, *Faust-Bibliographie*, vols. 1–3 (Berlin and Weimar, 1966–76). Together, these works include thousands of entries on Faust. *1* 85

The magician Virgilius] The popular legend of the magician Virgilius is associated with the Roman poet Publius Vergilius Maro (Virgil) (70 B. C.–19 A. D.). In the Middle Ages his collection of pastoral poetry, *Bucolica*, and especially his major work the *Aeneid*, were regarded not merely as without peer, but also as prophetic and allegorically profound. There arose a popular view of Virgil as a magician who could perform the most unbelievable miracles. In time this myth spread all over Europe and was reproduced in many versions; cf. *Bibliotheca Faustiana* (→ 85,*1*), pp. 613–618, which cites ca. 20 titles from before 1838. *28* 96

Erzählungen . . . Prenzlau 1825] *Erzählungen und Märchen* [Stories and Fairy Tales], ed. Fr[iedrich] H[einrich] v[on] d[er] Hagen, vols. 1–2, Prenzlau, 1825–26. "Geschichte des Zauberers Virgilius" [History of Virgilius the Magician] can be found in vol. 1, pp. 155–206 of the second ed. (Prenzlau, 1838) . SK excerpts from the work in a number of contemporary journal entries (*Pap*. I C 82–83). Hagen (1780–1856) was a well-known philologist and expert on German literature. *29*

Görres] → 68,*15*. *31*

Die teutschen Volksbücher] *Die teutschen Volksbücher* [The German Folk Books], Heidelberg, 1807 (ASKB 1440). *31*

Prompted by . . . p. 137] Refers to the treatise "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Legend of Doctor *34* 96

Faust] by Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, printed in *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Friedrich von Raumer (Leipzig, 1834, pp. 125–210), which describes how different historical periods have attributed different deeds and capabilities to Faust.

36 **a view with some similarity**] Refers to the idea that what the Middle Ages represented in 2 persons is now presented in a single person. Cf. the journal entries on loose paper *Pap*. I A 122, 145, 226, and 284.

38 **Ueber das wahrscheinliche Alter . . . von Koberstein p. 57**] Cf. the note on p. 137 in Stieglitz (→ 96,34). Refers to August Koberstein, *Ueber das wahrscheinliche Alter und die Bedeutung des Gedichtes vom Wartburger Kriege, ein litterar-historischer Versuch*, *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* [On the Apparent Age and Significance of the Poetry of the Wartburg Castle Contests: A Literary-Historical Essay, a Report from the Domain of Historical-Antiquarian Research], 2 vols. (Naumburg, 1823 [II + 86 s.]; ASKB 1742), p. 57. The book contains 15 chapters in which Koberstein investigates the historical context of the poem "The Wartburg War." The book concludes with an appendix titled "Summary of the Different Legends of the Wartburg War." Later in the work (pp. 69–86), there is an essay titled "Something concerning Herr Gottschalk's Report on the Courts of Rudelsburg and Saaleck and Taub's Chronicle." In the following, Kierkegaard refers to chapter 13 (pp. 53–58) and cites the passage mentioned from p. 57 of Koberstein.

97 6 **the poem he mentions**] i.e., the anonymous cycle of poems "Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg" [Poetic Contest at the Wartburg Castle] from ca. 1260, which contains a number of poems in different verse forms, divided into 2 parts ("Das Fürstenlob" [Praise of the Prince] and "Das Rätselspiel" [Riddle-Guessing Game]). The poems are about the poetic contest that was supposed to have taken place in 1206–07 at the court of Earl Hermann I of Thuringia, in which the famous minstrel singers (→ 68m,6) Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Walther von der Vogelweide, Biterolf, Reinmar von Zweter, and Wolfram von Eschenbach (cf. next note) composed encomiums to the best prince. When Heinrich von Ofterdingen at last loses to Walther von der Vogelweide, he finds the decision so unjust that he appeals to the magician Klinsor (cf. next note). In the 2nd part of the poem, Klinsor presents a number of riddles to Wolfram von Eschenbach, which he solves. The poems, written in Middle-High German and transmitted in a number of different manuscript versions, were first published by L. Ettmüller in *Der Singerkrieg ûf Wartburc. Gedicht aus dem 13. Jahrhundert* [The Poetic Contest at the Wartburg Castle: Poems from the 13th Century] (Ilmenau, 1830).

das Räthselspiel . . . Klinsor] "The riddle-guessing 7
game between Wolfram v. Eschenbach and Klinsor." The expression is from Koberstein, p. 53 (cf. also p. 18), which makes the argument that this part of the poem (cf. above) should be viewed as an independent poem not directly connected to the historical poetic contest in Thuringia. — **Wolfram v. Eschenbach**: German poet (ca. 1170–1219), who moved to the court of Earl Hermann I of Thuringia in 1203, where he produced a significant corpus of poems. Best known is his large epic poem *Parzival* (→ 67,22), which Kierkegaard owned in an edition from 1836 (cf. ASKB 1635). — **Klinsor**: Or Klingsor, a literary figure who appears as a magician in *Parzival*. In *Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg* he is the king of Hungary and a magician. With the help of the Devil, he attempts to destroy the pious Eschenbach's arguments for Christianity.

Und so ist denn . . . Aufhebens und Zerstörens] 9
"And thus, as said, it is out of a desire aimed at glorifying Wolfram, as well as out of a preference for the allegorical and the enigmatic, that our guessing-game came into being. In the guessing-game, the capable Wolfram, who is strengthened in his faith in the infallibility and universal validity of Christianity, goes up against the taunting and crafty magic of Klinsor, which derives from a faith in nature and points back to its heathen origin in the Orient as its fatherland. Klinsor attempts to trip up the Christian and demonstrate the inadequacy of the Christian revelation. Not succeeding, he calls upon the help of the Devil himself, who brings the element of eternal denial, negation and destruction." Quotation from Koberstein, pp. 56f., slightly altered.

already here we see . . . develop in one individual] 23
Cf. p. 57 in Koberstein for a continuation of the passage Kierkegaard cites.

98 10 **something our author . . . second part of F.**] Part 2 of Goethe's *Faust* (→ 79,26) appeared in 1832, i.e., 9 years after Koberstein's book.

20 **the scriptural expression "it was in the beginning"**] Refers to Jn 1:1: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." In Goethe's depiction, Faust refers to this passage in the effort to translate the Greek term "logos" first by "word," then by "thought" and "power," until he finally chooses the expression "the deed." Cf. part 1, verses 1224–1237.

42 **the childlike, pious Wolfram and the artful Klingsor**] → 97,7.

99 2 **Christianity . . . a life-view . . . as a struggle**] Cf. Eph 6:10–12. The traditional teleological idea of the *ecclesia militans*, or church militant, is based on this passage. The idea is that only with the return of Christ shall the church become the church triumphant, or *ecclesia triumphans*. On this point see, for example, K. Hase's dogmatics: "The living society into which Christ at all times takes up humanity in reconciliation and preserves in grace is the Church, instituted by Christ, fighting against the world (*Ecclesia militans*, Eph 6:12); at length it becomes the triumphant kingdom of God on earth (*triumphans*, Heb 12:23)." Cf. *Hutterus redivivus eller den Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirkes Dogmatik* [Hutterus redivivus or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], trans. into Danish A. L. C. Listow (Copenhagen, 1841 [German 1828; 2nd ed. 1833]), p. 351 (§ 119). In the 4th edition (ASKB 581) § 124, p. 322.

99*m* 5 **Schlegel's remarks on the three kinds of tragedy**] Refers probably to Friedrich Schlegel's (→ 61*m*,8) threefold division in *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie* [On the Study of Greek Poetry] (1795–96), published in his *Werke* (→ 61*m*,8), vol. 5, 1823, pp. 5–218. In the preface (pp. 22f.), Schlegel proposes a division between objective tragedy (i.e., ancient or Greek tragedy), interesting tragedy (i.e., Shakespeare), and French tragedy (i.e., Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire). In the 1st chapter (pp. 63–70), he considers more closely the relation between objective and interesting tragedy, with special reference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

99 8 **In F. v. Baader . . . pp. 58f.**] Franz Ritter von Baader (1765–1841), German philosopher, theologian, professor at Munich from 1826. Refers to Baader's *Fermenta Cognitionis*, vols. 1–5 (Berlin, 1822–24; ASKB 394), volume 1, where the note to p. 27 reads: "God desires from us that we first serve him as his tools (apprentices); he then elevates us to his co-workers (journeymen); and finally, he declares us free as masters or agents. The Devil, by contrast, adopts the opposite method. He treats us first of all as his master, whom he serves as a mere tool (e.g., Mephistopheles appears as a poodle). Later, however, he becomes a co-worker with us; and finally, he plays the absolute master, to whom we submit as blind instruments. In this way every true and legitimate submission leads to true freedom, just as every false and illegitimate freedom leads to servile submission." The reference is also to the 1st section of vol. 1 (pp. 58–61), where Baader discusses the "modernized" representation of Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*.

Literature on the Wandering Jew] The Wandering Jew or Ahasuerus appears in several folktales, first recorded in chronicles in southern Europe and England in the 13th century and later appearing in numerous folk books and poetic depictions. An incomplete list of the Ahasuerus literature can be found in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* (→ 85,1), nos. 2266–2372. Compare Kierkegaard's Notebook 2 from 1835 (Not2:11 / *Pap.* I C 63, 64). 100 1

cf. Popular Light Reading . . . Copenhagen, 1816] Refers to the work of librarian and professor Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829). Cf. his *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* [Popular Light Reading in Denmark and Norway throughout the Centuries] (Copenhagen, 1816), pp. 180–183. 2

Especially dissertations . . . immortali] Kierkegaard copies *Almindelig Morskabslæsning*, p. 182, where Nyerup draws attention to the dissertations on the Wandering Jew cited by Görres in his *Die teutschen Volksbücher*, pp. 200–203. 4

Görres, pp. 201–3] In *Die teutschen Volksbücher* [The German Folkbooks]. Cf. Nyerup's reference above. 12

Cf. Ein Volksbüchlein . . . pp. 267–274] Refers to the annotations on the history of the Wandering Jew in *Ein Volksbüchlein* [A Small Folkbook], ed. Ludwig Aurbacher (2nd expanded and improved edition, Munich, 1835; ASKB 1460). The book is found on a receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore, dated February 3, 1836. Aurbacher 13

refers here, among other things, to A. W. Schlegel's romance "die Warnung" [The Warning] (→ 100,17).

15 **Pages from the Notebook of a Jerusalem Shoemaker ... by Ingemann**] *Blade af Jerusalems Skomagers Lommebog, udgivne af B. S. Ingemann* [Pages from the Notebook of a Jerusalem Shoemaker, ed. by B. S. Ingemann] (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 1575). The book is found on a receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated February 9, 1836.

100 17 **The romance by A. W. Schlegel ... zweite Auflage, p. 407**] August Wilhelm Schlegel's (→ 56m,7) poem on the Wandering Jew, "Die Warnung. Romanze" [The Warning: A Romance], was first published in his *Poetische Werke* [Poetic Works], vols. 1–2 (Heidelberg, 1811), vol. 1, pp. 196–203. It consists of 22 stanzas of 7 lines each. It is also found in K. E. P. Wackernagel's *Auswahl deutscher Gedichte für höhere Schulen* [Selected German Poems for High Schools] (2nd, expanded edition, Berlin, 1836), pp. 407f.

100 20 **In Goethe's "Aus meinem Leben" ... the Wandering Jew's despair**] Goethe's (→ 100,20) autobiography *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth], which consists of 21 chapters divided into 4 parts, appeared from 1811 to 1833. It is published in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 70,18), vols. 24–26 and 48. The reference to the passage in Goethe's autobiography may be found in Nyerup (→ 100,2), p. 183, where in a note he remarks that Goethe "at one point had intended to make an epic poem of this fable, but he later abandoned the plan." The passage in Goethe is from the 15th book of the autobiography. Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 26, pp. 309–312, where Goethe outlines the introductory narrative of the intended poem, depicting the secular shoemaker Ahasuerus attempting, in vain, to convert Jesus. (For English translation cf. *From My Life (Parts One to Three)*, pp. 467–468).

100 24 **The Wandering Jew, translated ... at Stadthagens Forlag**] Refers to the anonymously published book *Den evige Jøde, oversat af det Tydske* [The Wandering Jew (literally, "The Eternal Jew"), translated from the German] (Copenhagen, 1797 [246 pp.]). The title page indicates that the book was published by J. M. Stadthagens Publishing House at Boas Brünnich. After a short narrative that sets up the story (pp. 1–7), the book presents the story of the Wandering Jew, told as 17 different journeys, one for each century up to that time.

4 young people ... answers in the negative] Refers 27
to the beginning of *Den evige Jøde*, pp. 1–3. — **Leipzig Easter Fair**: The best known of the annual markets which, since the Middle Ages, has drawn people to the city of Leipzig. The Easter Fair, which had earlier been a book market, lasted for as long as 3 weeks. — **Lavater's Physiognomical Fragments**: Refers to the Swiss priest and author Johann Casper Lavater (1741–1801), who laid the basis for physiognomy, i.e., the notion that a person's outward appearance, especially the contours of the face, expresses the interior qualities of his soul. This idea, which was later considered a science, became widely known in the 19th century from Lavater's book *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnisz und Menschenliebe* [Physiognomic Fragments toward the Furtherance of the Knowledge and Love of Humanity], vols. 1–4 (Leipzig and Winterthur, 1775–78; ASKB 613–616).

he informs ... been asserted] Refers to the Wan- 7 101
dering Jew's account of his first journey (pp. 19–21), where, in Rome, he becomes acquainted with the philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.), and the poet Titus Petronius Arbiter (1st century A.D.). Nero ordered both to commit suicide. During his discussion of Petronius, the Wandering Jew relates the following story: "It is certain that the well-known satire is his work. I am only mentioning this because some 1,600 years later it created the occasion for a delightful event. I was in Paris in 1688, walking around in the Luxembourg gardens at the Palace of Orleans, when I came upon a group of novelists, literary critics and scholars, who had gathered together by a large oak tree in a broad avenue and stood quarreling with one another. A large group of people were listening to them. I asked the first person who greeted me who these quarreling gentlemen were, and he described them as very competent, intelligent people who were well worth listening to. So I approached them and stood behind the area where they were arguing. The discussion was about Petronius and his satire, of which a new fragment had recently been discovered. With a raised voice an abbot proved that the fragment could not have been Petronius's

work, but must instead have been the work of a later compiler who lacked his taste and artistry. Another person refuted him, but so weakly that I could not refrain from speaking up in the matter in order to convince the abbot that everything he said demonstrated the fragment's originality, and that it contained the most accurate portrayal of the customs at the time that one could hope to read. 'We know what you will say,' began one of the group with a mocking and confident manner, 'you have read the notes of such and such a scholar and rely upon them. But count on it, sir, this satire is false, and we other scholars . . . ' 'Scholars here, scholars there,' I interrupted. 'You could not know better than I, for I was in Rome when Petronius sent the satire, under seal, to the emperor; in fact, I had one of its first copies.' 'You, sir, were in Rome in Nero's time?' he said. 'That's right,' I replied. At that point everyone shrugged their shoulders pityingly and went their way. I, too, went my way, but with the human satisfaction of being convinced that one is in the right, even if ridiculed by everyone else," pp. 17–21.—The "well-known satire" is the novel fragment *Satyricon*, which was rediscovered in the 15th to 17th centuries. It is generally assumed that the author of the satire was the same Petronius Arbiter who lived in Nero's court.

9 **where he sees . . . on the stage**] Refers to the account of the 14th journey of the Wandering Jew where, in Paris, he is present at the wedding of King Charles VI to Isabelle of Bavaria. At the end of the many festivities, a number of plays are performed, and in one of them the Wandering Jew sees himself represented for the first time. He says: "And here for the first time I saw, to my great amazement, *myself* played. For a couple of centuries I had heard rumors that my story had become widely known in many countries—even if it had not yet been treated by the most capable authors—and had been adopted by credible and well-known traditions. Yet here I became convinced of these rumors with my own eyes and ears when I saw an actor appear, announced with the name Ahasuerus, to play my role. He was the worst, most wretched actor of the whole troop; and when I saw myself so miserably treated, I came down with a feverish shiver, turning pale one moment, and red the next. When this attracted the attention of my neighbor, I feigned a sudden indisposition and left the play. I often thought to myself afterward what the heroes [of old] would say if they, like me—supplied with the gift of understanding all languages—saw themselves placed again in the world and in the galleries of the modern European theater. They could only rarely, I thought, be satisfied with the way they are presented on stage—and they would nearly always be forced to leave the house, unhappy with the way their roles were played," pp. 176f.

19 **he is equipped with . . . loquacity**] When the Wandering Jew promises the 4 young people that he will tell them the story of his travels, even though he will be in town for only a short time (→ 101,*22*), he adds: "As regards my story, I will have enough time to tell it, for I never sleep. Thus, you could relieve each other in order to put questions to me or to listen to me. For I could talk for a week without being any the worse for it," p. 5.

20 **αλαζονια**] Greek, misnomer for ἀλαζονεία (alazoneia), i.e., bragging and exaggeration. Aristotle (→ 132,*21*) describes this vice as the opposite of irony in *Nicomachean Ethics*, book 4, chapter 7 (1127a 13–b 32). Theophrastus also considers bragging to be characteristic of a certain type of person (no. 23) in his *Theophrasti Characteres* [The Characters of Theophrastus], ed. Friedrich Ast (Leipzig, 1816: ASKB 1204), pp. 27–29. In the comic tradition, the alazón figure is a fundamental comic type. Cf., for example, the bragging soldier in Plautus's *Miles gloriosus* and Holberg's *Jacob von Tyboe*.

22 **i.e., that the Wandering Jew . . . one place**] When the Wandering Jew tells the young people who he is (→ 100,*27*), they become excited and ask if he can tell them of his many travels. His reply is the following: " 'Gentlemen,' answered the Wandering Jew, 'I dare not stay in any one place for long. I am not allowed to stay in any one city longer than three days. I arrived here on Tuesday morning; thus, on Friday I must leave again. It will, however, be my pleasure to use this short time to tell you as much as I can still remember of what I have heard and seen in the 17 or 18 centuries that I have wandered throughout the world,' " pp. 4f.

24 **by satisfying their inquisitiveness for 3 days and 3 nights**] The introductory narrative of the book concludes with the Wandering Jew telling his story to the 4 young people for "3 days and 3 nights." Each of them writes it down in his own language.

The rest of the book is the story of the Wandering Jew as recorded by the German student.

101*m* 1 **the petrified wife of Lot**] When God's punishment destroys Sodom, Lot, along with his wife and their family, are saved by fleeing the city. However, when Lot's wife looks back upon the destruction of the city in spite of a prohibition, she turns into a pillar of salt. Cf. Gen 19:26.

101 34 **A. W. Schlegel's romance . . . ist kein Leben**] The following two lines are from A. W. Schlegel's romance on the Wandering Jew (→ 100,*17*). They are cited in L. Aurbacher's *Ein Volksbüchlein* (→ 100,*13*), p. 271. The whole stanza reads: "I am not young, I am not old, / My life is no life. / Just as restlessly as the sun circles above, / I must float here below. / My hair does not gray, / my face does not wrinkle, / neither does it laugh nor cry."

102 3 **So zieh' ich . . . zur Ruhe gehn**] "Thus I cast about day and night / The heart so full, the world so empty / I have already seen everything / but cannot find peace." This is the 5th stanza of 11 stanzas, each of 5 verses, which comprise Wilhelm Müller's romance "Der ewige Jude," printed in *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen auf das Jahr 1823* [Little Book of Social Diversions from the Year 1823], ed. A. von Wendt (Leipzig, 1823), pp. 10–12.

103 1 **Literature on Don Juan**] An incomplete list of the Don Juan literature at Kierkegaard's time can be found in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* (→ 85,*1*), nos. 2452–2568. At this point in *Journal BB*, Kierkegaard left pp. 75–83 blank.

105 2 **piquant and interesting**] The two expressions were general aesthetic concepts at the time and were used as such by Kierkegaard in, for example, *Either/Or* (*SKS* 2, 314).

4 **Mittheilungen aus dem Tagebuche . . . Brunswig 1833**] The popular stories of the English author and jurist Samuel Warren (1807–77), published under the pseudonym Dr. Harrisson, were published in serial fashion in *Blackwood's Magazine* (August 1830–August 1837). They were collected in the volume *Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician*, which appeared in the period 1832–38, and were subsequently translated into other languages. Kierkegaard follows K. Jürgens's German translation, of which the first 3 volumes appeared in Braunschweig in 1833, the 4th in 1836 (cf. ASKB 1907–1910). In the following, the references will be to the English original, *Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician*, vols. 1–2 (Paris, 1839).

in the first part of the piece . . . (pp. 159 f.)] The 28 reference is to the story "Intriguing and Madness," which is found in *Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician*, vol. 1, pp. 66–84.

Ach—jetzt, noch . . . halt ihn] "Ah, now, once 39 more—I said, I had a character for you—good; let him experience justice again, or, by my life, I will hiss at them in such a way as if I were a giant python, who lies coiled in the middle of the floor! How is that for a thought! Stop! I'm losing him anyway—hold him—hold him."

Der verdrehte Kopf . . . hypochondria] At the be- 6 107 ginning of the story "The Turned Head," the doctor recounts his meetings and conversations with the male patient "R-," who is an example of hypochondria. Cf. *Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician*, vol. 1, pp. 170–184.

The following outline . . . vaudeville] J. L. Heiberg 13 107 (→ 107,*24*) reviewed Adam Oehlenschläger's tragedy *Væringerne i Miklagard* [The Varangians in Constantinople] (1827) in three installments in his periodical *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* (→ 130,*3*), 1827, nos. 99–101. This prompted Oehlenschläger to reply, which in turn led to a long essay by Heiberg entitled "Svar paa Hr. Prof.Oehlenschlägers Skrift 'Om Kritiken i Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, over Væringerne i Miklagard' " [Response to Hr. Prof. Oehlenschläger's Article 'On the Critique in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*, Concerning *The Varangians in Constantinople*' "], printed in 9 articles in *Flyveposten* from January 25 to February 25, 1828 (nos. 7–8, 10–16). In the 6th article, published in number 13, Heiberg provides the following overview, excerpted by Kierkegaard, of the different types of comedy and their reciprocal relations: "At the level of immediacy is the so-called lower comedy, i.e., burlesque or farce, in which the individual is dominant. Reflection on this constitutes higher comedy, in which the individual must recede before the general. One could call the unity of both universal comedy. The higher comedy can be lyric, epic, or a unity of both. In its lyrical form, it is the *character study*, a poetic form to which certain plays of Molière and Holberg can be assigned. Those works

of Molière and Holberg which resist subsumption under the category of the character study belong to immediate comedy, or farce. The higher comedy in epic form is the *tragic drama* [Sørgespillet]. The unity of the character study and the tragic drama is what constitutes drama strictly speaking, i.e., the *comic drama* [Lystspillet]. In its immediate form, universal comedy constitutes a poetic form under which, before now, there has been nothing else to place besides *Aristophanic comedy*. It is still necessary to develop the Aristophanic comedy into something new, something more appropriate to the requirements of modern times. The reflection of this is the *musical comedy*, which in lyric form is the *opera*, and in epic form the *melodrama*. The unity of opera and melodrama is a poetic form that includes the *musical* [Syngespillet], the *opera*, and the *vaudeville*. Finally, the unity into which universal comedy develops itself is the lyrical drama, exemplified in the plays of Calderon. This is the highest point of the dramatic-poetic art which, for that very reason, goes beyond itself and becomes almost the opposite of what it originally was. Almost none of the requirements placed upon our modern plays pertain to Calderon's dramas—and vice versa, what is a requirement in those plays would, in the plays that we are accustomed to, be a mistake." — **Aristophanes**: Greek comic poet (445–385 B.C.), who wrote 44 comedies of which 11 have been preserved. — **Calderon**: Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–81), Spanish dramatist.

24 **Inspiration—Illusion**] After the above outline, Heiberg (→ 107,24) continues by characterizing the reciprocal relations of the different poetic forms and concludes the 6th article in the following way: "In order to express with two words, already adopted in the language of art, the entire contrast between tragedy and all the preceding poetic forms on the one side, and comedy on the other, one could say that the former is *inspiration*, whereas the latter, by contrast, is *illusion*. In the former the poet is himself transported (even in the epic the muse is called upon), and even when he transports the reader, it is not so much he himself who accomplishes this, but the muse. In comedy, by contrast, it is the poet who transports the reader, without himself being transported. This does not mean that he must remain cold and indifferent—on the contrary, he is here inspired, but inspiration is not the innermost source of his genius, not the point from which everything flows. Rather, discretion and a clear overview are the innermost sources. These two factors take over inspiration, as it were, comprehending it and transcending it. In the preceding poetic forms, discretion is included in inspiration. In comedy, by contrast, inspiration is included in discretion. It is precisely this inclusion that brings forth what we call illusion. For in the moment that the poet allows himself to be transported, the illusion is past—in exactly the same way as when a person, laughing at his own joke, does not bring other people to do so. In universal comedy, in which the concept of comedy goes beyond itself, illusion is once again lost. Already in the Aristophanic comedy it has practically ceased. In the musical play it appears again, but in a completely changed shape; and in the dramas of Calderon, it is altogether annihilated," no. 13, pp. 7f.

Why does Heiberg ... Caprice; irony; humor] In the 7th article, printed in no. 14, Heiberg begins by showing that "illusion is the principle of the most recent theatrical drama," and for this reason modern drama must build upon the fundamental basis of comedy and presuppose irony. Thus on p. 4 he writes: "Without irony, one cannot be a dramatic poet for the current age. The discretion with which the poet must temper his inspiration can be almost entirely attributed to [irony]. The total lack of irony in Oehlenschläger's tragedies thus constitutes an essential lack. Yet irony is not some kind of gift from heaven, as is genius itself. It is, on the contrary, an acquired good that genius comes to possess through its own powers. If we thus consider the comic in itself (i.e., not in the comedy, but in its abstract generality as it already appears in lyric poetry), then everyone who is familiar with the matters developed here will easily find, without lengthy demonstration, that in its immediate form, the comic is *caprice*; when it is reflected, it is *irony*; and that the unity of both these is *humor*. Oehlenschläger's immediate genius is, in all branches of poetry, capricious." — **Heiberg**: Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860), Danish author, editor, and critic; employed as theater director and translator at the Royal Theater from 1828 to 1839; made titular professor in 1829; docent in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the Royal Military Acad- 24

emy from 1830 to 1836. Heiberg was also considered Denmark's leading judge of taste at the time.

107 26 **Something on . . . and Don Giovanni**] Refers to the 3 operas of Mozart, in which the Page Cherubino (→ 107,*34*), Papageno (→ 110,*8*) and Don Giovanni (→ 110,*26*) appear.

28 **Tonight**] Refers to the performance of *The Magic Flute* (→ 110,*8*) on January 26, 1837 at the Royal Theater, where G. B. Cetti played Papageno.

30 **Don Giovanni**] i.e., the idea of "Don Juan," which preoccupied Kierkegaard in this period. The most decisive representation is Mozart's (→ 110,*26*).

34 **(1) The Page in Figaro**] i.e., Cherubino, the young man who is in love with the countess (but really also with every other woman he meets) in Mozart's opera *The Marriage of Figaro*. The opera was composed in 1786 to the text of Lorenzo da Ponte and based upon P. A. C. de Beaumarchais's play *Le mariage de Figaro* (1778). The play was performed 50 times at the Royal Theater from 1821 to 1832, and 12 times from 1832 to the fall of 1836. It was performed again on January 31, 1838.

108 3 **polemic**] From Greek "hē polemiké" (téchnē), the art of contest. In theology "polemic" was the discipline, in contrast to apologetics, whose task was to refute heretical opinions and writings. In the sentence "all becoming is a polemic," "polemic" is to be taken in its general meaning of contest, whereby it relates to the especially Hegelian idea according to which consciousness seeks continually to surpass its own contradiction.

6 **the child's "me"**] Cf. an entry dated August 1, 1835 in *Journal AA*, where Kierkegaard writes: "Just as a child takes time to learn to distinguish itself from objects and for quite a while so little distinguishes itself from its surroundings that, keeping the stress on the passive side, it says things like '*me* hit the horse'," (AA:12, p. 19).

29 **the vanishing object of desire with the yearning gaze of Ingeborg**] Refers to the 9th song ("Ingeborg's lament") in the Swedish author Esaias Tegnér's (1782–1846) romance cycle *Frithiofs saga* (Stockholm, 1825), pp. 71f. In the scene Ingeborg is sitting on the shore watching her beloved Frithiof sail out to sea. She exclaims: "Autumn winds blow; / Storming over the waters they go, / But, oh, how gladly wouldn't I be / Out there on the Sea! / Sails in the West / I watch on the ocean's heaving breast. / With Frithiof I'd like o'er the waves to fly / 'Neath the stormy sky." When Frithiof returns, she will presumably be dead, so she decides to love the falcon that he left behind: "Lend though you would / Your wings to me, through the space I could / Not fly; 'tis but death alone that brings / To mortals their wings. / Stay with me here; / Sit on my shoulder; look at the sea / Though no matter how we look and stare / We'll see him not there. / When I am dead / Then will he come. Tell all that I've said; / Bring a greeting from the one that sleeps / To Frithiof who weeps." (From the English translation *Frithiof's Saga*, trans. Ida Mauch [New York: Exposition Press, 1960], pp.68–69.) See the loose paper, *Pap*. I A 136, where Kierkegaard again refers to this passage.

the Page's rapture . . . Dr. Bartholo's housekeeper] 42 Refers to act 1, scene 5 in *The Marriage of Figaro* (→ 107,*21*), where the page Cherubino presents a love song to Susanna, the Countess's chambermaid, for her to sing aloud for the other women, including the older Marcellina, who is Dr. Bartolo's housekeeper (act 1, scene 3). When Susanna, laughing, asks whether she should read it aloud also for Marcellina, Cherubino answers: "Sing it to the Countess, sing it to yourself, sing it to Barbarina, to Marcellina, (in an ecstasy of joy) sing it to all the ladies of the castle!" (For English translation cf. *The Great Operas of Mozart*, trans. W. H. Auden, Chester Kallman, Ruth and Thomas Martin and John Bloch [New York: G. Schirmer, 1962], p. 99.) After this, Cherubino sings an aria about his love.

Papageno's duet in the fourth act] Refers to act 4, 21 109 scene 10 in *The Magic Flute* (→ 110,*8*), where Papageno, who wants to hang himself from a tree out of grief, is suddenly given Papagena. The two of them then sing the duet. "[He:] Pa—pa—pa—Papagena! / [She:] Pa—pa—pa—Papageno! / [Both repeat each other's name] / [He:] Now you will be mine forever / [She:] Now I will be thine forever / [He:] Come and be my little Starling / [She:] I will be your heart's own darling! / [Both:] What a joy for us is near / When the gods, their bounty showing / and their grace on us bestowing / Will send us tiny children dear! / [He:] First we will have a Papageno / [She:] Then we will have a Papagena! / [He:] Then comes another Papageno! / [She:] And then another Papagena! / [Both:] It is the greatest joy of any / when many many / Pa-pa-pa-pa-pa-pa-pa-page-no (a)s / upon their parents

blessing bring." (Cf. *The Great Operas of Mozart*, pp. 421–423.)

23 **all his wanderings**] Cf. for example act 1, scene 2 in *The Magic Flute* (→ 110,*8*), where the well-travelled bird catcher Papageno introduces himself in a ballad: "I am a man of wide-spread fame, / And Papageno is my name. / To tell you all in simple words: / I make my living catching birds." (Cf. *The Great Operas of Mozart*, p. 375.)

24 **Silence is imposed on him, sojourn with Isis and Osiris**] Cf. for example act 3, scene 3 of *The Magic Flute* (→ 110,*8*), where Tamino and Papageno, as a condition for being initiated into the temple of wisdom of Isis and Osiris, must lay aside their vow of silence so that they can be examined. Whereas Tamino holds up against even the most difficult test, and so receives the beautiful Pamina, Papageno fails. The plot in *The Magic Flute* is set in Egypt, where the two gods Isis and Osiris are worshipped.

110 8 **(2) Papageno in The Magic Flute**] Papageno, an imaginary and delightful bird catcher, is one of the main characters in Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, composed in 1791 to the text of Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812). (Cf. *The Great Operas of Mozart*, pp. 358–423.)

26 **(Stage 3), D. Giovanni**] The seducer Don Juan is the main character in Mozart's opera *Il dissoluto punito ossia Il Don Giovanni* [The Dissolute Punished, or Don Giovanni] (discussed by Kierkegaard as *Don Juan*), composed in 1787 to the text of Lorenzo da Ponte (1749–1838) in continuation of a long literary tradition. As the textual basis for working through Mozart's opera, Kierkegaard used the Danish translation *Don Juan. Opera i tvende Akter bearbeidet til Mozarts Musik* [Don Giovanni, an Opera in Two Acts, Adapted to Mozart's Music], trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1807). From 1807 to the spring of 1827 the opera was performed 50 times at the Royal Theater. From then until the spring of 1837 it was performed 31 times. The last 2 performances occured on September 16, 1836 and April 1, 1837. The opera was performed again on May 28, 1839.

34 **fullness of love**] Alludes to Rom 13:10: "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

34 **like the horn ... tip in the ocean**] Refers to the Nordic myth in which Thor, at the house of Loki, was not able to empty the drinking horn. Later, Loki declares that the tip of the horn had been placed in the ocean. Cf. J. B. Møinichen *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte, indtil Frode 7 Tider* [The Superstitions, Gods, Fables, and Heroes of the Nordic People up to the Times of Frode VII] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1947), pp. 436–438. The episode is retold in Oehlenschläger's "Thors Reise til Jothunheim: Et episk Digt i 5 Sange" [Thor's Journey to Jotunheim: An Epic Poem in 5 Songs] in *Nordiske Digte* [Nordic Poems] (Copenhagen, 1807; ASKB 1599), 4th song, verses 23–41, pp. 82–88, and 5th song, verse 24, p. 111.

intensively ... extensively] Where "intensively" pertains to the inward—i.e., to inward strength, power, effectiveness, and worth and, thus, to "depth"—and "extensively" pertains to the exterior, the expanded, the extended—e.g., number. 1 111

the extant adaptations of Don Juan] → 103,*1*. Kierkegaard probably knew of 2 different Danish adaptations of the French comic poet Molière's (1622–73) *Don Juan ou le festin de pierre* [Don Juan, or The Stone Banquet] (1665): K. L. Rahbek's *Don Juan eller Steengiæsten. Skuespil i fem Optoge* [Don Juan or the Stone Guest, a Play in Five Scenes], published in his volume *J. B. P. Molieres Udvalgte Skuespil* [Selected Plays of Moliere], vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1813; ASKB 1921), pp. 171–258; and J. L. Heiberg's (→ 107,*24*) *Don Juan. Skuespil i fire Acter* [Don Juan, a Play in Four Acts], which appeared in *Marionettheater* [Marionette Theater] (Copenhagen, 1814), and is collected in *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter. Skuespil*, [Collected Writings of J. L. Heiberg: Plays], vols. 1–7 (Copenhagen, 1833–41; ASKB 1553–1559), vol. 6, pp. 173–275. Kierkegaard might also be thinking of Carsten Hauch's (1790–1872) tragic drama *Don Juan*, published in *Gregorius den Syvende og Don Juan. To Dramaer* [Gregory VII and Don Juan: Two Dramas], pp. 137–270, in vol. 2 of *Dramatiske Værker* [Dramatic Works] vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1828–30). 4

Isn't it in Faust ... reproduces Don Juan] In an earlier entry in Notebook 2 in December 1835 (Not2:7 / *Pap*. I C 58) Kierkegaard includes Don Juan (immediacy) and the Wandering Jew (despair) within the idea of Faust. 11

einfachere] German, "simpler." 11 111*m*

The significance of music in treating the insane] Refers probably to 2 articles with the title "On the treatment of the Insane," printed in J. L. Heiberg's 13

Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, nos. 125–126, 18–20 (October, 1830). The author of the article, "N-n," cites *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [Universal Music News], which contains anecdotes from an insane asylum at Sonnenstein in Saxony. Cf. also J. C. Prichard's *Om Sindssygdommene og andre sygelige Sjelstilstande* [On Mental Illness and Other Psychological Maladies], trans. H. Selmer (Copenhagen, 1842 [Eng. 1835]), pp. 325f. This book enumerates the various opinions of psychiatric experts on the usefulness of music in relation to the treatment of mental illness, e.g., whether music can have a calming effect upon violent patients and stimulate lethargic ones, or whether in certain cases its effect would be too strong and thus harmful.

15 **actions another, the concept another**] i.e., just as actions complete the standpoint of faith and the concept completes that of thought.

111 14 **life's four stages ... to mythology**] In the following Kierkegaard draws a correlation between the traditional conception of human life, according to which it is divided into 4 developmental phases, and the developmental phases of mythology through the earlier periods of world history. Thus: childhood corresponds to Oriental mythology, boyhood to Greek mythology, adulthood to romantic mythology, and old age (i.e., modern times) to the period in which reason is dominant. In this entry he develops only the first 2 phases in relation to mythology.

20 **sea-maidens**] In folk belief the spiritual beings or nymphs that inhabit the water (especially waves).

21 **(see a copper etching)**] Refers probably to plate CXV "Wellenmädchen" [Sea-Maidens] in W. Vollmer's *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Nationen* [Comprehensive Glossary of the Mythologies of All Nations] (Stuttgart, 1836; ASKB 1942–1943). See illustration 5. The motif here derives from the Nordic myth about the 9 daughters of the sea god Æger (also known as Gymir) and his wife Ran. These young girls swam around their mother in the storm-tossed sea. They could be at one moment mild and delicate, at the next, frightful and gigantic.

31 **the golden rain on Danae's lap**] According to Greek mythology, Zeus's lover Danae was imprisoned by her own father in a tower of metal because it was prophesied that his daughter's son would be the cause of his death. Zeus, however, countered by letting himself fall down as golden rain into Danae's lap, and she gave birth to his son Perseus. Cf. P. F. A. Nitsch, *Neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [New Dictionary of Mythology], 2nd ed. F. G. Klopfer, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821; ASKB 1944–1945) vol. 1, p. 592.

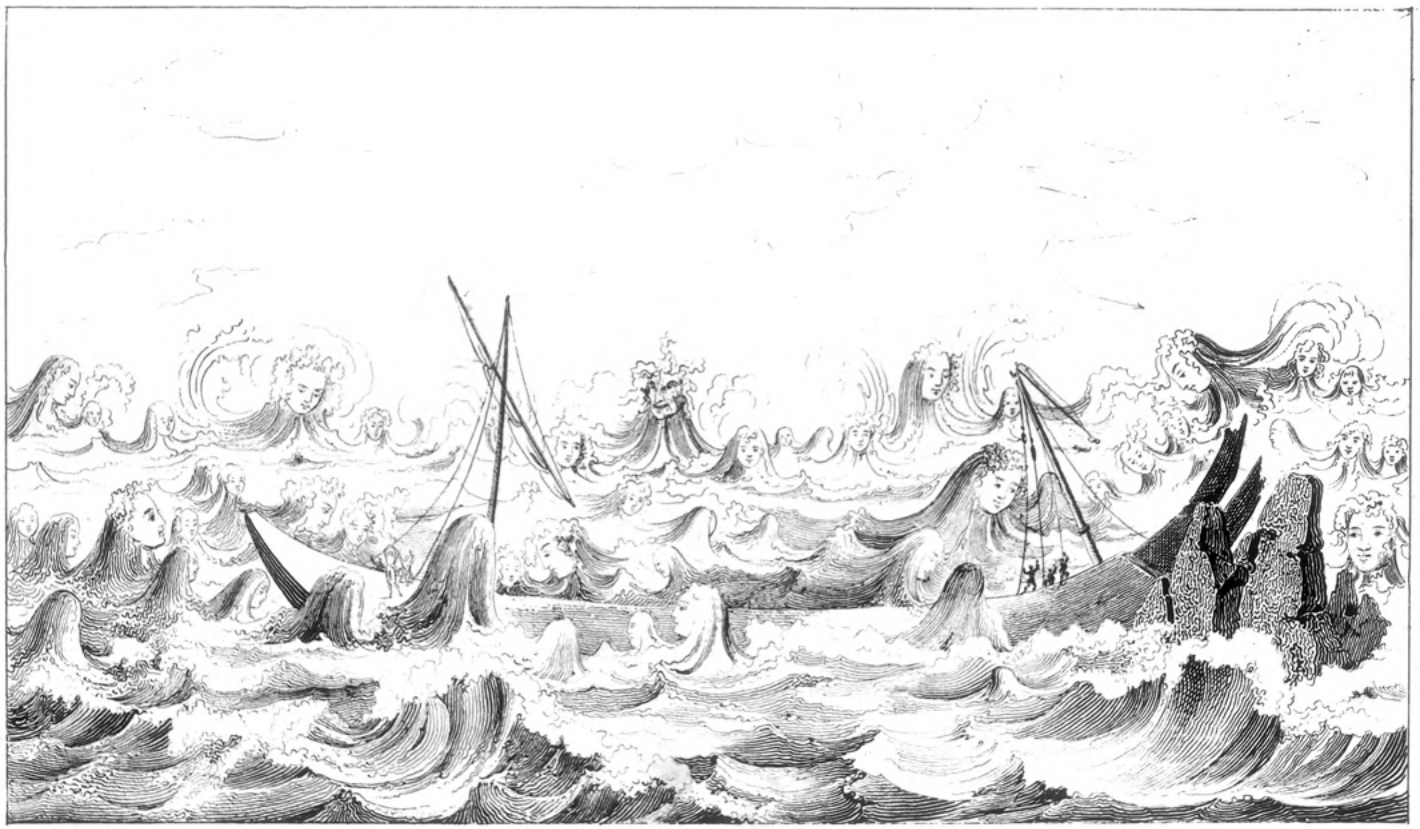
an expression from dogmatics ... in abundance] 32 Refers to the scholastic doctrine of "original justice" (*iusticia originalis*), a supernatural gift given to human beings at creation. This original condition was weakened by the fall, but not lost. Only its supernatural effectiveness was lost. Cf. K. A. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 99,2) § 80, pp. 196–199.

cf. a lot of jottings ... in this connection] Cf. the 15 112 loose papers *Pap*. I A 256 (see 263) 135, 137, and 170.

everything to hope for] Alludes to I Cor 13:7. 30

Observations ... my papers] Cf. for example the 33 loose papers *Pap*. I A 239, 269, as well as 125, 139, and 181.

The system has only 3 stages ... unity] By "sys- 35 tem" Kierkegaard refers to Hegel's (cf. below) philosophical program, probably especially as it was developed by J. L. Heiberg (→ 107,24). Hegel's system is founded upon a unique dialectical method, according to which "the concept," which is common both to thought and its object, is developed speculatively through metaphysics (which Hegel also calls "logic"), the philosophy of nature, and the philosophy of spirit. For Hegel the dialectical method reflects the contradiction or imperfection within the concept itself, which forces it into its opposition ("negation") and, from that point, leads it further to the "sublation" of opposition within a new unity, wherein the contradiction is "reconciled." Hegel also employs the three-fold movement of the concept (immediacy, mediation, mediated immediacy) in the description of the development of history. However, with respect to the above stages of development, Hegel operates not with 3 "stages," but—for example in his history of philosophy—with 4 "epochs." These are: the Oriental, the Greek, the Roman, and the Germanic. Cf. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. E. Gans and K. Hegel (Berlin, 1840 [1837]), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 112,37), vol. 9, (*Jub*. vol. 11). (For English translation cf. *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vols. 1–3, trans. E. S. Haldane [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995]). J. L. Heiberg had given a



5. "Wellenmädchen" [Sea-Maidens] Copper etching; see BB:25, *KJN* 1, 111:21.

detailed presentation of Hegel's logic in his *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik: Som Ledetraad ved Forelæsninger paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Outline of the Philosophy of Philosophy or Speculative Logic. As a Guide to Lectures at the Royal Military College] (Copenhagen, 1832) and a general introduction to it in *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College that Began in November 1834] (Copenhagen, 1835). The latter was reviewed by H. L. Martensen (→ 115,11).

37 **Hegel**] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher; privatdocent at Jena from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. His collected works were published for the first time as *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Complete Edition], vols. 1–18 (Berlin, 1832–45).

38 **his first . . . is really nothing**] Hegel begins the development of his "system" in *Science of Logic* with the category "being" or "pure being," which signifies the absolute abstraction from every quality and thus the indifferently immediate. This determination leads further to the next category, "nothing," in that "being, the indeterminate immediate, is in fact *nothing*, and neither more nor less than *nothing*." Cf. *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. von Henning, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1833–34 [1812–16]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 112,37), vol. 3, p. 78 (*Jub*. vol. 4, p. 88). (For English translation cf. *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller [Amherst, N. Y.: Humanities, 1999], p. 82). In J. L. Heiberg's presentation of the beginning of the system in his *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie, eller den speculative Logik* (→ 112,35) he writes: "§ 26. If one abstracts from *each* determination in *everything*, which is necessary in order to get beyond all presuppositions—and this movement constitutes coming to the *beginning*, which is the abstract immediate—then only one thing remains from which further abstraction cannot be made because it is itself without presupposition. Accordingly, that is the abstract immediate or the beginning. This one is *being* in general, abstract or absolute Being, the furthest abstraction of everything. § 27. If one abstracts even from this, thus removing the outermost (last) abstraction, then it follows that nothing remains. But since nothing *can be* abstracted from that (§ 26), the outermost abstraction is already taken up with it, and *being* is thus the same as *nothing*," p. 11.

39 **retrograde systematic crabwise movement**] Presumably refers to the philosophical striving by means of doubt or abstraction to attain a presuppositionless point of departure, from which a philosophical system could then be developed. More specifically, it refers to Hegel's speculative method, deployed, for example, in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 112,37), vol. 2 (*Jub*. vol. 2) (cf. *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller [New York: Oxford, 1977]). In the latter the dialectical development of consciousness (driven by the contradiction or conflict between the "I" and the "world") leads forward from sense certainty to absolute knowledge by means of a phenomenological description.

7 113 **1 Tim 3:16**] "Without any doubt, the mystery of our religion is great. He was revealed in flesh, vindicated in spirit, seen by angels, proclaimed among Gentiles, believed in throughout the world, taken up in glory."

8 **εφανερωθη εν σαρκι**] Greek (ephanerōthē en sarkí), "appeared in the flesh."

24 **You shall judge the angels**] Reference to 1 Cor 6:3, where Paul writes: "Do you not know that we are to judge angels—to say nothing of ordinary matters?"

29 **the many who were called**] Refers to Mt 22:14, where Jesus's parable of the wedding of the king's son concludes with these words: "For many are called, but few are chosen." Cf. also Mt 20:16.

33 **you must not tempt God**] Refers to Mt 4:7, where Jesus is tempted by the Devil in the desert and says to him: "Again it is written: Do not put the Lord your God to the test."

37 113 **Hamann says somewhere . . . an angel**?] Reference to a letter from the German author and philosopher Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88) to his friend J. G. Lindner. The letter was written in Königsberg and dated October 12, 1759. Hamann writes: "And

I often hear with more joy the word of God in the mouth of a Pharisee, who is a witness against his will, than from the mouth of an angel of light," cf. *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth, vols. 1–8 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–43; ASKB 536–544), vol. 1, p. 497.

114 4 **Preziosa act 4, where father and son recognize each other**] Refers to the musical *Preziosa* by the German author Pius Alexander Wolff. It was translated into Danish as *Preciosa. Lyrisk Drama af Wolff. Med Musik af C. M. von Weber. Oversat af C. J. Boye* [Preciosa, a Lyric Drama by Wolff, with Music by C. M. von Weber. Translated by C. J. Boye] (Copenhagen, 1822). In the 4th act Don Fernando's son, Eugenio, who is suspected of being a Gypsy, is sent to prison. Don Fernando asks his friend Don Francesco to examine the scoundrel, i.e., the eager soldier Alonzo, who turns out to be Don Francesco's son. The prisoner is brought in by the lazy court sheriff, Pedro, and held under guard by a group of armed farmers. A recognition scene between father and son then transpires over the head of Pedro. It plays out as follows: "[Francesco:] Can I / Believe my eyes? Is it / Really you? / [Pedro:] Yes it is the rogue! / [Francesco:] Speak!—how came you here? / [Pedro:] Oh! I brought him! / [Francesco:] These clothes! / [Pedro:] Are stolen. / [Francesco:] But answer! / [Alonzo:] When we were alone—/ [Francesco (to Pedro):] Be gone! / [Alonzo:] Go, my friend, it is my father. / [Pedro:] What? How so? / [Francesco:] My son! / [Alonzo:] My father! / [Pedro:] Ha! Drat! Now I know all! / [Francesco:] Good, so be gone! / [Pedro:] With pleasure! / [Alonzo:] And say not a word of this. / [Pedro:] For twenty-five years / I have been in service—my legs—/ [Alonzo:] You have already told me that. / [Francesco:] Go to Hell! / [Pedro:] J'ai l'honneur! [leaves]," pp. 80–82. The play was performed at the Royal Theater 45 times from 1822 to the spring of 1835 and after this 8 times up to the spring of 1837. In the 1836/7 season it was played on the following dates: December 1, January 13, March 13, and May 26. Kierkegaard's slightly altered rendition may be due to the improvisation of J. L. Phister, who played the role of Pedro beginning in the fall of 1835.

114 12 **"Don't you see these blue-eyed boys"**] Refers to the article by Tage Algreen-Ussing, the chancellery secretary, which contributed to the discussion of "Matters pertaining to the establishment of more advanced vocational schools" in the periodical *Tidende for Forhandlinger ved Provindsialstænderne for Sjælands, Fyens og Lollands-Falsters Stifter samt for Island og Færöerne* [Minutes of Debates at the Meetings of the Provincial Assemblies in Zealand, Funen, and Lolland-Falster, along with Iceland and the Faroe Islands], nos. 53–54, Feb. 1 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 844–859. Algreen-Ussing argues for the establishment of vocational schools for middle-class children in which they could receive instruction in practical skills, especially in learning modern languages (German, French, and English). Lacking this "school for life," he argued, children would have to be sent either to strictly academic schools, where they learn possibly too much (i.e., too much of what is not practical), or to technical schools, where they might learn too little. In the course of making this argument, Algreen-Ussing suddenly interjects the following bombastic, imaginary scene: "Do you not see them—there where they stand, huddled impatiently together? Do you not see all these blue-eyed boys, waiting, yearning for the doors of the school to fling wide open so that they may enter?" p. 857.

the speed-teachers in Adresseavisen] The periodical *Adresseavisen*, published from 1759 until 1909, was mainly an advertising magazine, though it also published announcements, commemorative poems, etc., but almost no material supplied by its editors. Starting in 1800 it came out 6 days a week, and by 1847, 7,000 copies were printed each day. The newspaper's official name in 1837 was *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office]. The editor was J. Jetsmark. By "speed-teacher" Kierkegaard may be referring to advertisements for practical language instruction, as for example an advertisement by J. C. Rønsholdt from June 3, 1836. He advertised for "ladies and gentleman" to learn French and German by the then-modern "jacototic method," named after the French teacher Jean Joseph Jacotot, whose *Méthode d'énseignement universelle* [Universal Method of Instruction] (1823) was translated into Danish in 1837. According to Rønsholdt's advertisement, using this method a

person would be able to learn a language "in the shortest possible time." If a person was not satisfied with the results, he could get his money back.

21 **the humanists**] → 114,35.

114 35 **the question of humanism and realism**] Refers to the pedagogical debate that began in Denmark at the end of the 18th century relating to the priority of school subjects. On one side, those who represented the humanist tradition argued for prioritizing the study of the writings of antiquity in the original languages (i.e., Greek and Latin, "the dead languages"). The goal of study for this program was to attain the classical ideal of education as the formation of the whole person. In contrast to this stood the "realists," whose orientation was dominated by contemporary affairs. The realists sought a larger role for practical subjects, especially the natural sciences, within the curriculum. Against the humanists, they argued for the importance of the "living languages" and useful knowledge.

115 7 **the Russian horn-blowers who came here once**] The so-called Russian horn or hunting music, developed in the middle of the 18th century, was performed by an orchestra—or, more accurately, by a corps of hunters. Each person in the corps played 1 or 2 hunting horns. Because the hunting horn has only 1 note, each horn blower not only had to blow the note clearly, but also to keep time so as to come in at the right place. What actual performance Kierkegaard refers to here is uncertain. However, he may have heard the horn-blowers in connection with a performance by the Russian national singers and dancers at the Vesterbro New Theater, which took place, as stated on a placard, in April and May of 1836. Cf. the announcement in *Adresseavisen* (→ 114,15), 1836, no. 79ff.

115 11 **Martensen's treatise in Maanedsskriftet**] Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–84). Martensen started his theological studies in 1832; in the spring of 1834 he became Kierkegaard's tutor, and from the fall of 1834 to the fall of 1836 he studied abroad; he defended his dissertation in theology on July 12, 1837. The reference here is to Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's (→ 107,24) *Indledningsforedrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* (→ 112,35), published in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 515–528. Compare the entry CC:12, p. 189 in the present volume.

12 **After leap-frogging over all his predecessors**] Martensen's essay argues that scholastic philosophy, which presupposed faith, was succeeded (with Descartes, 1596–1650) by a rational, doubting philosophy, one which sought to suspend any given presupposition of knowledge in order to ground the philosophical system on thinking itself. Since, he argued, such systems nevertheless inevitably presupposed something (Martensen refers to Spinoza [1632–77] and Kant [1724–1804], but also mentions Fichte [1762–1814] and Schelling [1775–1854]), they are always succeeded by ever newer systems. This philosophical development concludes with Hegel's (→ 112,37) philosophy, which "has taken nothing as given—it gives to itself everything" (p. 522). He writes further that Hegel's system "appears with an infinite significance for our time since it contains the most perfected and comprehensive development of rational knowing, whereby it seems to bring to conclusion a whole era in the history of philosophy—namely, one that sought to solve the enigma of existence independently of all tradition and given positivity" (p. 515). However, he adds, "the new era that we expect in science cannot appear before the old era has run its course. And the Hegelian philosophy is, in this respect, an unavoidable starting-point for everyone who participates in the scientific reflection of contemporary times."

13 **an indeterminate infinity**] The expression alludes to Hegelian terminology in which there is a distinction between the "abstract" infinity of immediacy, the "bad" (or endless) infinity of reflection, i.e., the understanding; and the "true" infinity of reason. A typical dialectical development occurs insofar as an "indeterminate" concept becomes "determinate."

14 **since his standpoint . . . criticism of Hegel**] Martensen does not say directly that he does not have his own point of view, but he does not further specify it. He does declare that he is not a Hegelian (p. 515), even though he considers a study of Hegel's philosophy to be indispensible. Martensen criticizes Hegel for acknowledging only conceptual truth and so devaluing what thinking cannot conceive, especially faith. His argument is the follow-

ing: Everyone can agree that "present human consciousness, divided by reflection," lacks "a solid faith—and this is the case whether one thinks that the faith we need is the Christian faith, or that religion ought to be developed into a higher form," p. 525. Martensen then contrasts the rational philosophy of Hegel, which attempts to know the truth "through the eternal indwelling power of the human spirit" (p. 526), with religious or Christian philosophy, which supposes that "a person can only know the truth to the extent that it allows itself to be known, when he receives all his knowledge as a gift from the free personal God, and in this revelation finds his answer to the deepest questions in the human heart" (ibid.). Finally, Martensen "announces" that on another occasion he will "develop and prove" that "Hegel would have gone beyond the abstract category" if, in place of thought, he had held that in the beginning was "the Word and revelation" (p. 527). In this connection he refers to the scene in Goethe's *Faust*, where the doubting Faust tries to explicate the term "logos" (→ 98,*20*). Martensen writes: "This is the scientific point of contention between rationalism and Christian philosophy, viz., whether it may be said, in a genuine, speculative sense, that 'the Word' or 'Thought' was in the beginning and was God" (ibid.).

19 **Give to Caesar that which is Caesar**'s] Quotation from Mt 22:21.

21 **a certain learned man in Munich**] Reference to Franz von Baader (→ 99,*8*), whom Martensen visited on his journey of study abroad (→ 115,*11*), and by whom he was strongly influenced.

22 **ein fliegendes Blatt aus München**] This "pamphlet from Munich" refers to the title "Doctor Faust, fliegendes Blatt aus Cöln" (→ 84,*18*). Martensen had himself anonymously published a small work on Faust in German—namely, *Ueber Lenau's Faust. Von Johannes M. . . . . n* [On Lenau's Faust, by Johannes M . . . . . n] (Stuttgart, 1836).

115 *32* **Overskou**] Thomas Overskou (1798–1873), actor and dramatic author, known for his *Østergade og Vestergade* [Østergade and Vestergade] (1828) and *Capriciosa* (1836), which were successful with the public. He worked also as a theater critic for the newspaper *Dagen* [The Day], which he himself edited from January 1, 1836 until the end of May in 1838. Overskou's often inconsequential reviews became the object of J. L. Heiberg's (→ 107,*24*) stinging polemic. After some initial skirmishes, this polemic culminated in Heiberg's sarcastic article "Truthful report of the deadly demise of the Overskouian polemic on April 6, together with an exact copy of the departed's last will and testament, with more," *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* (→ 130,*3*), 1836, no. 91; see also nos. 83, 85, and 100.

M. Rosiflengius] i.e., Magister Rosiflengius, a character from Holberg's comedy *Det Lykkelige Skibbrud* (1731) [The Happy Shipwreck], cf. *Den danske Skueplads*, vol. 4 (without pagination). The play was performed at the Royal Theater on March 5 and December 10 of 1832. M. Rosiflengius is a professional occasional poet who becomes extremely popular by his habit of praising people indiscriminately ["rose-i-flæng", i.e., "raising at random"]. The only catch, however, is that he is paid for this practice. It ends up, however, that his vulgar hypocrisy is revealed, and he receives his punishment. *32*

Baggesen . . . the word "sweet."] Reference to Jens Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish author. In his romance "Agnete fra Holmegaard" [Agnete from Holmegaard] Baggesen has the merman arise from the depths of the sea to meet Agnete: "Han sang for Agnete / Sin Elskov, sin Nød. / Hans Qvad det var saa kiælent, / Hans stemme var saa sød / O! saa sød! Hans Hierte ham fra Læberne / Saa lifligen flød" ("He sang for Agnete / His love, his distress. / His song was so lovely, / His voice so sweet / O! so sweet! / His heart flowed so vibrantly / from his lips"). Cf. *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* (→ 53,*13*), vol. 2, 1828, pp. 348–358; p. 349. *6* 116

the art of story-telling] The following treatise was probably inspired by a debate in Kierkegaard's time on contemporary children's literature and its effect upon the imagination of children. In a fragment from that period entitled "Om at fortælle Børn Eventyr" [On Telling Children Fairy Tales] (ca. 1836/37), Poul Martin Møller asserted that it was damaging to fill a child's mind with imaginary stories, cf. *Efterladte Skrifter af Poul M. Møller* [Poul M. Møller's Posthumous Writings], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1839–43; ASKB 1574–1576), vol. 3, ed. F. C. Olsen, pp. 322–325. More receptive to the influence of these stories upon the imagination of children—and their importance for raising children—was, for example, Christian Molbech, *15* 116

who expressed his opinion in several reviews (e.g., *Dansk Literatur-Tidende* [Danish Literature Times] 1834, no. 14). The usual venue for this debate was book reviews of recent children's literature as, for example, collections of fables and fairy tales such as Molbech's own *Julegave for Børn* [Christmas Gift for Children], 1835–39 (→ 123,14), and, of course, H. C. Andersen's *Eventyr, fortalte for Børn* [Fairy Tales Told for Children], 1835–37.

117 27 **"Uncle Frands," … whose children have been looking forward to**] Refers to *Onkel Frants Reise giennem alle fem Verdensdele. En lærerig og underholdende Læsebog for Ungdommen* [Uncle Frands's Journeys across All Five Continents: An Instructive and Entertaining Reader for Youth], abridged translation from J. C. Grotes's German original, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1827). In the form of travel narratives, the book provides geographical information on the people of foreign countries, along with their customs, climate, flora, and fauna, etc. In a short introductory story, a family stumbles upon a foreigner who has returned home after 20 years of travel. He turns out to be a maternal uncle and becomes a true friend to the children: "The children clung to him and asked him to tell them stories of his travels," p. 6. When the winter arrives, he pulls out his stories while the family, including the children and their friends, gather around in a large circle to listen. The typical names assigned to the children, along with the sketch of the mother's relation to the children, are Kierkegaard's own addition.

37 **provost**] Official name for the military person charged with executing corporal punishment on the one sentenced.

118 6 **Socratic**] After the Greek philosopher Socrates (ca. 470–399 B.C.), who did not instruct with answers. Rather, through his questioning, maieutic method (midwifery), he helped others to a spiritual delivery (birth).

33 **the words of the twelve-year-old Christ … my father's business**] Quotation from Lk 2:49, where the 12-year-old Jesus gets separated from his parents after the Passover feast in Jerusalem. They finally find him at the temple and ask how he could have done this to them. He replies: "Why were you searching for me? Did you not know that I must be about my father's business?"

something similar … one of Mynster's sermons] 35 Presumably refers to a sermon on the same text by Jakob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), bishop of Zealand. It is titled "Den tidlige Anviisning til Gudsfrygt. Paa første Søndag efter Hellig-Tre-Konger" [An Early Invitation to the Fear of God: On the First Sunday after the Holy Trinity] and printed in *Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* [Sermons for Every Sunday and Holy Day of the Year], vols. 1–2, 3rd edition (Copenhagen, 1837 [1823]; ASKB 229–230); vol. 2, pp. 118–130. Compare also the earlier sermon "Alderdommen og Barndommen. Paa Søndagen efter Juul" [Old Age and Childhood: For the Sunday after Christmas], printed in *Prædikener af J. P. Mynster* [Sermons of J. P. Mynster], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1810–15 [vol. 1: 2nd edition 1814; 3rd edition 1826 = ASKB 228; vol. 2, 2nd edition = ASKB 228]), vol. 1, pp. 60–82.

the prosaic birch … deeper is astir … in the chil- 37 **dren … falling 1400 feet … a mule**] Refers to the judicial official and schoolmaster named Grimmemann in J. L. Heiberg's comedy (→ 107,24) *Alferne. Eventyr-Comedie i een Act* (1835) [The Elfs: A Fairy-Tale Comedy in One Act], printed in *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter. Skuespil* (→ 111,4), vol. 6, 1836, pp. 1–90. The play was performed 13 times at the Royal Theater from the spring of 1835 to the spring of 1837. In the 1836–37 season it was performed on April 25 and May 20. Already in the 1st scene (pp. 8f.), Grimmemann appears with a birch rod under his arm as someone who takes obvious delight in meting out punishment to the children. One of the children is the small, quiet Marie, who always walks "around so deeply and seriously, as if she could see into another world," p. 15. The first scene ends when Grimmemann, who is chasing after Marie, suddenly falls into a well 1,400 feet deep. When Grimmemann awakens in scene 2, he is met by a mountain troll. However, because Grimmemann does not believe in supernatural beings, the troll, who for his part does not believe that Grimmemann is a human being, changes him into a mule.

letting the children … "Uncle Frands" tell sto- 14 119 **ries**] The example is Kierkegaard's own.

Hercules] Latin form of Heracles, in Greek mythol- 32 ogy the son of Zeus and Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, and thus a "hero," i.e., half god and half human being, though later taken up among the

gods. He is the great warrior who bravely combats wild animals, monsters, giants, and other forms of evil. His many heroic deeds are told in numerous sagas, histories and literary works, for example in the work *Bibliotheca* by Apollodoros of Athens (ca. 180–120 B.C.). The latter records the 12 labors (book 2, chapter 5) that Hercules was charged to perform.

32 **the miracles**] Possibly a reference to the relation between Hercules's superhuman deeds and the miracles or wonders of the Bible, especially in the NT. On a loose paper dated August 4, 1836, Kierkegaard remarks—with Hegel and Schleiermacher in mind—that the ancient world does not have miracles, whereas the Romantic age does (*Pap*. I A 217). Cf. also a loose paper from September 9, 1836 (*Pap*. I A 232).

36 **Abraham of St. Clara . . . into its mother's womb**] Abraham à Sancta Clara, pseudonym for Ulrich Megerle (1644–1709), German priest and author. The reference is to *Abraham à St. Clara's Sämmtliche Werke* [Collected Works of Abraham of St. Clara] vols. 1–22 (Passau 1835–54; ASKB 294–311), vol. 8, 1836, p. 14. He writes: "Those with experience in nature write that a child who is still in the womb lies there with its mouth open, just like a melancholic. Such a minature scholar of life already shows in this way that, on account of its 9 month detention, the first glimmerings of life are already a vigil of death."

120 8 **under the gospel . . . under the law**] Refers to being "under the gospel" in the NT, i.e., as opposed to being "under the Law of Moses" in the OT. This distinction is especially prominent within the theological tradition stamped by Luther, which has Paul's theology as its background. Here, the meaning refers to being forgiven versus being punished.

121 8 **Some have expounded . . . basically the peak**] Refers probably to the earlier German Romantics, especially the Jena Romantics, who often praise the innocence of childhood. It was in reference to them that Heine wrote, in his *Die romantische Schule* (→ 70,*13*), that they had taken such a deep draught of the elixir of youth that they had themselves become small children, cf. pp. 42–44.

25 **staying the course**] Alludes to 2 Tim 4:7.

122 10 **Their tales "for children and childlike souls"**] Cf. for example the title of the book *Poetisk Læsebog for Børn og barnlige Sjæle til Brug saavel i Huset som i Skolen* [Poetry Reader for Children and Childlike Souls, for Use at Home and at School], collected, ed., and pub. A. S. [Povl Frederik Barfod] (Copenhagen, 1836). It was reviewed, among other places, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (→ 115,*11*), pp. 164–174.

16 **breathe some substance into it**] Alludes to Gen 2:7.

23 **Cf. Hamann . . . S. 412 ff.**] Refers to Hamann's short essay on school instruction *Fünf Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend* [Five Pastoral Letters Concerning School Drama] which appeared originally in 1763 and is printed in *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 113,*37*), vol. 2, 1821, pp. 413–442.

27 **Es ist ein Knabe hie, der hat fünf Gerstenbrod**] "There is a boy here who has five barley loaves." The motto for Hamann's essay (p. 413), which he introduced with the words: "Einer seiner Jünger, Andreas, der Bruder Simonis Petri" [One of His Disciples, Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter]. Hamann refers to the story of the feeding of the 5,000 in the Gospel of John. When Jesus sees a great crowd of people approaching him, he tests his disciple Philip and asks him how they shall be able to buy enough bread for all these people. Philip answers that the money they have will not go very far: "One of his disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, said to him, 'there is a boy here who has five barley loaves and two fish. But what are they among so many people?'" Cf. Jn 6:8–9.

31 **with Socrates . . . asks as a child**] Socrates (→ 118,*6*), one of Hamann's favorites, is known for his "childish" questions, which, according to him, come from the fact that he knows nothing. Cf. also the quotation from Hamann that Kierkegaard includes below (→ 123,*24*).

34 **hearing wisdom from Balaam's donkey**] Reference to the story in Num 22:21–2, where the donkey of the prophet Balaam begins to talk after encountering an angel of the Lord.

35 **from a Pharisee . . . he himself says somewhere**] → 113,*37*.

40 **tempt God**] Biblical expression meaning to test God's power willfully. Cf. for example Mt 4:7, where Jesus says: "Again it is written: do not put the Lord your God to the test."

14 **that endless story-nonsense . . . the cat, etc.**] Refers perhaps to the sentimental stories in which a child gets, for example, a dog or a cat as a friend who then ends up saving him. Cf. for example the story 123

"Den lille Poul og hans Hund" [Little Poul and his Dog], in *Julegave for Børn. 1835*, pub. Chr. Molbech (Copenhagen, 1835), pp. 25–34. A review by "H. T." in *Dansk Literatur-Tidende* (Copenhagen, 1836), no. 1 (January 6) highlights this story at the expense of the fairy tales of H. C. Andersen. See also the short story "Katten i Vuggen" [The Cat in the Cradle] in *Julegave for Børn. 1836*, pub. Chr. Molbech (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB U 81), pp. 115–117. The book is mentioned on a receipt from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore, dated December 19, 1836.

24 **Kindern zu antworten . . . Geistern krönt**] "To answer children is in fact a rigorous exam. Yet to raise and teach children through questioning is a work of genius, for it is precisely ignorance that is the greatest sophist, the one who crowns so many fools as great spirits." Quotation from *Fünf Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend* (→ 122,23), 3rd letter, pp. 424f., slightly altered.

28 **et addit cornua pauperi**] Latin, "give strength and vigor to the poor." Cf. below.

29 **Horace, Odes III, 21**] Hamann himself cited the sentence in a note together with a reference to the Roman poet Horace (65–68 B.C.). The reference is to Horace's ode to wine in the 3rd book (*Carminum liber III*), no. 21. Cf. *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*, stereotype edition (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 1248), p. 92. That ode describes the effect of wine upon human beings and, in reference to this, line 18 reads: "et addis cornua pauperi" ("and you give strength and vigor to the poor"). For Hamann the subject of the sentence is not wine, but "ignorance" ("addit").

124 10 **"Uncle Frands" told of his travels . . . names with the help of their classifications**] Refers to the stories of Uncle Frands (→ 117,27), who describes strange plants and animals not only found in Africa, but in all different localities. The book makes frequent reference to drawings of the various animals it describes as found in the illustrated encyclopedia *Naturhistorisk Billedbog for Ungdommen og dens Venner, indeholdende et Udvalg af de interessanteste Fremstillinger af Naturens Riger, udarbeidede efter Kobbere i de nyeste og bedste franske, engelske og tydske Værker, tilligemed tilføiede Beskrivelser over disse Gienstande* [Picture-Book of Natural History for Youth and Their Friends, Containing a Selection of the Most Interesting Depictions of the Kingdoms of Nature, Prepared from Copper Plates of the Most Recent and Best French, English, and German Works, along with Descriptions of These Objects], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1824–28), vol. 4 (nos 1–42; Copenhagen, 1832–33).

hence the busy Marthas who forget the one thing needful] Refers to the story of Jesus's visit to the sisters Mary and Martha, where Jesus says to Martha that she has been occupied with many things instead of listening to him, as had Mary: "Martha, Martha, you are worried and distracted by many things; there is need of only one thing," Lk 10:41–42. 25

"Die Verlobung" . . . p. 63 below, 64, and 65] Refers to the passage in Ludvig Tieck's (→ 69,24) story *Die Verlobung, Novelle* [The Engagement: A Novella] (Dresden, 1823), which presents the Baron's idea of true education. The novella can be found also in *Ludwig Tieck's Schriften* → 69,24, vol. 17, also called *Ludwig Tieck's gesammelte Novellen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1852; microfiche Berlin, 1966), pp. 99–163; 132f. 34

Cf. also the plain . . . for that reason disdains them] Refers to the preface of *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier efter islandske Haandskrifter* [Stories of Nordic Heroes, Based on Icelandic Manuscripts], translated into Danish by the historian Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1821–26; ASKB 1993–1995), vol. 2, 1823, pp. 1–9. Kierkegaard quotes from the last section of the preface, pp. 8f. 35

hinc illæ lacrymæ] Latin, "from that these tears," a saying that probably comes from the Roman poet Terence's play *Andria* act 1, scene 1. Cf. *P. Terentii Afri comoediae*, ed. M. B. F. and F. Schmieder (Halle, 1819; ASKB 1291), p. 16, which has: "hinc illae lacrumae!" 42

what one learns in youth . . . does not forget] A proverb, listed among other places in *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], ed. the Scientific Society, vol. 4[2] (Copenhagen,1826), p. 87 (the article "Nemmer") and in Christian Molbech, *Danske Ordsprog, Tankesprog og Riimsprog, af trykte og utrykte Kilder* [Danish Proverbs, Maxims, and Rhymed Sayings, taken from Published and Unpublished Sources] (Copenhagen, 1850; ASKB 1573), no. 1240. 2 125

Steffens's 4 Norwegians . . . pp. 250, 251, 252] Henrik Steffens (1773–1845), Danish-German philosopher, natural scientist, and author, whose literary production includes the tales *Die vier Norweger. Ein Cyklus von Novellen* [The Four Norwegians: A Cycle of Novellas], parts 1–6 (Breslau, 1828; new edition 7

1837). The work was translated into Danish by J. R. Reiersen as *De fire Normænd. En Cyclus af Noveller*, parts 1–6 (Copenhagen, 1835; ASKB 1586–1588), and was included as vols. 4–6 in *Henrich Steffens's samlede Fortællinger* [Collected Tales of Henrich Steffens], ed. C. F. Güntelberg. On the title page is written: "Printed at the Book and Paper Merchant C. Steen's Press at Bianco Luno & Schneider." When Kierkegaard remarks that he "unfortunately" must use such an edition, he probably refers to Steen's weak reputation as a publisher, especially after J. L. Heiberg had attacked him in the satirical articles "Den dristige Papiirhandler" [The Audacious Paperdealer] and "Er Hr. Steen Forlægger, eller ei!" [Is Mr. Steen a Publisher, or Not!], printed in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad* (→ 130,3), 1834, nos. 28 and 29. The reference here as later (→ 125,7) is to the 4th novella in the 2nd part, i.e., vol. 5, pp. 217–407.

14 **ostracism**] In ancient Athens the vote for the temporary banishment of a citizen whose power or influence was considered dangerous to the state. It was effected by using potsherds or tiles on which to write the name of the person who was proposed for banishment.

24 **Blumauer: "die kleinen ... des erzählenden Grossvaters"**] Refers to the German actor and author Karl Blumauer (1785–1840), whose story *Die kleinen Enkel am Knie des erzählenden Grossvaters* [Little Grandchildren Listening to Stories on the Knee of Their Grandfather] was published in 1830 (4th edition in 1837). The sequel, *Die kleinen Enkel auf dem Schooße der erzählenden Großmutter* [Little Grandchildren Listening to Stories on the Lap of Their Grandmother] was published in 1831, and republished in a 2nd edition, with the title cited by Kierkegaard, in Altona in 1836.

26 **Fair Catalogue ... p. 27, top**] Probably refers to the catalogue of books presented at the book fair in Frankfurt and Leipzig. The title which Kierkegaard copied down is found on the top of p. 39 of a book catalogue titled *Allgemeines Verzeichniß der Bücher, welche in der Frankfurter und Leipziger Ostermesse des 1837. Jahres ganz neu gedruckt oder neu aufgelegt worden sind, auch derer, die künftig herauskommen sollen* [Comprehensive List of the Books that Appeared Newly Published or in New Editions at the 1837 Easter Book Fair in Frankfurt and Leipzig, plus those that are to be Published Subsequently] Leipzig.

Why do you think evil in your hearts?] Quotation from Mt 9:4. Jesus asks this of the scribes after he proclaims the forgiveness of sins to a paralytic. The scribes considered the act to be blasphemy. 28 125

are thoughts then not duty-free?] Reference to the expression "thoughts are duty-free," recorded in Molbech *Danske Ordsprog* (→ 125,2), no. 3474. 30

G. Phizer in his M. Luthers Leben] Gustav Pfizer, *Martin Luther's Leben* [The Life of Martin Luther] (Stuttgart, 1836 [XXIV + 910 pp.]). 10 127

Rheinwald's Repertorium, vol. XV] Cf. *Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik. In Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten herausgegeben von G. F. H. Rheinwald* [Comprehensive Reference Book of Theological Literature and Ecclesiastical Statistics, published by G. F. H. Rheinwald in conjunction with Various Scholars], vols. 1–19 (Berlin, 1833–37; ASKB 36–66), vol. 15, 1836, where Phizer's book is anonymously reviewed on pp. 128–136. 11

Bei einer solchen ... nach verschmäht] "With such ostensibly sublime, great and profound—but in fact frivolous—ways of treating history, persons lose their particularity and their entire character, becoming only bearers or symbols of certain arbitrarily posited opinions. Such taste, spoiled and titillated, repeatedly scorns the stronger but more nutritive food of the actual, pithy history, which is not interpreted and abstracted according to preference." Quotation from the review, p. 129. The passage is from Phizer's (→ 127,10) introduction, p. xvii. 12

the old woodcut... kill myself daily] Refers to the German theologian and edifying writer Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose books on "true Christianity" appeared in many editions. The famous *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, which appeared ca. 1605–10, was expanded with 2 more books at the end of the 17th century. (For an abridged English translation, cf. *True Christianity*, trans. Peter Erb [Ramsey, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1979].) After the Riga edition 1679, there were many newer, richly-illustrated editions. The woodcut that Kierkegaard refers to, however, is by no means found in 2 127*m*

6. Woodcut from Johan Arndt's book; see BB:40.a, *KJN* 1, 127*m*:2–3.

all of them. See illustration 6, reproduced from *Vier* Bücher / Vom / Wahren / Christentuhm ... Welchen noch beygesüget / Ein Zweyfacher Anhang / Von des sel. JOHANN ARNDTS übringen hieher gehörigen / *Schriften; Denn bishero der Name / Des Fünfsten und Sechsten Buchs / Vom / Wahren / Christentuhm* [Four Books about True Christianity...which are accompanied by a two-part appendix from the same JOHAN ARNDT'S other related works, hitherto called the fifth and sixth books of True Christianity] (Hamburg, 1721, 8° [VIII + 855 pp. + register]), p. 1.—The text above the first woman reads, "I kill him [i.e., Adam] daily," a reference to 1 Cor 15:31, where Paul writes: "I die every day! That is as certain, brothers and sisters, as my boasting of you—a boast that I make in Christ Jesus our Lord."

127 *32* **The episode Poul Møller has ... latest issue of Maanedsskrift**] Refers to part 1 (of 2) of the treatise by the Danish author and philosopher Poul Martin Møller (1794–1838) entitled "Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed, med Hensyn til den nyeste derhen hørende Literatur" [Thoughts Concerning the Possibility of Proofs for Human Immortality, with Reference to the Most Recent Literature on the Subject], printed in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, edited by a society, vol. 17 (Copenhagen, 1837; January issue), pp. 1–72. In this treatise he relates a short story (pp. 18–21) which he introduces by saying that "in the judgment of the fastidious reader, this story will not perhaps appear appropriate to the subject matter at issue." Møller nevertheless suggests that the story "will contribute toward clarifying the mood which relates to the notion here discussed, i.e., the immortality of the soul, and thus, with good reason, it should bear the name of poetry and truth," p. 18. Møller sketches a scene with a theological student who refuses to lend his new book on the immortality of the soul to an accountant, since the latter was intending to read it while he ate his sandwich. At this point the narrator has to step forward as mediator. Since the accountant hasn't time to read the book anyway—he's "on his way to Bellevue to eat fresh cod"—the narrator ends up having to lecture the accountant on the unshakable proofs for the immortality of the soul while the latter shaves himself. The accountant, however, is not convinced.

compare somewhat to the chorus] i.e., the chorus in Greek dramas who at various points, through song and dance, interpret and comment upon the performances of the actors and the development of the plot. *2* 128

comic parts of romantic dramas] Refers to the comic scenes which interrupt (and often comment upon) the real plot in the "romantic" play, i.e., the plays of Shakespeare and later, for example, L. Tieck (→ 69,*24*). *3*

cf. a slip of paper] Refers probably to an undated slip of paper on which is written: "If something is to be truly depressing, a presentiment must first emerge, amid all possible favorable circumstances, that, despite everything, something might nonetheless be amiss. One does not oneself become conscious of anything particularly wrong; rather, it must lie in the familial situation. Then the corrosive power of original sin manifests itself—it can rise to the level of despair and seem much more frightful than the specific detail that confirms the truth of the suspicion," (see FF:35). *6* 128

Woe to the man from whom offence comes forth] Refers to Mt 18:7: "Woe to the world because of stumbling blocks! Occasions for stumbling are bound to come, but woe to the one by whom the stumbling block comes!" Cf. also Lk 17:1. *23*

typology] i.e., the typological method of biblical interpretation, according to which relations, persons, and events in the OT are understood as "types" (or "prototypes") that point forward to similar relations in the NT. *1* 128*m*

the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Spirit] i.e., the Christian doctrine of the unpardonable sin. Cf. Mt 12:31–32, where Jesus says: "Therefore I tell you, people will be forgiven for every sin and blasphemy, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come." Cf. also Mk 3:28–29. *16*

Schubert, Symbolik] Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1780–1860), German philosopher, psychologist, and natural scientist, from 1827 professor at Munich. The reference here is to his *Die Symbolik des Traumes* [The Symbolism of Dreams], 2nd ed. (Bamberg, 1821 [1814]; ASKB 776). The book is *20*

found on a receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated February 22, 1836. In the chapter titled "The Echo" (pp. 155f.), Schubert writes that, concerning pain, "what we fear most (because we have a greater susceptibility to it) most often comes upon us." To which he adds in a note: "In these cases, i.e., where the vivid memory of an illness suffered ought to have had, as its consequence, a return of that illness, it is rather the opposite: the vivid memory of the illness signifies a return [not of the illness, but] of the susceptibility for that illness."

25 **letters of indulgence . . . all sins**] The letters of indulgence, i.e., the written assurances of the remission of punishment that the Catholic Church proclaimed to sinners, were especially widespread in the late Middle Ages. Martin Luther confronted this institution with his theses on indulgences, the "Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute," otherwise known as the "Ninety-Five Theses," 1518. The Latin sentence cited by Kierkegaard can be traced back to the title of Luther's 75th thesis, which reads: "To consider papal indulgences so great that they could absolve a man even if he had done the impossible and had violated the mother of God is madness," *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe*, vol. 1 (Weimar, 1883), p. 622. (For English translation cf. *Luther's Works, American Edition*, vols. 1–55, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut J. Lehmann [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1957], vol. 31, p. 32.)

27 **etiam si matrem virginem violasset**] Latin, "even though he had violated the mother, [the] virgin [i.e., Mary]."

29 **a few years ago . . . for a master-thief**] Cf. a number of loose papers (*Pap*. I A 11–18) begun in September of 1834.

130*m* 5 **F. Schlegel's samtl. W. 7, p. 15, inf**.] Refers to *Friedrich Schlegels sämmtliche Werke* (→ 61*m,8*), vol. 7, titled "Romantische Sagen und Dichtungen des Mittelalters" [Romantic Legends and Poems from the Middle Ages], 1823, which contains the story "Geschichte des Zauberers Merlin" [The Story of Merlin the Magician] (pp. 7–188). In chapter 2 (pp. 12–16), there is the story of a young girl whose one sister had been buried alive because she had had secret dealings with a boy who was in the Devil's power, and whose other sister came under the influence, following those events, of a pious hermit. One day, at the Devil's instigation, the young girl receives a visit from a woman who tries to convince her to use her beauty to enjoy the love of a man. Though she fears being buried alive like her sister, she is enticed by the woman's promises that, if she listens to her, she will have all her sensual desires satisfied. When the woman leaves, she thinks the matter over and, looking in the mirror, becomes afraid for her own body. She finally summons the possessed woman back, who gives her the advice that she should get away from her pious sister and sell herself to everyone. Then, after she has become tired of the wild life, she will surely be able to find a man to marry her—on account of her wealth. The young girl follows this advice.

the departed spirit . . . and pray with these words] 12 In Justinus Kerner (cf. below) there is the story of the honorable citizen Christian Eisengrün, who encounters a ghost (pp. 214–224). Eisengrün himself recounts how, one night in 1827 after he had gone to bed, he suddenly encountered a ghost (a Poltergeist) in his room. It said to him: "You have been called upon to release me, and you must do it. For twenty-one days in a row you must go, in the evening before the church-bell rings, to a grave where a tombstone stands in the cemetery at Neckarsteinach. There you must recite the following verse from the New Testament." It continues by citing the verse from 1 Cor 2:11, quoted above.

1 Cor 2:11 . . . except the spirit of God] Kierkegaard 17 translates Justinus Kerner, pp. 217f. Kerner writes: "For what human being knows what is in a human being except for the spirit of a human being which lies within him? Similarly, no one knows what is in God except the spirit of God." Kerner also refers to 1 Cor 2:11 (p. 219).

Kerner, eine Erscheinung . . . der Natur. 1836.] The 22 German doctor and author Justinus Kerner's novel *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur, durch eine Reihe von Zeugen gerichtlich bestätigt und den Naturforschern zum Bedenken mitgetheilt* [A Manifestation from the Nocturnal Regions of Nature, Thoroughly Confirmed by a Number of Witnesses and Reported to Natural Scientists for Their Consideration] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836).

a volume of Aftenposten for 1782] *Kjøbenhavns Af-* 1 130 *ten-Post* [Copenhagen's Evening Post] appeared from 1772 to 1795, ed. E. Balling, and continued

7. Vignettes from the front pages of *Kjøbenhavns Aften-Post* (see BB:43, *KJN* 1, 130:1) and *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* (see BB:43, *KJN* 1, 130:3–4).

under different direction until 1809. The 11th volume from 1782 consists of 104 numbers, each of 4 pages, with the majority of the pages divided under the following rubrics: food, economy, marriage, bedroom, church, ball, music, lottery, court, entertainment, theater, etc. On the front page header was a drawing of a postal carrier. See illustration 7.

3 **Flyveposten**] *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post] edited by J. L. Heiberg (→ 107,24). It was published in 1827, 1828 and 1830 as a weekly; from 1834 to 1837 it was published irregularly as a so-called occasional magazine. Kierkegaard debuted in this magazine in 1834 with an anonymous article, and in 1836 he submitted two additional articles. The last of these, which appeared on April 10, was the article "To Herr Orla Lehmann," which was the first article Kierkegaard published under his own name.

4 **Flyveposten has wings**] "Flyveposten" had become a figure of speech. *Flyveposten* had "wings" in the sense that its articles moved on a more elevated plane. Here, however, the reference is probably also to the fact that the newspaper had wings on its front page. See illustration 7.

130 13 **by drinking Dus**] "Du," i.e., the familiar form of "you" in Danish and German. Refers to the custom confirming an intimate friendship in which two friends link arms and empty a glass together. The expression can also mean to carouse.

37 **duodecimo horizon**] "Duodecimo," the smaller book format, where the folio sheet is divided into 12 pages. It makes for a smaller format or limited "horizon."

38 **Raketten med Stjerner . . . put down the pen**] Refers to the satirical newspaper *Raketten med Stjerner* [Rocket with Stars] (nos. 1–362, 1834–41), ed. and pub. (beginning in 1836) C. F. Reiffenstein (Copenhagen, 1836), vol. 11, no. 141 (December 10). On pp. 169–173 there is an article entitled "With apologies, in what school did Professor Sibbern learn Danish style?" signed "C. F. Reiffenstein, editor and former baker." On p. 172 he writes: "The laws concerning the freedom of the press in this country are based upon principles that give something to everyone: the one who is offended can find his satisfaction, while the tyrant, the oppressor, the offending one, the sly dog, along with the deceiver, can be set before the public in all their nakedness. And yet, it is difficult to witness a Danish university professor perform so badly with the Danish language at the same moment that our distinguished writers, e.g., the gentlemen Blok Tøxen, J. C. Lange, and the old Heiberg in Paris, seem to have laid down their pens." — **Sibbern**: Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872), Danish author and philosopher, professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen 1813–70. — **Blok Tøxen**: Jørgen Karstens Blok Tøxen (1776–1848), Danish literary figure, who published textbooks on language among other things. He was popular with the common people for his frank complaints—which the government tried in part to suppress—concerning abuses of power. — **Lange**: Johannes Christian Lange (1785–1850), Danish autodidact literary figure, who published numerous political, social-economic, and philosophical essays.—Reiffenstein mentions also the Danish author Peter Andreas Heiberg (1758–1841), father of J. L. Heiberg (→ 107,24), who in 1800 was exiled for his vociferous critique of the government.

"skipper quantum"] Skipper quantity, i.e., the distance that the skipper walked back and forth upon the deck. 11 131

Xnty's teaching . . . one another in Xt] In the NT, especially in the epistles, the expression "brothers" is used for fellow believers who are frequently enjoined to love each other. Cf. Jn 13:34–35; 1 Thess 4:9–10; 1 Pet 3:8; 1 Jn 4:21. Cf. also the expression "the brothers who believe in Christ" in Col 1:2. 16 131

the same would happen . . . and Protestant Catholic] Refers to the German theologian, teacher, and author Johann Peter Hebel's (1760–1826) story "Die Bekehrung" [The Conversion]. Cf. *J. P. Hebels sämmtliche Werke* [Complete Works of J. P. Hebel], vol. 3 (Karlsruhe, 1832), pp. 169–171. 7 131*m*

Grundtvig] N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), Danish priest, poet and historian; (unpaid) vespers preacher at Frederik's Church (now Christian's Church) in Christianshavn in the period 1832–39. In 1837 he had already participated for many years in the theological debate. With apparently unshakeable certitude, Grundtvig defended his newly acquired and often controversial opinions. 23 131

In Henrich Steffens's The 4 Norwegians . . . Ro- 28 131

land] The context of this passage is the beginning of part 2 of the 4th novella (→ 125,7). It opens late on a cold evening in December in 1812, where two travelers arrive at a small town in Schlesweg. Just as they are about to go looking for the postmaster, a French officer appears, who orders them immediately to perform a number of tasks under his surveillance. After Roland, in vain, attempts to familiarize himself with the premises, he turns cheerfully to his friend and curses the domineering Frenchman. After this follows the description of Roland below (p. 220).

32 **Roland, who spoke ... old German appearance**] Quotation from Steffens, p. 220.

132 15 **the Faust who is meant to represent this age**] It was a common theme in the Faust literature of the time that each age—and each nationality—projected its own image in its representation of Faust; in this sense, each age and nationality had its *own* Faust. Kierkegaard himself had taken up this theme at an earlier point. Cf. for example the journal entries AA:12, p. 14 and FF:19 / *Pap*. I A 292; see also, the loose paper *Pap*. I A 88, pp. 63f., *Pap*. I C 61 from 1835, and BB:12, pp. 85–96 in this book.

21 **πρακτιχοι**] i.e., πρακτικοί (praktikoi), Greek for "persons of action."

21 **people whom Aristotle ... of development**] A passage like the one cited is not found in Aristotle. The closest thing to it appears in the description of the life of enjoyment within the different forms of life. Together, these were the life of enjoyment, the political life, and the theoretical (or contemplative) life. Cf. *Nicomachean Ethics*, book 1, chapter 1 (1095b 17ff.). There is no discussion, however, of "praktikoi."

36 **intuition**] In German philosophy after Kant, the term "intellectual intuition" signified the level of knowing in which conceptual connections, the "ideas" or the absolute, were directly experienced. Sensible intuition and the understanding are brought together in a higher unity in intellectual intuition.

133 7 **The original Faust**'s] Refers probably to the historical Faust, who lived in the 1st half of the 16th century.

134 17 **Wagners**] The conception of Wagner, Faust's scientific assistant, is especially influenced by Goethe's *Faust*, where he appears as the compliant student who later becomes Faust's successor at his teaching post. Cf. for example *KJN* 1, p. 74 in the present volume.

Jacob Thomasius ... scholasticis] Kierkegaard came across this and the following in Stieglitz's "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Legend of Doctor Faust] (p. 164), where they are cited in connection with a discussion of the custom in Faust's time of students travelling from town to town. 3 135

Rukopf's ... im Mittelalter] Stieglitz (cf. above) correctly writes "Ruhkopf," i.e., the German rector, philologist, and historian Friedrich Ernst Ruhkopf (1760–1821). The reference is to his *Geschichte des Schul- und Erziehungs-Wesens in Deutschland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* [History of Schools and Educational Institutions in Germany from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Times], part 1 (Bremen, 1794; 8° [7 + 411 pp.]). 4

Das Buch ... Augsburg 1536. Fol.] This title and the following listings come from Stieglitz's "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" (p. 165, note 2). It refers to the then-popular work by the German preacher Johannes Pauli (ca. 1455–1530), which contains diverse humorous and didactic stories, myths, fables, etc. The book was printed for the first time in Straßburg in 1522 (the preface is dated 1519), then again in Augsburg in 1536 (both in folio format), and thereafter in new editions. 6

Dies ist eine ... Jahre 1519] Quotation from Stieglitz, p. 165, cf. above. 9

Ueber Burgenbau ... 8th volume, 1837] A monograph by H. Leo, "Über Burgenbau und Burgeneinrichtung in Deutschland vom 11ten bis zum 14ten Jahrhundert" [On the Construction and Furnishing of Castles in Germany from the 11th to the 14th Centuries], printed in *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Friedrich von Raumer, vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 167–245. 12

Mythengeschichte ... Heidelberg, 1810] Görres (→ 68,15) *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt* [The History of Myth in the Asiatic World], vols. 1–2 (Heidelberg, 1810). In vol. 1 (pp. i–xxxvi, pp. 1–324), after the preface and introduction, Görres discusses "Post-Asiatic Myth." In vol. 2 (pp. 324–660]), he discusses "Pre-Asiatic Myth." 15

the University Library] → 68*m*,2. 18

Irische Elfenmärchen ... 1826] → 84*m*,4. 24

25 **The Student Society ... p. 29**] The Student Union was formed in 1820 in the student milieu of Regensen College. Its rented rooms served as a gathering place for different activities, and included a growing library from which members could borrow books. Kierkegaard refers to *Fortegnelse over Studenterforeningens Bogsamling* [Catalogue of the Library of the Student Union] (Copenhagen, 1833), p. 29, where *Irische Elfenmärchen* is listed as no. 582.

27 **Møller ... Fol. Cart. 1836**] Refers to the German architect Georg Moller (1784–1852), whose work with the cited title appeared in several editions. Volume 1, with the same title, appeared in installments beginning in 1812 (the 2nd edition in 1831). The reference here is probably to the Darmstadt edition of 1836, which in folio-format contains 72 plates. Kierkegaard's source is presumably *Dansk Kunstblad* [Danish Art News], published by the Art Society, vol. 1, no. 21 (January 14), ed. F. C. Hillerup (Copenhagen, 1837), p. 156. Under the rubric "literature," the title "Moller" is included in the German subsection. The records of the magazine indicate that Kierkegaard was a subscriber. Cf. ASKB U 33.—**Fol. Cart**., Cardboard binding.

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Niels W. Bruun and Finn Gredal Jensen

Translated by
Jon Stewart with David Kangas

Edited by
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Introduction and Explanatory Notes for Bible Translation by
Niels W. Bruun and Finn Gredal Jensen

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Explanatory Notes for Journal Entries by
Christian Fink Tolstrup

Translated by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Journal CC is a bound book, written in both from the front and from the back. From the front are Latin Bible translations, and from the back are entries written in Danish. The book was marked "CC" by Kierkegaard himself. It consisted originally of ninety-one sheets, though twenty-three sheets (those which held the Danish entries) have been lost.[1] The lost texts, however, have been transmitted indirectly by H. P. Barfod's edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*).[2] The journal can be found in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library.

II. Dating and Chronology

Kierkegaard made the following translations from the Greek New Testament: Acts 1–4 and 24–27, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James 1–4:15. The Bible translations in *Journal CC* give no concrete indication that would make it possible to determine the precise time of composition. However, there can be no doubt that Kierkegaard's translation activity was related to his theological studies, which began in 1830 and did not conclude until ten years later.

The editors of the *Papirer* argued that the translations reflect Kierkegaard's participation in some of the exegetical lecture courses and exercises at the theology faculty in the years 1833–36, and that the translation of Acts, in particular, relates to H. N. Clausen's lectures

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1) *B-cat.*, p. 439. Barfod has recorded the entries on pp.1–46. As he notes, however, "pp. 35–41 [are] blank." He adds: "The rest [of the pages] are filled from back to front with [translations of] The Acts of the Apostles, etc., in Latin."

2) *EP* I–II, pp. 10–23. According to *B-cat*. the entries were on the reverse sides of pp. 1–46, numbered back to front.

entitled "The More Difficult Passages of *The Acts of the Apostles*,"[1] which he held in the winter semester of 1833–34.[2]

In the course catalogue for Winter Semester 1834–35, one reads that "Mag. C. E. Scharling. ... will expound in public lectures ... *Paul's letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians*."[3] This series of lectures may have inspired Kierkegaard to translate Philippians and Colossians. He skipped over Ephesians and, on his own, translated 1 and 2 Thessalonians.[4]

In the summer semester of 1835[5] Professor C. T. Engelstoft lectured on the pastoral epistles.[6] It is conceivable that Kierkegaard's translations of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are related to the exercises for this course, but he apparently translated Philemon on his own initiative.

The course catalogue for Winter Semester 1835–36 (p. 2) indicated that "*Mag. C. E. Scharling* ... will expound *Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, *James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude*." On the same page it announces that "*Ernst Vilhelm Kolthoff* ... will offer a review of the Letter to the Hebrews for private-tuition students." Kierkegaard's translation of James (which he did not complete) and Hebrews could thus be seen as connected to these two course offerings.

The extent to which Kierkegaard actually participated in any of the above-mentioned lecture courses cannot be determined with any certainty because the lists of participants for the lectures and

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1) *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet i Vintersemesteret 1833–34*, p. 3.

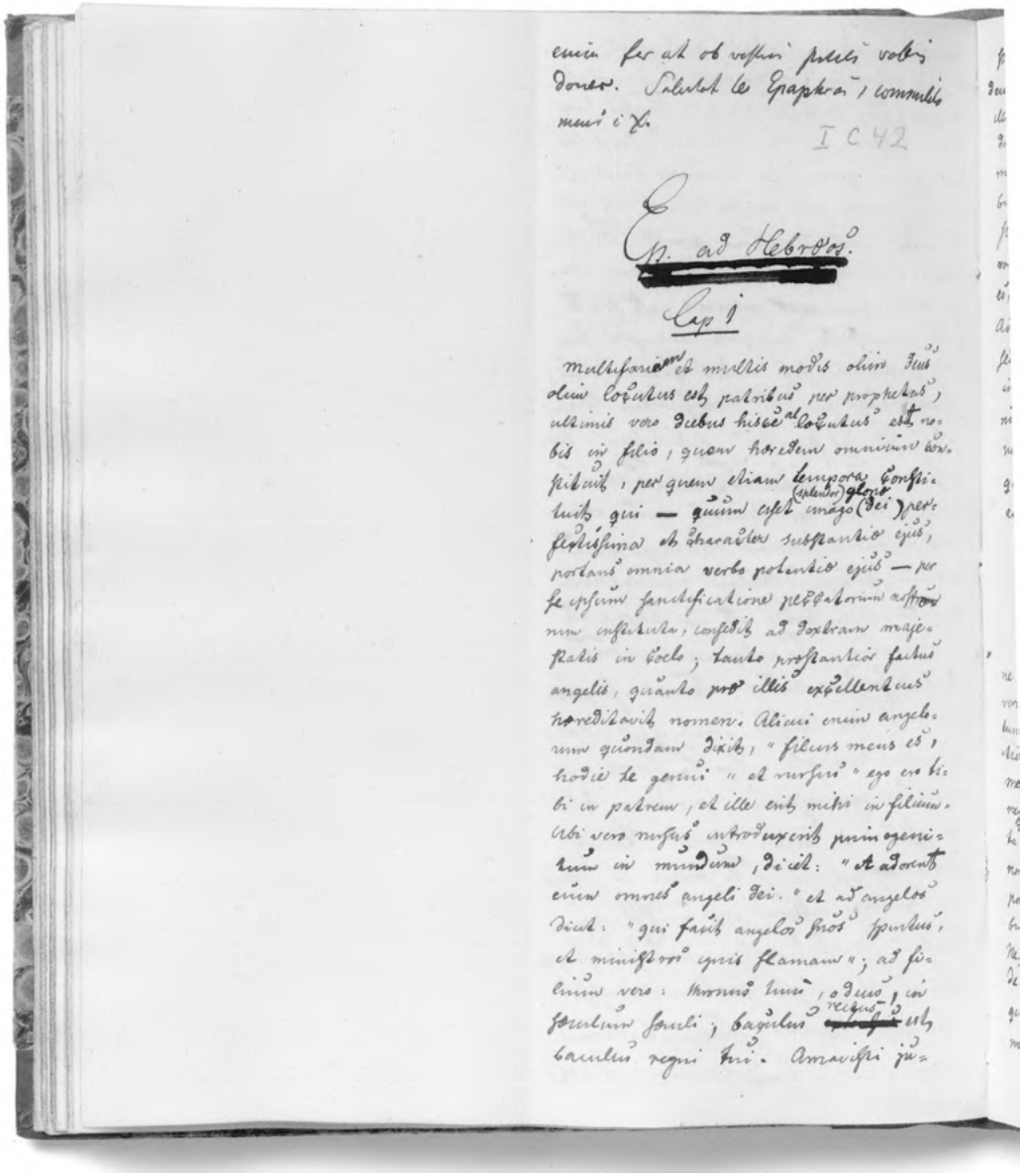
2) The winter semester ran from the first of November to the end of March of the following year. The summer semester ran from the first of May to the end of September.

3) *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet ... i Vintersemesteret 1834–35*, p. 2.

4) Concerning I C 36, the editors of *Pap*. suppose, wrongly, that Scharling's exegetical lecture course in Winter Semester 1834–35 also included 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Cf. vol. 1, p. 205.

5) *Index lectionum in Universitate Regia Hauniensi ... per semestre æstivum a Kalendis Majis A. MDCCCXXXV habendarum*, p. 2.

6) The pastoral epistles refer to 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, which the tradition ascribes to Paul. In reference to I C 42, the editors of *Pap*. suppose, incorrectly, that Engelstoft also included Philemon in his course on the pastoral epistles; vol. 1, p. 209.



8. From Journal CC:9–10, fine handwriting and elegant heading with corrections and additions; see *KJN* 1, 173.

exercises have been lost.[1] Yet it appears very probable that the translations, which also served as preparations for the examinations, along with other study-related material in the journals, were to some degree occasioned by his studies at the University of Copenhagen.

The Danish entries, written from the back of the journal, contain only two indications of a date.[2] This is supplemented, however, by remarks and references to current affairs, so at least an approximate dating is possible.

In CC:12 Kierkegaard writes: "But when one observes how necessary it has become in recent years to preface every philosophical work with the sentence 'There once was a man named Descartes.... '" This sentence probably refers to H. L. Martensen's review[3] of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College that Began in November 1834] where Martensen maintains: "As is known, it was *Descartes* who stepped forth as the reformer of philosophy," pp. 517f.

Later in the same entry Kierkegaard writes: "And therefore I was not surprised when my shoemaker figured out that it [i.e., Hegel's logical triad] could also be applied to the development of the boot." This observation no doubt builds upon an entry written on a loose sheet dated "5th Jan., '37":[4]

> Naturally one can do with Hegel's logical triad what one can do with anything—exaggerate it by transferring it to the simplest

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1) The extant lists of the participants in the lecture courses from that period are seriously deficient. See V. Ammundsen, *Søren Kierkegaards Ungdom* (Copenhagen, 1912), pp. 86ff.

2) CC:14: "December 2" [1836]. In CC:13 an apparently fictional letter concludes with the signature "your brother. $\frac{+}{1}$" This fractional indication probably signifies the month of January (1837). The "+," rendered by Barfod, should probably be read as "x," to signify an indeterminate day in the first month of the year.

3) *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 515–528. Since the concluding article is dated December 28, the December issue must have come out in January of 1837.

4) KA, A pk.1, published as *Pap*. I A 317.

objects, where it may hold true, but is laughable. Thus, one could apply it to boots: show the immediate standpoint, then the dialectical (that they begin to creak) [and finally] the unity of this in a third.

In CC:12 Kierkegaard also writes: "But since it is unlikely that we will succeed in this, then at the least we should join in with our finance experts and cry out to them: cuts, vigorous and thoroughgoing budget cuts!" This reflects not only the continual preoccupation of the press in 1836 with the ailing state of the national finances,[1] but is probably a direct reference to an article by Tage Algreen-Ussing in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [The Copenhagen Post] (no. 340, December 3, 1836; p. 1376) where he reports that "all four of the country's advisory assemblies ... have said: *thoroughgoing, vigorous budget cuts*."

Together with the above references, a reference in CC:12 to the first volume of Görres's *Die Christliche Mystik* [Christian Mysticism] (Regensburg and Landshut, 1836), which Kierkegaard acquired on November 11, 1836,[2] creates the impression that he must have begun the Danish entries at the end of 1836 and concluded them at the beginning of 1837.

A possible view of the genesis and chronology of the journal can be summarized as follows: The Latin translations of the New Testament were written first, with work on these probably beginning in October of 1833 and concluding in March of 1836. When, at the end of 1836, Kierkegaard decided to use the book for a wholly different purpose, he turned the book around and began writing the Danish entries from the back of the book.[3] At some point after he had

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1) Cf. *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 69 (March 9), no. 88 (March 25), no. 92 (March 28), and no. 316 (November 9), 1836.

2) Cf. the receipt to Kierkegaard from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore (KA, D pk. 8 læg 1), dated December 31, in H. P. Rohde, "Om Søren Kierkegaard som bogsamler. Studier i hans efterladte papirer og bøger paa Det kongelige Bibliotek," in *Fund og Forskning i Det kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, vol. 8 (Copenhagen, 1961), pp. 79–127. Cf. ASKB 528–532.

3) In the period of 1835–37 Kierkegaard also wrote in *Journal AA* and *Journal BB* (see the "Critical Account of the Text" of these journals, pp. 298f. and 361f. respectively). In the period from September 13, 1836 to September 1838, Kierkegaard also wrote a series of entries in *Journal*

started using the book,[1] he wrote with a pen, on the inside of the back cover, a prominent "CC."[2]

On the spine of the book Kierkegaard pasted a dark blue label written on with dark ink. It is extremely probable that what he wrote on it—which today is difficult to discern—ought to be read as "CC." In any event, the slant of the letters is clear enough to enable us to determine that the blue label had been placed on the upper half of the spine. This confirms the supposition that the Bible translations were written *from the front* of the book and the Danish entries were written *from the back* of the book. Since the letters designating the journal were written on the back cover and not on the front cover, one can say, in all probability, that Kierkegaard regarded only the Danish entries as *Journal CC*.

III. Contents

The Danish entries, written from the back of the journal, are of very diverse content and resist collective characterization. CC:12 contains critical observations on current events and looks rather like the draft of an article to be submitted to a daily newspaper. CC:13 is composed as a letter, but has no addressee. The occasion for the entry was the death of a brother, whose funeral he describes in a

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FF. In addition to this, he wrote *Journal DD* from the back of the book in the spring of 1837, and then from the front between May 1837 and January 28, 1839 (see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal DD*, pp. 479–484).

1) Cf. "Textkritiske retningslinier for *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*. Journaler, notesbøger og papirer," point 1.3, *SKS* 17, p. 305.

2) Barfod refers to this inscription (even though he ignored the label on the book's spine, perhaps because he did not notice that it had an inscription) when he declares in *B-cat*. that the book is "marked 'CC.' " It was also this mark on the inside cover that led Barfod to paste a paper label, with the inscription "CC" and the registry number 439, on the outside of the back cover. To this he subjoined the notation "undated." As a natural consequence of this, he considered the Danish entries of the journal to be written *from the front* of the book and the Latin translations of the New Testament to be written *from the back* of the book.

satirical spirit. The entry contains the following observation, which Kierkegaard later used in *Either/Or*:[1]

> For this reason it will probably also be noted that when, as one of those pearls of wisdom that they impart to every child, people ask children the question "What must the child have?" they begin by having the child respond "Smack-smack." It is with such unfortunate reflections as these that the child's earliest and probably most innocent times begin—and nonetheless people say there is no such thing as original sin![2]

CC:15 likewise has the character of a letter and, together with CC:14 and CC:16–26, contains a series of diapsalmic moods and reflections: in Barfod's words, "mood-sketches of the youthful Kierkegaard."[3] An example is CC:19: "This is the road we all must travel—over the Bridge of Sighs into eternity."[4] In another entry, CC:24, he writes: "I prefer to talk with old ladies who retail family nonsense; next with the insane—and last of all with very reasonable people."[5]

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1) Cf. *Either/Or* I, trans. Howard and Edna Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 19; *SKS* 2, p. 27.

2) In this passage the Danish editor Barfod supplied some verbs that were missing in the original notebook and altered the wording slightly. Concerning this, he notes the following: "In this passage it was necessary to add a couple of words and change the word order slightly because, as it stands in the original manuscript, it is meaningless. The latter probably has its basis in the exceptional haste with which this whole passage seems to have been written down" (*EP* I–II, p. 186, note 8).

3) *B-cat*., p. 439.

4) The same thought is found in *Journal FF*:48, published as *Pap*. II A 611.

5) Cf. *Either/Or* I, p. 19; *SKS* 2, 27.

Søren Kierkegaard and His Latin Translations of the New Testament

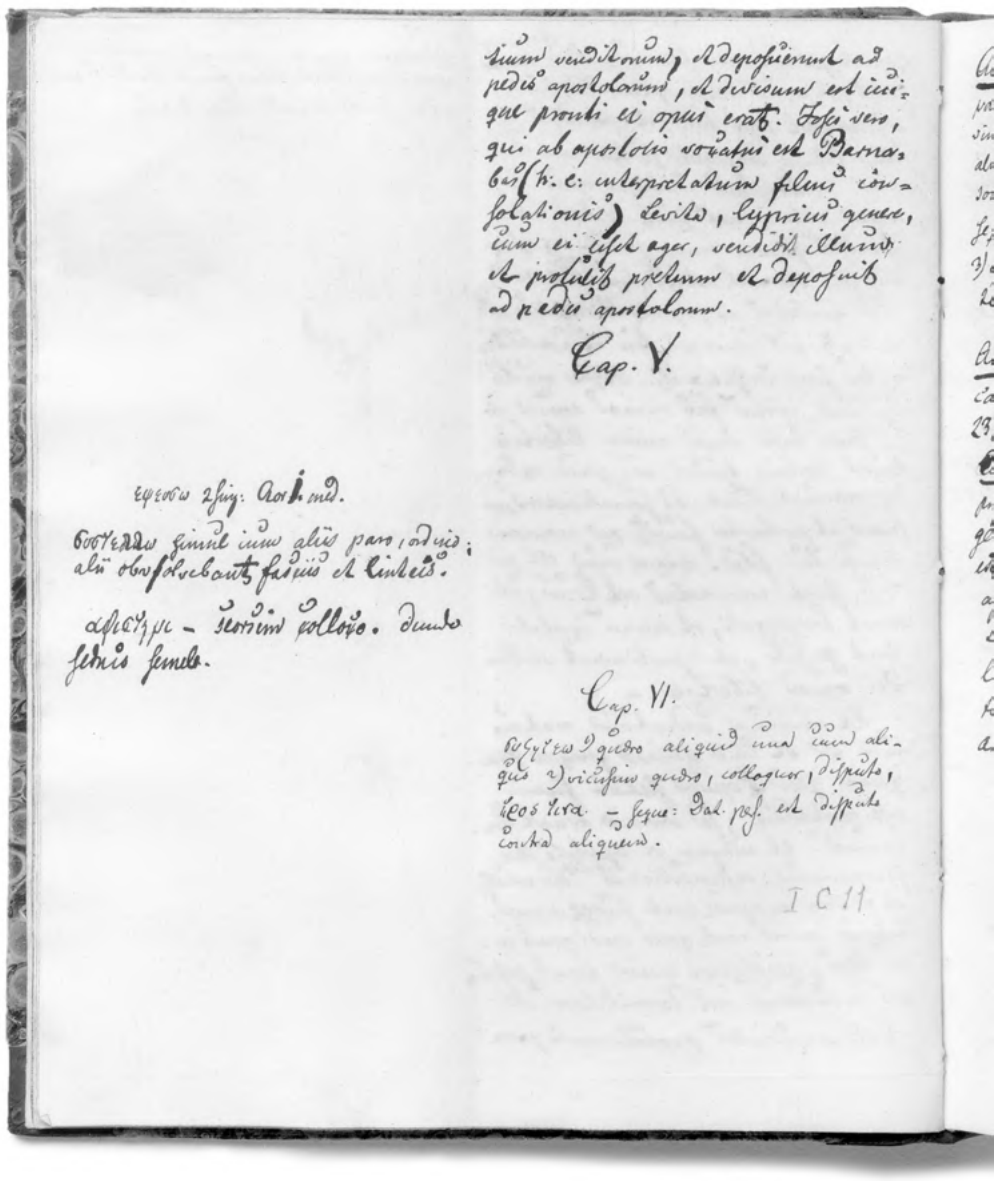
Søren Kierkegaard studied theology at the University of Copenhagen in the period 1830–1840. From October 1833 to March 1836 he worked on his Latin translation of the New Testament. The original manuscript is preserved and constitutes a part of *Journal CC*, which today can be found in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Søren Kierkegaard's Latin translations of the New Testament include the following books: Acts of the Apostles 1–4 and 24–27, The Letter to the Philippians, The Letter to the Colossians, The First and Second Letter to the Thessalonians, The First and Second Letter to Timothy, The Letter to Titus, The Letter to Philemon, The Letter to the Hebrews, and The Letter of James 1–4:15.

While Kierkegaard was working on this translation, critical questions were being raised by scholars in the field about the usefulness of continuing to use Latin as the language for examinations. As a preliminary step toward reform, the catalogue of courses was published in Danish as well as in Latin for the first time in 1833, and in 1835 a royal resolution decreed that in a limited number of cases the native Danish language could be used as the language of examination at the Theological Faculty, while the use of the Latin language for the written examinations was retained in the exegetical fields.

For the written test in New Testament exegesis the student would receive a part of the original Greek text, which he had to translate into Latin without the aid of any reference works. Afterward he was to give a commentary on the text, also in Latin, focusing on both its linguistic aspects and its content. Thus, it was an examination which presupposed a thorough and solid knowledge of Greek and a large and active vocabulary in Latin.

In the period 1821–30 Kierkegaard had been a student at the Borgerdydskole (the School of Civic Virtue), which was at the time the leading Latin school both in Copenhagen and in Denmark, and he had offered for the school examination in Latin more than 11,000 verses of poetry and around 1,250 pages of prose. His preparations for the examination in Greek were not so extensive, but its 10,000



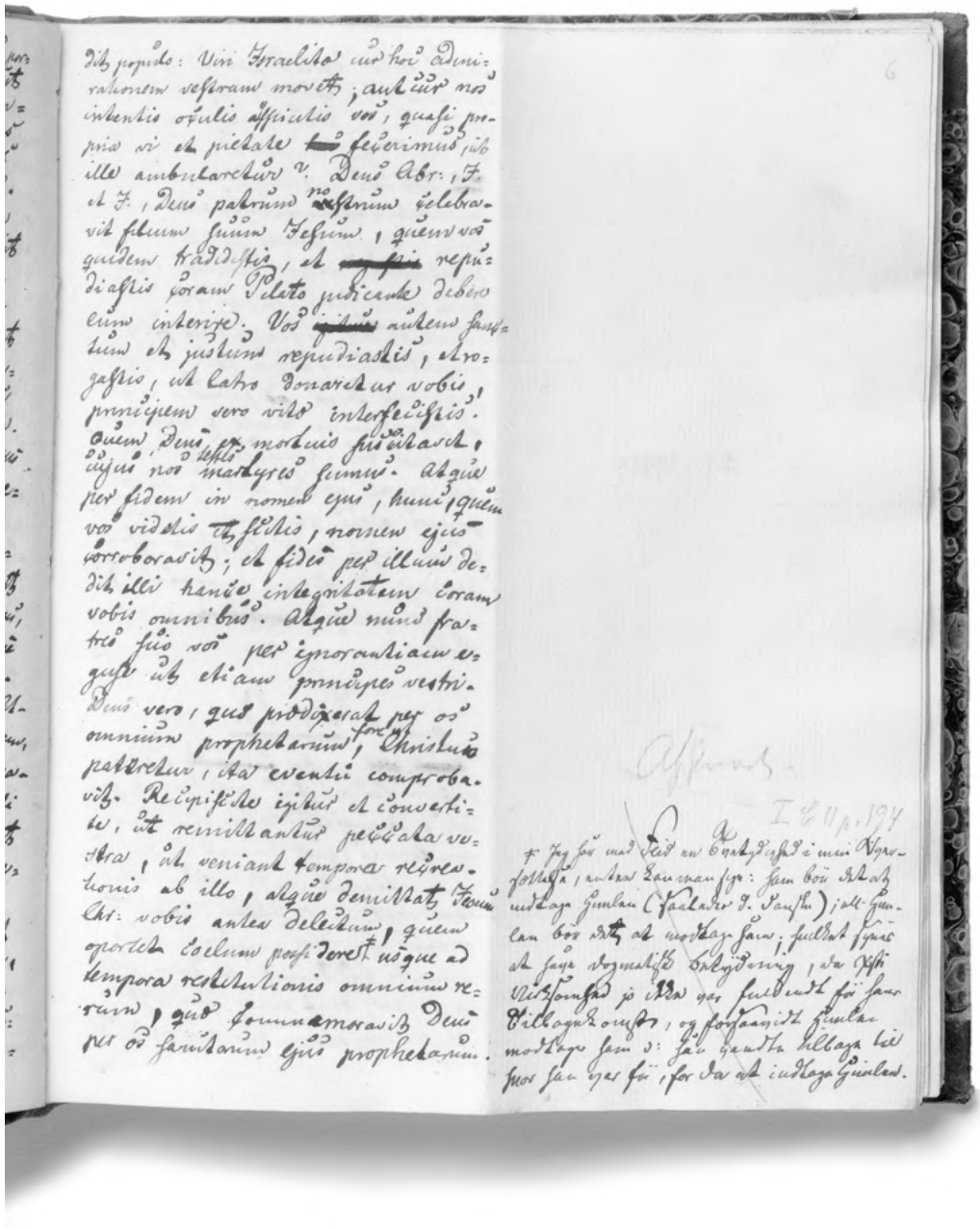
9. From Journal CC:1,
glosses in the inner and outer columns; see *KJN* 1, 144.

verses of Homer and 330 pages of prose were nonetheless impressive. By virtue of this extraordinary philological education, the young Kierkegaard was an able Latinist, who had already demonstrated his sense for Latin composition during his time at the Latin school. One of Kierkegaard's classmates recalls later, "There was an agreement between us that I would write the compositions in Danish for him and he would write the ones in Latin for me." During his years as a student Kierkegaard taught both Latin grammar and composition at his old school; he, moreover, functioned in the capacity of external examiner in Latin and helped his old headmaster Michael Nielsen with the correction of Latin compositions from the more advanced classes. It therefore seems likely that the New Testament Latin translation was motivated more by Kierkegaard's fondness for Latin composition than by the desire to get through the exegetical examination with a good grade.

The textual basis for Kierkegaard's Bible translations is *Novum Testamentum Græce*, edited by G. C. Knapp in 1829. Kierkegaard bought two copies of this critical edition, which was excellent for its time. Both copies can be found today at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Judging from the frequent underlinings in the Greek text and in the critical apparatus of the one copy, one can surmise that it was the one Kierkegaard used during the translation work itself, whereas the other copy was primarily used when he made notes on the relation between the Old and the New Testaments and among the three synoptic gospels.

With regard to reference works, besides the usual Greek and Latin dictionaries of the day there was a single handbook which had a fundamental and marked significance for the genesis of the translations, namely Carl Gottlieb Bretschneider's *Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum in libros Novi Testamenti*, published in Leipzig in 1829. Kierkegaard's diligent and constant use of Bretschneider is documented not only in the marginal notes, which are chiefly found at the beginning of the translation, but also in the choices which he makes during the work in rendering the Greek text into Latin. It is no surprise that as a well-trained philologist Kierkegaard used the dictionary with much discrimination, and one can perceive his interest in finding new solutions that are different from those proposed by Bretschneider.

In an article on Kierkegaard's Latin translation of portions of the New Testament, the Finnish philosopher and Kierkegaard scholar Kalle Sorainen has argued that during the translation work Kierkegaard consulted, in addition to the Vulgate, the Bible translations of



10. From Journal CC:1, marginal note in Danish, written in a gothic hand; see *KJN* 1, 142–143.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1516), Sebastian Castellio (1546–1551), and Theodor Beza (1565).[1] However, Sorainen's material does not prove Kierkegaard's dependence on Erasmus, Castellio, and Beza, and a more thorough examination of the respective translations makes clear that the various points of similarity between them and Kierkegaard's translations are generally coincidental. Sorainen's argument, which gives the impression that Kierkegaard is a rather ungifted Bible translator who was merely dependent on his predecessors, thus proves to be unfounded.

Kierkegaard, like every other student of theology, naturally knew and used the Vulgate. He also clearly used it during his entire work on the translation, although in such a manner that he is always in a critical dialogue with it. This means that as a rule he gives something different from what is found in the Vulgate or he introduces the Vulgate version as a possibility on a par with his own. The occasions when he simply accepts the Vulgate are the exceptions, not the the rule, and when he does so, it does not seem to have been because he wanted to make the work easier for himself but rather because a better solution did not appear or perhaps did not exist.

In a marginal note to Acts 3:20–21, Kierkegaard contemplates his relevant translation and its relation to the original text (section 1):

> I have taken pains to include an ambiguity in my translation. One can say either: "whom it behoves to take [his place in] heaven" ("ham bør det at indtage Himlen") (as it is in the Danish), or "whom it behoves heaven to take," ("Himlen bør det at modtage ham"), which seems to have more of a meaning for dogmatics, since the work of Christ was not completed before his return, and to that extent heaven takes him up, i.e., he returned to where he was before, in order subsequently to take dominion over heaven.

Kierkegaard's well-known sense for ambiguity does not let him down here; and if we turn toward the organization of the Latin translation itself, then it can also be best described—to use one of Kierkegaard's favorite words—as dialectical. This should be understood in the sense that in many places in the Latin text he has given several possibilities for translation, where they were available. Typ-

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[1]) K. Sorainen, "Einige Beobachtungen im Bezug auf die lateinischen übersetzungen Søren Kierkegaards" in *Kierkegaardiana*, vol. 9, 1974, pp. 56–74.

ically, it is often difficult to see which solution Kierkegaard himself preferred in the individual cases.

Kierkegaard normally followed Knapp's Greek text very precisely. The underlinings in the critical apparatus, however, show that he gave critical consideration to Knapp's text, and in a few cases one can say that he constructs his own text in that he opts for a reading from the critical apparatus. For example, in 1 Timothy 1:4 Knapp has οἰκονομίαν, but Kierkegaard rejects this reading and replaces it with οἰκοδομίαν from the critical apparatus, which he translates as "ædificationem." In Hebrews 11:11 he makes use of the textual variant ἔτεκεν, which he translates as "peperit" and puts in parenthesis in order to mark his reservations about this less satisfactory reading.

In a few places Kierkegaard left lines blank for the notation of untranslated passages. Elsewhere he entirely or in part leaves some verses out, and individual words, mostly of minor significance, are missing. On the other hand, he occasionally inserts words which are not found in the original text. There are also cases in which explanations of words are co-opted from Bretschneider and find their way into the text.

Genuine translation errors are rare. For example, in Titus 2:9 there is the formulation, "servos ... obediant," which must be ascribed to haste. The mistranslation "ne fures" ("Do not steal") in James 2:11, where a "ne occidas" ("Do not kill") would have been appropriate, may be explained by the fact that Kierkegaard had Exodus 20:14–15 in mind.

The mistakes and inconsistencies in Kierkegaard's Latin translations at times rest on misunderstandings of the Greek text. This is the case, for example, with Hebrews 10:5, where Kierkegaard incorrectly translates the Greek aorist form ("You have prepared") with the future form "parabo" ("I will prepare"). The confusion of the two almost identical words ("shepherd") and ("herd") explains why Kierkegaard in Hebrews 13:20 wrote "gregem ovium" instead of "pastorem ovium." It happens more frequently that Kierkegaard confuses the Greek indefinite and interrogative pronoun in the first and second person plural (for example, in Colossians 2:13). In Timothy 4:3 we find "cibis, quæ," where the neuter form of the relative is taken over directly from the original text. In 2 Timothy 2:3 one is surprised to read "bonus milites" for "bonus miles," until one understands that the form "milites" is formed by analogy with στρατιώτης in the Greek original.

Kierkegaard's Latin follows in all the essentials the rules which are valid for the morphology and syntax of classical Latin, and only

exceptionally uses private word constructions such as "exacerberatio" (i.e., "exacerbatio"), "exacerbero" (i.e., "exacerbo"), and "diviter" along with forms that have no precedent in classical Latin, for example, "beneficientia" and "effusit" (for "effudit"). It must be attributed to haste that in a few places Kierkegaard forms the perfect with the help of the present stem and the personal endings in the perfect: "inciperunt," "considerunt," "conjicierunt," and "accedistis."

A few examples will serve to illustrate Kierkegaard's originality and independence as a Bible translator (section 10). In Acts 4:26 he translates the κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ from the original with "adversus unctum ejus" ("toward his anointed"), thus rejecting the traditional "Christus" despite its verbal harmony with the New Testament. In Acts 26:11 τιμωρῶν ("punish") is translated by "cruciavi" ("torture," "crucify"), and Kierkegaard thus creates clear associations with the *imitatio Christi*. In Philippians 2:13 he renders τὸ θέλειν ("to will") as "esse" ("to be") and in Philippians 3:17 συμμιμηταί μου ("followers of me") with "latores mei" ("those who carry me"). In Knapp Philippians 4:13 reads: πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με [Χριστῷ] ("I am able to do everything in him, which strengthens me, Christ"); Kierkegaard has emphatically turned this around to "Omnia in me corroborante Chr." ("Everything (is) in me when Christ gives strength").

As has been stated, Kierkegaard is in a constant dialogue with the Vulgate, which he ambitiously strives to surpass. In general one can say that the task was well-executed. The Bible translations bear witness to the fact that Kierkegaard was both an insightful exegete and an excellent Latinist, who—in headmaster Michael Nielsen's words—had an "unusual written command ... of the Latin language."

Explanatory Notes

139 12 **martures**] This is an orthographical variant of "martyres"; Kierkegaard elsewhere prefers the spelling "martyr-." The manner of transliterating the Greek upsilon is entirely variable, see below.

13 **Joudæa**] This is an orthographical variant of "Judæa"; cf. below, e.g., "Jouda" (Acts 1:16), "Joudas" (Acts 1:25) and "Joudæi" (Acts 2:5).

17 **cur adspicitis coelum**;] Kierkegaard has possibly confused the Greek question mark with the Latin semicolon. (→ 175,*20* and → 187,*22*). However, direct questions without any question mark appear not infrequently in the subsequent text.

20 **Hierosolymæ**,] From this point Kierkegaard gave up on translating the remainder of Acts 1:12: σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν, which he underlined in Knapp. The Vulgate has "sabbati habens iter." That the sentence is not completed is indicated by Kierkegaard having left the following line blank.

22 **Phillipus**] i.e., Philippus (→ 151,*3* and → 154,*18*).

23 **Matheus**] i.e., Matthæus.

24 **una**] This is a translation of ὁμοθυμαδόν, which in a nearby text, Acts 1:14, Bretschneider II, 149 recommends translating as "uno animo" or "unanimi consensu," and which Kierkegaard has made a note of in his marginal notes. → 139*m*,*4*. The Vulgate has "unanimiter."

24 **precibus**] This translates τῇ προσευχῇ in Acts 1:14, cf. Bretschneider II, 349. The Vulgate has "oratione."

31 **(Ille igitur … locus sanguinis)**] Kierkegaard has also marked this passage, Acts 1: 18–19, with brackets in Knapp. — **Ακελδαμα**: is the form given in Knapp.

34 **illo proprio dialecto**] i.e., illa propria dialecto. The same mistake concerning gender appears below. → 140,*19*.

34 **h: e**:] hoc est.

139*m* 2 **græce … Anakolouton orationis ???**] By putting this as a question Kierkegaard rightly notices that the Greek of Acts 1:4 ν ἠκούσατέ μου, which he underlined in Knapp, is an anacoluthon; the Vulgate translates this as "quam audistis (inquit) per os meum."

uno animo … consensu] Bretschneider II, 149, under ὁμοθυμαδόν, → 139,*24*. 5

λασκαζω … crepitu] Bretschneider II, 8. Kierkegaard has underlined ἐλάκησε in Acts 1:18 in Knapp. — **s**.: sive. 7

misserunt] i.e., miserunt. 6 140

flamulæ] i.e., flammulæ. In "flamma" and its derivatives Kierkegaard has consistently used a single "m" for a double "m," e.g.→ 162,*3*. cf., "comunioni," → 141,*33*. 12

inceperunt] The ms. has the form "inciperunt," which is to be understood as a perfect constructed out of a present stem and a perfect-form personal ending. Cf. "considerunt" below, → 148,*34*, "conjicierunt," → 182,*40*, "accedistis," → 183,*38*. Cf. also "effusit," → 172,*18*. 13

nostro proprio dialecto, quo] → 139,*34*. 19

Libuæ] → 139,*12*. 23

proselutæ] → 139,*12*. 24

Kretes] A Greekism for "Cretes." 24

Davides] The Vulgate has "David." Kierkegaard has taken the unusual form, "Davides," which he also uses at Acts 2:34, from Bretschneider I, 257. 5 141

occeltem] A meaningless word, perhaps written erroneously for "occultem"; neither the Greek (Acts 2:25) nor the Hebrew context (Ps 16, from which the quotation is taken) gives support to any idea of "hiddenness." 7

sepelitum] i.e., sepultum, the perfect participle of "sepelio," → 156,*18* and → 156,*41*. 12

adscendit] Kierkegaard forgets the following "in coelum" (εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς), Acts 2:34. 20

dixerunt ad Petrum] Kierkegaard leaves out "and the other disciples" from Acts 2:37 (καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους). Without them the subsequent vocative plural is meaningless, since the question τί ποιήσομεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί; (following Knapp) is then addressed solely to Peter. 25

illo die] The Vulgate uses the feminine ("die illa"). Kierkegaard generally prefers the masculine "dies." 32

millia] i.e., Milia. The same mistake appears later, see below at Acts 4:4. 33

33 **comunioni**] i.e., communioni, → 152,*6*.

141*m* 1 **ωδιν-ος. חֶבֶל**] Bretschneider II, 637, under δίν. Kierkegaard's mistaken transcription חֶבֶל means "cord" which doesn't make any sense in the context of Acts 2:24. Kierkegaard has underlined τὰς δῖνας τοῦ θανάτου in Knapp ("the pangs of death").

2 **κατανυσσω . . . afficior**] Bretschneider I, 644. Kierkegaard has underlined κατενύγησαν in Acts 2:37 in Knapp. — **s**.: sive.

6 **αφελοτης . . . απλοτης**] Bretschneider I, 186. Kierkegaard has underlined ἀφελότητι in Acts 2:47 in Knapp — **απαξ λ**.: παξ λεγόμενον. — **propr**:: proprie. — **α pr**:: α privativum.—**i: q**:: idem quod.

142 3 **utero**] The form "utere" found in the ms. is meaningless and should read "utero." The Vulgate and Bretschneider I, 678, translate the expression ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός with "ex utero matris."

8 **Peter**] A Danish form for "Petrus."

12 **exsiliens**] This is the first example in the journal of a variant translation without brackets.

18 **alii sectaretur**] Kierkegaard has in mind Bretschneider I, 692, under κρατέω, which cites "Acts 3:11: κρατοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον, quum manu prehenderet Petrum, nec eum dimitteret. (Alii: assectari; sequi eundo)."

22 **ambularetur**] A combination such as "ille ambulatur" would not occur in Latin. Kierkegaard has done something impossible by using the passive form of a verb of motion to express the idea that the man "was made to walk" (Vulgate: "fecerimus hunc ambulare"). He does the same later in the journal (→ 156,*10*, → 160,*28*, → 184,*27*), where, however, it is not possible to understand how the passive is to be taken. There is no Greekism underlying these but perhaps Bretschneider's recommendation that the Greek περιπατέω should be translated by the deponent verb "versor" (Bretschneider II, 268) led Kierkegaard to this strange use of the passive.

22 **Deus Abr:, I. et J**.] Deus Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, Acts 3:13.

23 **nostrorum**] The "nostrum" is to be explained as Kierkegaard's literal repetition of the Greek ἡμῶν in Acts 3:13. At Heb 1:3 below he repeats the mistake but then corrects himself.

32 **Resipiscite**] The ms. has "Recipiscite." Kierkegaard consistently writes "recipisco," a non-existent verb, instead of "resipisco," see below "recipiscere" (→ 148,*19*) and cf. "recipiscentia" (→ 148,*19*, → 177,*1*, → 183,*37*).

37 **prophetam vobis excitabit**] The ms. gives the verbal form "excitabo" ("I will raise up"), which surprisingly suggests that it is Moses himself who will do this. But at Acts 3:22 the subject is "The Lord, your God," which Kierkegaard has forgotten under the influence of the preceding "Moses enim dixit ad patres." Knapp gives the original text as ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ. The Vulgate is also unambiguous: "Quoniam prophetam suscitabit vobis Dominus Deus vester de fratribus vestris, tamquam me." In his marginal notes to Knapp, Kierkegaard refers to "Deut 18:15,18, etc."

40 **Salomone**] In error for Samuel, Acts 3:24.

41 **dies ejus**] The original text of Acts 3:24 has τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας, and the Vulgate "dies istos."

1 142*m* **I have taken pains . . . over heaven**] The original text's ambiguous ν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι at Acts 3:21 is precisely rendered by Kierkegaard as "quem oportet coelum possidere," where it is unclear whether "possidere" is derived from "possideo" or "possido." See p. 439 in this volume. — **the Danish**: NT of 1819.

13 143 **Annas**] The ms. gives "Anna," cf. Kierkegaard's subsequent state of confusion regarding "Agrippas" and "Agrippa," → 146,*39*. In the list of names at Acts 4:5–6 Kierkegaard also forgets Caiphas, who is listed after "Annas, pontifex maximus."

23 **opportet**] i.e., oportet. Throughout the journal Kierkegaard mostly prefers to write "opport-."

27 **jusissent**] i.e., jussissent. Cf. "resurexerunt," → 144,*3*. At several places in the journal the opposite phenomenon can be found, namely the doubling of consonants, e.g., "misserunt," → 140,*6*.

29 **omnibus**] A basis for this "omnibus" is missing in Acts 4:16.

30 **Judæam**] Acts 4:16 has "Jerusalem."

30 **negare**] The passive infinitive "negari" found in the ms. disrupts the meaning and might have been occasioned by the middle-voiced ἀρνήσασθαι of the original in Acts 4:16. The passive could, however, also be a result of the "infitior" that Bretschneider names as a possible translation on equal footing with "nego"; see Bretschneider I, 159, under ἀρνέομαι.

31 **ne cui**] Acts 4:17 has: μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων, whilst the Vulgate gives "ne … ulli hominum." One might therefore have expected a "hominum" after "cui."

41 **sustulerunt**] Kierkegaard forgets the following πρὸς τὸν θεόν, for which the Vulgate has "ad Deum" (Acts 4:24).

143*m* 13 **אָב, מְשֻׁפָּחָה**] Bretschneider II, 250, under πατριά. Kierkegaard has here copied Bretschneider's form מְשֻׁפָּחָה, which has to be a printing error. Next to Acts 3:25 in Knapp, Kierkegaard has given a reference to "Genes 12:3, 18:18." NT-1819 translates this as "Slægter" ("tribes").

144 1 **tu es Deus**] Knapp's text reads Acts 4:24 thus: σὺ ὁ θεός, but he does give another reading in the critical apparatus: σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός, i.e., "you are God." It appears that Kierkegaard has chosen this reading. The Vulgate has "Domine, tu es qui," etc.

3 **resurexerunt**] i.e., resurrexerunt. Cf., "surexit," → 148,*33*, "resurexisse," → 160,*31* and generally above → 143,*27*.

4 **adversus unctum ejus**] At Acts 4:26 Knapp has: κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, where one should note the capital X, given in lower case in modern editions. The Vulgate has "adversus Christum eius," and NT-1819 translates: "against his Christ." This is a quotation from Ps 12, so it is interesting to note that Kierkegaard deliberately went against the traditional translation "Christus," which brings it into harmony with the NT, and instead chooses a more historically or philologically supportable translation: "unctum ejus" ("his anointed"). Kierkegaard underlined this Χριστοῦ in Knapp.

5 **filium tuum sanctum**] Kierkegaard omits the following "Jesum," see Acts 4:27.

11 **sancti tui filii**] Kierkegaard omits "Jesu," see Acts 4:30.

12 **sp. scto**] spiritu sancto.

21 **Joses**] At Acts 4:36 Knapp has Ἰωσῆς and adds the note: "Alii: Ἰωσήφ (cf. I, 23)." The Vulgate has "Ioseph." NT-1819 also has "Joses." It is generally held today that it should read Ἰωσήφ.

21 **h: e**:] hoc est.

144*m* 1 **φρυασσομαι … Aor: 1. act**.] Bretschneider II, 590. Kierkegaard has underlined ἐφρύαξαν at Acts 4:25 in Knapp and given a marginal reference to "Psalm: 2:1,2."

7 **εψευσω 2 sing: Aor 1. med**.] Bretschneider II, 630, under ψεύδομαι. The word appears in Acts 5:23 as the aorist infinitive ψεύσασθαι.

συστελλω … linteis] Bretschneider II, 479. Kierkegaard has underlined συνέστειλαν at Acts 5:6 in Knapp. 9

αφιστημι … semel] Bretschneider I, 189. Kierkegaard has underlined ἀπέστησε at Acts 5:37 in Knapp. 13

συζητεω … aliquem] Bretschneider II, 450. —**seque: Dat. pers.**: i.e., sequente Dativo personae, "when it relates to a personal object it takes the dative." — **est**: "means"; Acts 6:9 is being referred to. 26

Act: 22, 5 τιμωρεω … Act: 26, 11] Bretschneider II, 515f. — **Act**:: Acta (eller Actus) apostolorum. — **contr**:: contracto.—**seq: acc: personæ**: sequente accusativo personæ, "when it relates to a personal object it takes the accusative."—**h: l**:: hoc loco. 29 144

22, 25 ἱμας, ἱμαντος lorum] Bretschneider I, 587. 3 145

Act. 23, 3 κονιαω … et hic] Bretschneider I, 684. 4

Act. 23, 23 δεξιολαβος … lancearios] Bretschneider I, 267. — **δεξιοβολος**: this is given by Bretschneider as a variant reading; Kierkegaard has underlined this variant in Knapp's critical apparatus. 6

Tertyllo] i.e., Tertullo (→ 139,*12*). 12

Paulus] This is corrected by Kierkegaard from Saulus. 25

misericordias] i.e., alms. Kierkegaard avoids the more usual Latin expressions "elemosyna" or "stips." 36

συνεπιτιθημι … aliquem] Bretschneider II, 467f. Kierkegaard has underlined συνεπέθεντο in Knapp at Acts 24:9. 1 145*m*

et vincula … relaxari] Originally "indulgeret" stood in the main text, but this has been crossed out and is replaced in a marginal note with "et vincula solveret—sineret vincula relaxari." The dash is Kierkegaard's way of showing that the following "sineret," etc., is a stylistic variant of "solveret," etc. See also Bretschneider I, 91, under ἄνεσις. 5 146

Drysilla] i.e., Drusilla (gr. Δρούσιλλα, here in the dative), cf. Acts 24:24 (→ 139,*12*). 8

respondit] Kierkegaard forgets the dative "Paulo" that should come before or after "respondit" (Acts 25:9). The Vulgate has "Festus … respondens Paulo dixit" (ἀποκριθεὶς τῷ Παύλῳ εἶπε). 11

coram tribunali] Kierkegaard's form "tribunal" at Acts 25:10 can be attributed to the influence of the Vulgate, which has "ad tribunal." 33

Agrippas] Kierkegaard uses the Greek form Ἀγρίππας, where the Vulgate has "Agrippa." Kier- 39

kegaard subsequently switches between the two forms. Cf. also supra re. "Annas," → 143,*13*.

39 **Berenice**] The Greek form is Βερνίκη, which the Vulgate and Bretschneider render "Bernice."

146*m* *1* **χαρις ... gratum**] Bretschneider II, 606. In Knapp, Kierkegaard has set a vertical line in the margin next to Acts 24:27.—**h: l**:: hoc loco.

147 *2* **(causam ei dicentes.)**] The variant marked by parentheses here precedes rather than follows the text to which it relates.

12 **cognitionem (sententiam, judicium)**] "Sententiam" and "judicium" are equivalent variants. They are taken from Bretschneider I, 282, under διάγνωσις, and Kierkegaard has underlined this word in Knapp, Acts 25: 21. The Vulgate has "cognitionem."

30 **qui ad te hodie causam dicturus sim**] Kierkegaard first wrote: "qui ad te me hodie defensurus sim." The correction "causam dicturus sim" shows that Kierkegaard consciously avoided the Vulgate, which has "sim defensurus" (Acts 26:2). The Latin future renders the Greek participial construction μέλλων ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

31 **Quare rogo te**] Kierkegaard forgot to translate the beginning of Acts 26:3: μάλιστα γνώστην ὄντα σε πάντων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐθῶν τε καὶ ζητημάτων.

147*m* *1* **επικαλεω Act. 7, 59**] Bretschneider I, 466. cf. Acts 25:21: ἐπικαλεσαμένου.

148 *1* **a Sacerdotibus potestate**] This formulation is hard to understand and stands in sharp contrast to the Vulgate's clear "a principibus sacerdotum potestate accepta." Kierkegaard's weak rendition of ἀρχιερεύς as "sacerdos" (where, on the basis of Bretschneider I, 163, one would have expected "sacerdos summus" or "pontifex") can also be noted.

2 **cruciavi**] At this point, Acts 26:11, the Vulgate has the neutral "puniens" for the Greek τιμωρῶν. Bretschneider II, 516 (under τιμωρέω 3) offers two suggestions: "torqueo" and "crucio." Kierkegaard settles for "crucio," which has clear associations with the *imitatio Christi* by virtue of its connotations of "tormenting or torturing on a cross."

6 **via**] i.e., "in via" (thus the Vulgate at Acts 26:13). The locative use of the ablative "via" is very difficult and is presumably to be explained by the fact that Kierkegaard originally wrote "media" for "meridie." The original text has κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν.

quæ tibi ostendam] Presumably under the influence of a misleading note in Bretschneider II, 165, under ὁράω 4 c, "transitive" (cf. the marginal note, → 148*m*,*1*), Kierkegaard has been led to write "quæ te ostendam," a meaningless expression in Latin. The Vulgate has: "et eorum quibus apparebo tibi," Acts 26:16. *13*

Judeæ] In error for "Judææ"; possibly on aesthetic grounds. *18*

resipiscere] → 142,*32*. *19*

resipiscentia] → 142,*32*. *19*

Moses.] Kierkegaard has left the two following lines blank to show that there is some missing text, namely Acts 26:23, which he has not translated. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the words εἰ παθητός but didn't get further than thinking about them. *23*

omnibus] There is no basis for this in Acts 26:26. *27*

neque enim hoc est factum in angulo factum] It cannot be decided whether "factum ... factum" is a dittography. Acts 26:26 in Knapp goes: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο. *28*

prophetis.] Kierkegaard forgot to translate the last part of Acts 26:27: οἶδα, ὅτι πιστεύεις. *29*

si multum abest si parum] Kierkegaard has switched round "multum" and "parum" in Acts 26:29 where Knapp has: ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ. Kierkegaard has underlined the two words in Knapp. NT-1819 gives the correct sequence "little" / "much." *31*

fieretis] The choice of the verbal form can be seen as an example of Kierkegaard's exegesis. Neither the Greek text (πάντας ... γενέσθαι, Acts 26:29) nor the Vulgate ("omnes ... fieri") imply that this should be a second person plural. One would rather expect the third person plural "fierent." *32*

Surexit] i.e., surrexit, cf. previously "resurexerunt," → 144,*3*, and below "resurexisse," → 160,*31*. *33*

consederunt] The ms. has "considerunt," → 140,*13*. *34*

οφθησομαι ... Bretschneider] Bretschneider II, 164, under ὁράω (→ 148,*13*).—**h: l**:: hoc loco. *2* 148*m*

αποφθεγγομαι ... sonus] Bretschneider I, 149 and II, 577. *5*

navem Adramutenam] The Vulgate has the form "Adrumetinam." The original text reads πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ (Acts 27:2) Kierkegaard has underlined the adjective in Knapp. *1* 149

ob ventum infestum] Kierkegaard chooses the singular to render the Greek plural in Acts 27:4: διὰ τὸ *6*

τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους. The Vulgate has "venti contrarii."

7 **Muram**] Acts 27:5 has Μύρα, the Vulgate "Lystram." (→ 139,12).

8 **Ubi cum**] i.e., "Ibi cum," cf. Acts 27:6: κἀκεῖ.

9 **invenisset**] The accusative "navem Alexandrinam . . . navigantem" at Acts 27:6 only makes sense if one adds the verb which Kierkegaard forgot to put in. The original text has a construction with the aorist participle εὑρών, which the Vulgate renders with "inveniens." Cf. Bretschneider I, 512, under εὑρίσκω.

13 **urbs Lasaea**] This renders πόλις Λασαία, which Kierkegaard has underlined in Knapp, Acts 27:8. The Vulgate has "civitas Thalassa."

20 **portum**] After this Kierkegaard forgot τῆς Κρήτης (the Vulgate has "Cretae"), cf. Acts 27:12.

20 **Libanum**] Kierkegaard has misunderstood the original text's Λίβα ("south wind") as the place name "Libanus" (i.e., Lebanon). The Vulgate renders it "Africus," cf. Bretschneider II, 20, under λίψ. The manuscript's "Libano" is a mistake for "Libanum," which agrees with "Chorum," both being governed by "spectantem." Kierkegaard underlined the two winds in Knapp, Acts 27:12.

24 **vento**] Kierkegaard left blank the one and a half lines following this to allow for the subsequent insertion of the rest of his translation of Acts 27:15 ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα. He underlined the participle in Knapp.

25 **Insulam vero quandam**] Kierkegaard has forgotten the following καλούμενον Κλαύδην, Acts 27:16.

33 **opportebat**] Kierkegaard has forgotten the vocative in Acts 27:21: ἄνδρες.

34 **jacturam et poenam**] Acts 27:21 concludes: (ἔδει . . .) κερδῆσαί τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν. The Vulgate: "(oportebat) lucrique facere iniuriam hanc et iacturam." Kierkegaard has turned the word order round.

35 **animarum nostrarum**] Acts 27:22: the ms. has "animarum nostrum," where the mistaken translation "nostrum" is meant to convey the Greek ἐξ ὑμῶν. Cf. inf. re: the confusion between ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, → 161,27.

37 **opportet te**] Kierkegaard here (Acts 27:24) forgets the vocative "Paule."

149*m* 1 **επισφαλης . . . periculosus**] Bretschneider I, 477. Cf. Acts 27:9: ἐπισφαλοῦς.

ανευθετος . . . incommodus] Bretschneider I, 92. Cf. Acts 27:12: ἀνευθέτου. 5

εβαλε . . . irruit] Bretschneider I, 195, under βάλλω. — **sc**: scilicet. 9

ex σκαπτω] Bretschneider II, 412, under σκάφη. 11

χειμαζω . . . vexor] Bretschneider II, 610. Kierkegaard underlined χειμαζομένων in Knapp at Acts 27:18 12

ζευκτηριος . . . vinculum] Bretschneider I, 529. Kierkegaard underlined the expression ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων in Knapp at Acts 27:40. 1 150*m*

φρυγανον . . . sarmentum] Bretschneider II, 590. The word is found in Acts 28:3: φρυγάνων, which Kierkegaard has underlined in Knapp. 5

συστρεφω . . . colligo] Bretschneider II, 479. The word is found in Acts 28:3: συστρέψαντος. 8

πιμπραω . . . intumesco] Bretschneider II, 280. The word is found in Acts 28:6: πίμπρασθαι. 12

Phillipis] i.e., Philippis (→ 139,22). 3 151

in omnibus precibus meis] The Vulgate translates this as "in cunctis orationibus meis" (ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου), Phil 1:4. → 139,24. 5

amor] Kierkegaard's preferred rendering of ἀγάπη. The Vulgate has "caritas," which Kierkegaard does not use. 13

scire] Kierkegaard forgets the following vocative "fratres" (ἀδελφοί), Phil 1:12. 17

sp. Je: X] Spiritus Jesu Christi. 27

in nomine meo] Against the background of Phil 1:20 σώματι one would here expect "corpore" as in the Vulgate. 29

Ev. Xsti] Evangelio Christi. 37

ob Chr.] In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, Phil 1:29. 1 152

videtis] On the basis of the original text's εδετε at Phil 1:30 one would expect "vidistis" (as in the Vulgate), but Kierkegaard has presumably sought to intensify this and make it more immediate by using the present tense. 3

com̄unio] The horizontal line over the "m" signifies a doubling (→ 141,33). 6

misericordiæ] Renders οἰκτιρμοί at Phil 2:1 and may be regarded as a nominative plural in apposition to "viscera" but scarcely a genitive singular. Cf. the Vulgate: "viscera miserationis." Cf. Bretschneider II, 143, under οἰκτιρμός, where it is explained thus: "σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, i. e., σπλάγ. τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, misericordiam." 6

10 **in X**.] Kierkegaard forgets the following "Jesu," cf. Phil 2:5.

17 **qui sunt sub terra**] The Vulgate has "inferni," a more conventional rendering of the Greek καταχθόνιοι. Bretschneider I, 653, recommends "subterraneus" and explains Phil 2:10 in this way: "inferi, qui in hade versantur, manes." Kierkegaard has underlined ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων in Knapp.

18 **fratres mihi dilecti**] The Greek ἀγαπητοί μου is rendered in the Vulgate as "carissimi mei." By choosing "dilecti" Kierkegaard deviates from Bretschneider I, 7, under ἀγαπητός, where this solution is not put forward. There is in fact no ground at this point (Phil 2:12) for the translation "fratres."

20 **cum metu et timore**] In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined the words φόβου καὶ τρόμου, Phil 2:12. NT-1819 translates this as "Frygt og Bæven" (corresponding to the English "fear and trembling").

21 **esse**] This is a surprising and original translation at this place (Phil 2:13), where one would expect "velle" (Vulgate) as the translation of τὸ θέλειν.

21 **prouti ei placitum fuerit**] This is a somewhat free translation of ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας, Phil 2:13. The Vulgate has "pro bona voluntate." Bretschneider I, 506, under εὐδοκία recommends "praeter desiderium, spem."

24 **apparetis lucete**] The variant "lucete" in Phil 2:15 is presumably a result of Kierkegaard having understood the Greek φαίνεσθε as an imperative instead of a present indicative second person plural. → 153,*8*.

27 **hostiâ et sacrificiô**] The circumflex marks an ablative, which in the case of nouns with an -a ending would otherwise be identical with the nominative, cf. "aquâ" i Acts 1:5; "sacrificiô," however, is the journal's only example of a corresponding (and unnecessary) marking of a noun ending in -o where there is no such possibility for confusing the two cases. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the datives θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ, Phil 2:17.

27 **vobis**] Kierkegaard has forgotten the "omnibus" (πᾶσιν), Phil 2:17.

32 **Virtutem**] The Vulgate renders δοκιμή at Phil 2:22 with "experimentum." Kierkegaard chooses "virtus," which would usually be more fitting for the Greek ἀρετή, a key term in moral philosophy. The word "virtus" is not found in Bretschneider I, 316f., under δοκιμή; alternatives that are given there include "exploratio" and "probatio," "probitas exploratione firmata."

33 **cum patre filius**] In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined πατρὶ τέκνον at Phil 2:22. He originally chose the Vulgate's interpretation "patri filius," and, in correctly understanding "filius" as *the* son, he changed his Latin translation to "cum patre filius," i.e., "the son served together with the father."

38 **desiderabat ... erat**] The ms. has "desiderabam" and "eram." In Knapp, Phil 2: 22 reads: ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀδημονῶν, δίοτι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησε. In the ἐπειδή-clause Kierkegaard mistakes the subject, who is not Paul but Epaphroditus. Rather than understanding the Greek praeterite ἦν as a third person singular he seems to have understood it as a first person singular, which is technically possible, although the context requires the third person singular, as in the Vulgate: "quoniam quidem omnes vos desiderabat: et moestus erat, propterea quod audieratis illum infirmatum."

38 **vos**] Kierkegaard forgets the "omnes" (πάντας), Phil 2:26.

1 **letemini**] i.e., lætemini. 153

3 **munus**] Renders the original text's ἔργον, Phil 2:30. Bretschneider I, 486ff., under ἔργον offers "factum," "opus," etc., but not "munus." The Vulgate translates it as "opus."

4 **vitæ periclitatus**] In Knapp, Phil 2:30 reads: παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ (the critical apparatus gives the form παραβουλευσάμενος, which Kierkegaard has underlined and about which Bretschneider II, 216 says: "in textu vulgari"). The translation "vitæ periclitatus," which Kierkegaard has taken from Bretschneider II, 215, under παραβολεύομαι, is to be understood against the background of Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 8.31,1, "capitis periclitatus." The Vulgate has "tradens animam suam."

6 **fratres mihi dilecti**] The original text is simply: ἀδελφοί μου. In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined the first half of Phil 3:1.

8 **videtis**] The sudden change to the indicative in the middle of Phil 3:2 is striking; the Greek βλέπετε, the form of which allows for both imperative and indicative readings, can best be seen as imperative on account of the preceding and following text.

16 **Jesu Christi**] Phil 3:8 has Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Kierkegaard changes the order round.

21 **morte cruenta**] There is no basis in Phil 3:10 for the dramatizing "cruenta."

23 **a deo**] Knapp's main text gives Phil 3:12 as ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ (with τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in the apparatus). Kierkegaard has underlined κατελήφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ.

26 **superioris vocationis**] Kierkegaard forgets the following "dei" (τοῦ θεοῦ), Phil 3:14.

29 **latores mei**] Kierkegaard originally wrote "simulatores mei," deleting the prefix "simu," suggesting that it should just read "latores mei," i.e, "those bearing me," an interesting and original rendering of the Greek συμμιμηταί μου, Phil 3:17. The Vulgate has "imitatores mei."

29 **estote**] Kierkegaard forgets the subsequent vocative "fratres" (ἀδελφοί), Phil 3:17.

30 **ut**] A not very fortunate rendering of καθώς. Bretschneider I, 609, recommends "secundum, quod, quem ad modum, sicut."

33 **civitas**] Kierkegaard's translation of πολίτευμα agrees with Bretschneider II, 313. The Vulgate and *Itala* translate it as "conversatio."

40 **Suntuchen**] The Vulgate has "Syntyche" (→ 139,*12*).

154 12 **vobiscum**.] The following line is blank in the ms. for the first half of Phil 4:10 which Kierkegaard has not translated (ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ μεγάλως, ὅτι δη ροτὲ ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν). Kierkegaard underlined the verb ἀνεθάλετε in Knapp and made a marginal note → 154*m*,*1*.

13 **Non quod sc: loquar**] A variant reading for "Quod non dico." By "scilicet loquar," where the "a" is double-underlined in the ms. in order to mark the subjunctive, Kierkegaard seems to want to indicate a verbal ellipse as the solution: "Non quod ob penuriam" (with "loquar" being understood). In the original text Phil 4:11 begins: οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑστέρησιν λέγω.

16 **essurire**] An orthographic variant of "esurire."

17 **Omnia in me corroborante Chr**.] In Knapp, Phil 4:3 reads: πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με [Χριστῷ], which means "I am able to do everything in him who gives me strength, Christ," which Kierkegaard subtly renders "Everything (is) in me, when Christ gives strength." The Vulgate has: "Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat."

18 **Phillipenses**] i.e., Philippenses (→ 139,*22*).

22 **quæram ... quaero**] Kierkegaard oscillates between "æ" and "ae," but generally prefers the former.

cum omnibus vestris.] The following "Amen," which is given in Knapp's text as of dubious attestation, is omitted by Kierkegaard, both here and at other places where it comes as concluding formula. 30

φρουρεω ... custodio] Bretschneider II, 590. Cf. Phil 4:7: φρουρήσει. 1 154*m*

αναθαλλω ... curam mei] Bretschneider I, 75 (→ 154,*12*).—**v: c:**: verbi causa. — **Phill**.: i.e., Phil. (→ 154,*18*). 5

ακαιρεομαι ... destituor] Bretschneider I, 39. Cf. Phil 4:10: 14

ενδυναμοω] Bretschneider I, 416. (→ 154,*17*). 19

συγκοινονεω ... venio] Bretschneider II, 448. In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined συγκοινωνήσαντες at Phil 4:14. 20

secundum voluntatem Jesu] One would expect "dei," not "Jesu," cf. Col 1:1: διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ. 32 154

(et domino Jesu Chr:)] In Knapp the corresponding Greek word is placed within double parentheses, indicating that the text is inauthentic. 34

qui eripuit] Kierkegaard forgets the accusative object "nos" (ἡμᾶς), Col 1:13. 12 155

sanguine ejus] Διὰ τοῦ αματος αὐτοῦ is placed in double parentheses in Knapp, indicating that the text is inauthentic. The Vulgate has "per sanguinem eius." 13

quæ est ecclesia] Vulgate has "quod est ecclesia," Col 1:24. Cf. the original text: ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία. 30

qui est Chr:] The Vulgate gives "quod est Christus," Col 1:27. Cf. the original text: ὅς ἐστι Χριστός. 35

in illo ambulamini] On the use of the passive, → 142,*22*. 10 156

(peccatorum)] Here, at Col 2:11, the brackets do not mark a variant translation but a reading that Knapp marks as inauthentic. 17

sepiliti] i.e., "sepeliti." Cf. inf., → 156,*41*; → 141,*12*. 18

vos ... eratis] Cf. Col 2:13: ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς ὄντας. 19

Ne quis vobis palmam eripiat] The translation is inspired by Bretschneider I, 634, under καταβραβεύω. The Vulgate has "Nemo vos seducat." Kierkegaard has underlined καταβραβευέτω in Knapp at Col 2:18. 26

Sepilite] i.e., sepelite. Cf. supra, → 156,*18*; → 141,*12*. Kierkegaard has underlined νεκρώσατε in Knapp at Col 3:5. 41

affectus] This renders the Greek singular πάθος. 1 157

libidinem] Cf. Col 3:5: ἐπιθυμίαν κακήν. Kierkegaard forgets to translate the adjective. 1

2 **immorigeros**] Kierkegaard has found the adjective "immoriger" in Bretschneider I, 115, under ἀπειθέω and ἀπειθής.

4 **sermones obscoenos**] Bretschneider I, 33, under αἰσχρολογία. Kierkegaard omits or forgets the conclusion of Col 3:8: ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν.

12 **et pax**] Previously Kierkegaard has forgotten to translate Col 3:14: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ἐστὶ σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος.

14 **diviter**] Kierkegaard has formed "diviter," which is not otherwise known, from the adjective "dives" in order to translate πλουσίως, Col 3:16. Bretschneider II, 300 recommends "abunde" or "large." The Vulgate has "abundanter." The form "diviter" also appears below → 167,*32* and → 172,*19*.

16 **psallentes**] In Col 3:16 Knapp has δοντες. Bretschneider I, 25, under αδω (i.e., δο), recommends "cano, canto." The Vulgate has "cantantes." Kierkegaard has perhaps followed the clue of ψάλλω/psallo via the substantive form ψαλμοῖς, which appears a little earlier in the verse.

17 **Chr**:] There is no basis in Knapp for "Christi" at Col 3:17.

22 **ne nimis perterreantur**] This translation variant has been borrowed by Kierkegaard from Bretschneider I, 27, under ἀθυμέω.

26 **vos a domino accepisse**] It is characteristic that Kierkegaard has chosen a perfect infinitive where the original text of Col 3:24 has the future ἀπολήψεσθε. The Vulgate translates this as "accipietis."

30 **præbete justum et æquabilitatem**] Kierkegaard forgets the dative "servis" (τοῖς δούλοις), Col 4:1.

32 **Precibus**] Col 4:2; The Vulgate has "orationi," → 139,*24* and → 151,*5*.

38 **Tuchicus**] i.e.,Tychicus (→ 139,*12*).

41 **patefaciunt**] On the basis of Col 4:9 γνωριοῦσι (in Knapp) one would expect the future. The Vulgate has "nota facient."

158 6 **eum magnum habere studium**] Col 4:13 in Knapp reads: μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἔχει ζῆλον πολὺν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, etc.

12 **mea manu**] Kierkegaard forgets "Pauli," cf. Col 4:18.

158 15 **Silanus**] A mistake for Silvanus. So too below at 2 Thess 1:1 (→ 161,*31*).

24 **immitatores domini**] i.e., imitatores domini. Kierkegaard forgets the ἡμῶν, cf. 1 Thess 1:6: καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, etc., of the original text.

sp. sancti] Spiritus sancti. 25

per M. et A.] Per Macedoniam et Achaiam, 1 Thess 1:7. 27

sumsimus] i.e., sumpsimus. Cf. inf. "redemtio" for "redemptio," → 164,*27*. 36

mites inter vos medios] Kierkegaard omits the following conclusion of 1 Thess 2:7: ὡς ν τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα. 6 159

cari] Kierkegaard normally renders ἀγαπητοί as "dilecti." 8

laborem] Kierkegaard forgets "nostrum," cf. 1 Thess 2:9: τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν. 9

qui] Kierkegaard has underlined the original text of 1 Thess 2:13, ὅς in Knapp, because it can equally well refer to λόγος and to θεός. In Latin the choice is between "verbum" and "deus." The Vulgate chooses "deus" ("verbum Dei, qui operatur"), as does Kierkegaard, in contrast to NT-1819, which has: "The word of God, which . . . etc." 14

in adventu ejus.] Kierkegaard forgets 1 Thess 2:20: ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά. 29

(ipsi enim scitis] Kierkegaard has no concluding parenthesis. In Knapp the comment ends in verse 4, which in Kierkegaard's translation concludes: "ut etiam factum est et scitis." 35

T.] Timotheus. 40

Inde] In 1 Thess 3:7 this is the start of the main clause to which the "cum-" clause of the previous verse is subordinate. 1 160

vobis] Kierkegaard overlooks the following vocative "fratres" (ἀδελφοί), 1 Thess 3:7. 1

vocavit] In 1 Thess 4:7 Kierkegaard omits the subject "deus," which, however, does not give rise to any confusion of meaning since "deus" has already appeared in the "quoniam"-clause in v. 6. 21

super vos] Knapp has εἰς ὑμᾶς at 1 Thess 4:8, but in the apparatus gives the reading ἡμᾶς. Kierkegaard has underlined both. The Vulgate, however, has "in nobis" and, corresponding to this NT-1819 "in us." Regarding "super" cf. also inf., → 161,*27* and → 161,*39*. 23

Cohortamur vos] Kierkegaard forgets the vocative "fratres" (ἀδελφοί), 1 Thess 4:10. 26

operetis] The Vulgate has "operemini" at 1 Thess 4:11. 27

ambulemini] On the use of the passive, → 142,*22*. 28

30 **mortuis**] One would expect "dormientibus" as in the Vulgate, corresponding to the "sleeping" in 1 Thess 4:13, where Knapp reads κεκοιμημένων. Kierkegaard's rendering is inspired by Bretschneider I, 678, under κοιμάω: "per euphemismum de morientibus et mortuis."

31 **resurexisse**] i.e., resurrexisse, → 144,*3* and → 148,*33*.

33 **relictos superstites**] "Superstites" is a variant, which Kierkegaard has taken from Bretschneider II, 267, under περιλείπω.

34 **dominus**] Kierkegaard forgets ἐν κελεύσματι (1 Thess 4:16). The Vulgate has "in jussu."

37 **ad obviam eundum domino**] Cf. 1 Thess 4:17: εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου. The Vulgate has "obviam Christo."

161 5 **gravidæ**] The original text reads: τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὄλεθρος, σπερ ἡ δὶν τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ, 1 Thess 5:3. The Vulgate has: "tunc repentinus eis superveniet interitus, sicut dolor in utero habenti."

22 **in Xsto**] Kierkegaard forgets "Jesu" (1 Thess 5:18).

24 **santificet**] i.e., sanctificet. At various points in the journal Kierkegaard chooses to write "sant-" for "sanct-,"→ 174,*26*, → 180,*9*, → 181,*17*.

24 **integer vester spiritus, et anima et corpus**] Cf. 1 Thess 5:23: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς· καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη. The verb τηρηθείη has three subjects: πνεῦμα, ψυχή and σῶμα. In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined πνεῦμα, which indicates that he has been considering them in connection with the fact that in his translation he puts them into the accusative ("integrum vestrum spiritum, et animam"); but that he wanted to see them as governed by ἁγιάσαι of the previous sentence and thereby only allow the third σῶμα/corpus be the subject of τηρηθείη, is scarcely credible since the semicolon in Knapp separates the two sentences. Perhaps there is an influence from the preceding accusative "vos totos."

27 **super nos**] In the ms. "super vos," is found here, where 1 Thess 5:25 has: περὶ ἡμῶν (cf. inf. on "super" as a rendering of ὑπέρ, → 161,*39*). The Vulgate has "pro nobis." It happens quite often that Kierkegaard mixes the Greek pronouns ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς.

Silanus] An error for Silvanus. Thus too at 1 Thess 31 161
1:1 above (→ 158,*15*).

persecutionibus et afflictionibus] Cf. 2 Thess 1:4: 37
ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν.

super] Kierkegaard frequently uses this word as an 39
idiosyncratic way of rendering the Greek preposition ὑπέρ, where one would expect "pro." Perhaps the choice of "super" rests on the similarity of the words which are etymologically identical.

flama] i.e., flamma, → 140,*12*. 3 162

infligentis] Cf. 2 Thess 1:8: ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, 3
διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν, etc., (underlined in Knapp by Kierkegaard). The Vulgate has "in flamma ignis dantis vindictam," etc.

(quia fides . . . apud vos—] The dash functions as a 7
conclusion to the parenthesis.

nomen domini nostri] Kierkegaard forgets "Jesu 11
Christi" (2 Thess 1:12).

extollens se] This translates ὑπεραιρόμενος (2 19
Thess 2:4). The Vulgate uses the passive "extollitur."

retenete] i.e., retinete. Kierkegaard originally wrote 35
"tenete," but by adding the prefix "re" he has overlooked the fact that the vocal of the stem is thereby weakened.

(sine dubio . . . propagetur)] The material in brack- 2 163
ets is not a translation but a gloss on the verb τρέχῃ in 2 Thess 3:1, which Kierkegaard underlined in Knapp. The explanation is borrowed from Bretschneider II, 527, under τρέχω: "τρέχει videlicet per varias regiones; sensus: celeriter propagatur."

acceperunt] Knapp has παρέλαβον at 2 Thess 3:6, 10
but gives a number of other readings in the apparatus (including παρέλαβε, comp. NT-1819: "not according to the doctrine which *he* received from us"). Kierkegaard follows the Vulgate: "non secundum traditionem, quam acceperunt a nobis."

suffundatur] The ms. has "suffundar" here, but 2 22
Thess 3:15 requires a third person singular in order to render ἐντραπῇ. The mistake might have been caused by Bretschneider I, 426, under ἐντρέπω and Kierkegaard's mechanically turning Bretschneider's explanation "pudore suffundor" into "pudore suffundar" without thinking that the context required the third person singular.

ædificationem] At 1 Tim 1:4 Knapp has the form 34 163
οἰκονομίαν and gives οἰκοδομίαν in the apparatus, both underlined by Kierkegaard who here opts for

the reading in the apparatus. Bretschneider II, 139, under οἰκοδομία recommends the translation "aedificatio," as does the Vulgate.

36 **fides**] Kierkegaard has corrected the ablative "fide" to the nominative "fides," which also gives a nice significance to "amor," even if this is not entirely in accord with the original text of 1 Tim 1:5 which runs as follows: τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου. Πίστις is here on the same footing as the other parts of the clause.

164 1 **imorigeris**] i.e., immorigeris, → 157,2.

9 **Fidele est verbum**] Kierkegaard has altered "Fidelis" to "Fidele," perhaps because, in agreement with the Vulgate, he wanted to render λόγος at 1 Tim 1:15 as "sermo," but opted for "verbum." The same phenomenon occurs below at 1 Tim 3.1.

13 **post me**] There is no basis for "post me" in 1 Tim 1:16. It appears that Kierkegaard has done this in order to emphasize the future aspect.

163*m* 1 **αστοχεω ... aberrare**] Bretschneider I, 172. Cf. 1 Tim 1:6: ἀστοχήσαντες.

164 27 **redemtionem**] i.e., redemptionem. Cf. "sumsimus," → 158,36.

38 **manserint**] It is uncertain whether the ms. reads "manserint" or "manserit," but there is much that suggests the former. In 1 Tim 2:15 there is an aorist subjunctive in the third person plural—μείνωσιν—in Knapp, which Kierkegaard underlined in his own copy. This indicates that Kierkegaard was aware of the singular form—μένῃ—in Knapp's critical apparatus, even if he didn't underline it. The Vulgate prefers the singular "permanserit."

164*m* 1 **αυθεντεω ... exerceo**] Bretschneider I, 177. Kierkegaard underlined αὐθεντεῖν in Knapp (1 Tim 2:13).

165 2 **Fidele est verbum**] → 164,9.

5 **non turpis lucri cupidum**] Translates μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ in 1 Tim 3:3. Kierkegaard underlined both the adjective αἰσχροκερδῆ and the explanation given in the apparatus: μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ, *multi vett. omitt*.

8 **novitium**] After the parenthetical question, 1 Tim 3:5 continues the construction "opportet episcopum esse ..." that had been started in v. 2. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the corresponding Greek accusative νεόφυτον.

9 **occoecatus**] i.e., occaecatus (cf. coelum/caelum).

11 **Diaconos**] Here "oportet" is implied—the construction is the same as the previous one. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the accusative διακόνους (1 Tim 3:8).

14 **irreprehensibiles**,] There is no comma at this point in the ms., but it is desirable for the meaning that the adjective goes with "diaconos," and not the following "mulieres." Knapp gives a Greek semicolon before v. 11, where Kierkegaard has underlined the accusative γυναῖκας.

27 **cibis, quæ**] There is a Greekism here. The substantive "cibus" is masculine, so that the pronoun in the accusative plural should be "quos." When Kierkegaard mistakenly writes "quæ," this is because of the influence of the Greek relative pronoun, which is a neuter plural, because it corresponds to βρώματα. 1 Tim 4:3 reads: ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν, etc.

34 **ad nihil**] This is a striking translation of πρὸς ὀλίγον in 1 Tim 4:8, which means "of little [benefit]. " The Vulgate has "ad modicum." Bretschneider II, 146, recommends "parum." NT-1819 has: "For bodily exercises are useful for little." Kierkegaard underlined σωματικὴ γυμνασία in Knapp.

38 **Hoc**] 1 Tim 4:11 has the plural here—ταῦτα—the Vulgate "haec."

2 166 **Hæc cura in his esto**] Kierkegaard forgets the concluding clause of 1 Tim 4:15: να σοῦ ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ᾖ ἐν πᾶσιν.

12 **luxoriose**] i.e., luxuriose.

17 **afflictis subministravit**] Under the influence of the Greek θλιβομένοις ἐπήρκεσεν of 1 Tim 5:10 Kierkegaard has connected "subministravit" with the dative so that it means "help, assist."

18 **luxoriose vixerint**] This renders 1 Tim 5:11's καταστρηνιάσωσι; Kierkegaard underlined the verb in Knapp.

5 167 **beneficientiæ**] Bretschneider I, 506, recommends translating εὐεργεσία as "beneficium" and "beneficentia." Kierkegaard chooses the latter, which he writes as "beneficientia," a form also found in the Middle Ages.

8 **occoecatus**] → 165,9.

24 **apud P. P.**] Apud Pontium Pilatum, cf. 1 Tim 6:13.

32 **diviter**] This translates πλουσίως i 1 Tim 6:17, → 157,14.

36 **vaniloquium oppositiones**] One would expect an "et" between the two words, cf. 1 Tim 6:20. Kierkegaard underlined ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως in Knapp.

37 **aberrarunt**] Kierkegaard forgets περὶ τὴν πίστιν in 1 Tim 6:21, which the Vulgate translates as "circa fidem."

168 6 **in bona conscientia**] This translates ἐν καθαρᾳ συνειδήσει in 2 Tim 1:3, which the Vulgate translates as "in conscientia pura." NT-1819 has "in a pure conscience."

10 **mamma tua**] Bretschneider II, 38, under μάμμη recommends at this place in 2 Tim 1:5 "avia" (as in the Vulgate). In Latin "mamma" can very occasionally mean "grandmother."

15 **qui eripuit nos**] Kierkegaard's drastic translation of τοῦ σώσαντος at 2 Tim 1:9 is inspired by a comment in Bretschneider II, 484, under σώζω: "cum *(. . .)* eripiendi sensu." The Vulgate has "liberavit."

20 **doctor gentilium**] The Vulgate has "magister gentium" (2 Tim 1:11).

21 **hoc patior**] The original text of 2 Tim 1:12 has a neuter plural, ταῦτα πάσχω.

21 **non animum despondeo**] Cf. Bretschneider I, 446, under ἐπαισχύνομαι. The Vulgate has "non confundor," 2 Tim 1:12.

24 **dilectione**] Usually Kierkegaard translates ἀγάπη as "amor," → 151,*13*.

25 **per sp. s**.] Per spiritum sanctum.

26 **Phygelles**] Φύγελλος is given by Bretschneider as "Phygellus." The Vulgate has "Phigellus." "Phygelles" is presumably formed by analogy with the following "Hermogenes."

27 **domui O**.] Domui Onesiphori, 2 Tim 1:16.

33 **audisti**] cf. 2 Tim 2:2: κουσας.

33 **hoc**] The original text of 2 Tim 2:2 has the neuter plural ταῦτα. The Vulgate has "haec."

34 **bonus milites**] i.e., "bonus miles." Under the influence of the Greek στρατιώτης of 2 Tim 2:3 Kierkegaard has allowed the plural form "milites" to function as a singular ("miles").

35 **duci**] This translates στρατολογήσαντι (2 Tim 2:4, cf. Bretschneider II, 441, under στρατολογέω: "ὁ στρατολογήσας est dux, qui adhortatur militem ad pugnam").

168*m* 1 **εμπλεκω . . . implico**] Bretschneider I, 403. Cf. 2 Tim 2:4: ἐμπλέκεται.

169 5 **ille fidelis**] An elliptical construction. One expects a verbal link such as "permanet" as in the Vulgate. The original text of 2 Tim 2:13 begins: εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει.

provocant] Cf. the future προκόψουσιν in 2 Tim 2:16. The Vulgate has the present "proficiunt." 10

de veritate aberrarunt] Cf. 2 Tim 2:18: περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν. The Vulgate has "a veritate exciderunt." 12

non opportet] Cf. 2 Tim 2:24: οὐ δεῖ. 22

et hos fuge] "Et" means "also" here (2 Tim 3:5). 33

possunt] One would expect a participle for the translation of δυνάμενα at 2 Tim 3:7. Kierkegaard surprisingly uses "semper" to introduce a new main sentence, in which "discentes" is connected to an implied subject "mulierculæ," taken from the previous verse, which Kierkegaard underlined in Knapp—γυναικάρια. 35

aperta est] Cf. 2 Tim 3:9: ἔκδηλος ἔσται. The Vulgate has "manifesta erit." 38

Iconio] The city name "Ikonion," Lat. "Iconium," in 2 Tim 3:11 has been mistakenly placed by Kierkegaard in the ablative with a locative sense, presumably under the influence of the following ablative plural "Lystris." The Vulgate has the (correct) genitive form "Iconii." 41

in Chr:] Kierkegaard forgets the following "Jesu" (2 Tim 3:12). 1 170

in illis, quæ didicisti] Here, at 2 Tim 3:14, Kierkegaard has omitted to translate καὶ ἐπιστώθης which the Vulgate translates somewhat freely as "et credita sunt tibi." In the ms. Kierkegaard has placed a long dash and left the rest of the line blank with a view to completing it later, and starts the following line "sciens." He underlined ἐπιστώθης in Knapp. 3

in Chr:] Kierkegaard forgets the subsequent "Jesu" (2 Tim 3:15). 5

profectus est T.] profectus est Thessalonicam (ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην) (2 Tim 4:10). 23

K. in G.] Crescens in Galatiam (2 Tim 4:10). 23

T. in D.] Titus in Dalmatiam (2 Tim 4:10). 23

Tychicum] A new sentence begins with "Tychicum" (2 Tim 4:12). 24

Saluta P. et A. et domum O.] Saluta Priscam et Aquilam et domum Onesiphori (2 Tim 4:19). 34

E. mansit K.] Erastas mansit Corinthi (ἐν Κορίνθῳ) (2 Tim 4:20). 34

T. reliqui] Trophimum reliqui (2 Tim 4:20). 34

Salutat te E. et P. A. et K.] Salutat te Eubulus et Pudens, Aquila et Claudia (2 Tim 4:21). The original text also has the verb in the singular ἀσπάζεται. The Vulgate has the plural "salutant." Probably as a result of rattling off this list of abbreviations Kierke- 35

gaard forgets "and all the brothers"(καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες). — **A.**: a mistake for L(inus); Kierkegaard is presumably still thinking of Aquila (from v. 19).

36 **cum sp. t**:] Cum spiritu tuo (2 Tim 4:22).

170*m* 1 **κνηθω ... laboro**] Bretschneider I, 677. Kierkegaard underlined κνηθόμενοι in Knapp (2 Tim 4:3).

171 2 **P. servus dei**] Paulus servus dei.

2 **electorum**] Kierkegaard has forgotten "dei" (ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ) (Tit 1:1).

6 **salvatoris nostri dei. v. 3**] In the ms. "salvatoris nostri dei" is underlined, and Kierkegaard has also added "v. 3." The same can be seen at a number of places, see inf. Tit, → 171,*7*, → 172,*1* and → 172,*5* (the verse numbers are given above the text), and also → 172,*16* and → 172,*19* (the verse numbers are written in the margin). By registering these expressions Kierkegaard has clearly been particularly concerned with how to translate the Greek σωτήρ, and switches between two different solutions: "salvator" and "servator."

7 **domino nostro Jesu Chr:, servatore nostro v. 4**] Cf. supra. → 171,*6*.

11 **unius uxoris vir**] The ms. has "unius viri uxor" which is meaningless in the context of Tit 1:6, where the issue is the moral quality of a πρεσβύτερος. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the accusative πρεσβυτέρους. Previously, in his translation of 1 Tim 3:2, Kierkegaard translated μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ correctly as "unius uxoris maritus," and in 1 Tim 5:9 he correctly renders ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή as "unius viri uxor." At this point, however, he has confused the two formulations.

32 **(vestitus pium decens)**] This comment, "clothing that becomes a pious man," is Kierkegaard's explanation for the preceding "in vestitu honestas," which is a translation of ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς (Tit 2:3). This explanation is inspired by Bretschneider I, 582, under ἱεροπρεπής, where "pium decens" or "honestus" are recommended, together with a translation of ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς as "habitu Christianam decente."

34 **sanctæ**] In Tit 2:5 Kierkegaard has presumably confused the Greek ἁγνάς with ἁγίας. The Vulgate translates this as "castas."

39 **Servi suis dominis obediant**] The ms. has "Servos," which shows that Kierkegaard had at first wanted to follow the construction of the original text's accusative followed by the infinitive (δούλους ὑποτάσσεσθαι) in Tit 2:9, which is governed by the imperative παρακάλει in v. 6, which Kierkegaard translates as "jube," and which has previously governed "juniores sapere." One would accordingly expect an accusative here with the infinitive—"servos obedire." Kierkegaard's choice of the form "obediant," however, demonstrates his desire partly to let the imperative aspect find expression through the subjunctive and partly to avoid the Vulgate, which gives "servos dominis suis subditos esse."

contra dicentes] i.e., contradicentes. 39

salvatoris nostri dei v. 10] → 171,*6*. Knapp reads διδασκαλίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος and the reading τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος is noted in the critical apparatus, where it is underlined by Kierkegaard. 1 172

salvatoris nostri Jesu Chr v. 13.] → 171,*6*. Kierkegaard has underlined the words μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰεσοῦ in Knapp (Tit 2:13). 5

Commone illis] The striking dative of Tit 3:1 (where one would have expected an accusative) might have been chosen by Kierkegaard under the influence of the following "principatibus" and "potestatibus." 10

cupiditatibus] The original text of Tit 3:3 runs: δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, which the Vulgate translates as "servientes desideriis, et voluptatibus variis." NT-1819 has: "Slaves of desires and manifold lusts." 14

servatoris nostri dei v. 4.] → 171,*6*. 16

effudit] The ms. has the perfect form "effusit," formed from the supine stem. The form is derived from medieval Latin. For the formation of the perfect from the present stem, → 140,*13*. 18

diviter] Thus too supra., → 157,*14* and → 167,*32*. 19

Jesum Chr: servatorem nostrum v. 6] → 171,*6*. 19

Artemam v. Tychicum] Artemam vel Tychicum (Tit 3:12). The Vulgate has an "aut" here. 27

Nicopolin] The Vulgate has "Nicopolim" (Tit 3:12). 27

Senam] One expects the Vulgate's "Zenam" (Tit 3:13). 28

deduc] Cf. Tit 3:13: πρόπεμψον. 28

Discant] Cf. Tit 3:14: μανθανέτωσαν. 29

Aphiæ] i.e., Appiæ (thus the Vulgate). 34 172

comunicatio tua fidei] Translates ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεώς σου in Philemon v. 6, and one would therefore expect "tuæ" rather than "tua." The Vulgate 1 173

has "communicatio fidei tuae." — **comunicatio**: i.e., communication (cf. "comunio") → 141,*33*.

9 **h: e**:] Hoc est.

10 **sententia tua**] cf. Philemon v. 14: χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης.

16 **P**.] Paulus.

19 **hoc**] There is no basis for this in Philemon v. 21.

21 **in X**.] Kierkegaard forgot the following "Jesu" and also omitted to translate the concluding v. 24–25.

173 27 **imago (splendor) gloriæ (dei) perfectissima**] This translates ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης in Heb 1:3. Kierkegaard has used "splendor" as a variant for "imago," which is how the Vulgate translates ἀπαύγασμα, and he has also added the explanatory "dei" to "gloriæ." Finally he has characterized "imago" as "perfectissima," a clarification based on Bretschneider. Cf. Bretschneider I, 114f., under ἀπαύγασμα. Kierkegaard underlined the following words in Knapp: ἀπαύγασμα, χαρακτὴρ and ὑποστάσεως (Heb 1:3).

31 **Cui**] At this point the ms. has the indefinite "Alicui," which is meaningless in the context of Heb 1:5 ("to one or other of the angels he said"). It seems that Kierkegaard found it difficult to distinguish between the Greek interrogative and the indefinite pronoun (τίς/τις). On the problem of τίς/τις, see also inf. at Heb 3:16, → 175,*19*.

32 **tibi**] The original text of Heb 1:5 (cf. 2 Sam 7:14) runs: ἐγ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν. One would therefore expect Kierkegaard to use a corresponding chiasm: ego/illi—ille/mihi. His surprising translation of αὐτῷ as "tibi" is presumably due to the influence of the preceding address to the Son: υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε (cf. Ps 2.7).

35 **ministros**] One would expect a repetition of the "suos" with which Kierkegaard translated the Greek αὐτοῦ (as in Knapp [Heb 1:7]) in connection with the primary object "angelos." Perhaps Kierkegaard overlooked the fact that there is also mention of a "spiritus asper"; Bretschneider I, 183, under αὐτοῦ, recommends "sui ipsius."

35 **flamam**] i.e., flammam (→ 140,*12*).

36 **o deus**] With the vocative particle "o" Kierkegaard makes it clear that ὁ θεός in Heb 1:8 is to be understood as a vocative. The Vulgate is content with "deus." In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined ὁ θεός and gave a reference to "Psalm 45:7,8" in the margin.

tu autem es] This comment concerning God, "You, however, *are*," is an interesting translation of Heb 1:12: σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, cf. Heb 1:12 ("You are the same"). Vulgate: "tu autem idem ipse es." 2 174

neque te anni relinquent] Cf. Heb 1:12: καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι. Vulgate: "et anni tui non deficient." 2

(salute promissa)] The material in brackets is not a translation but a clarification taken from Bretschneider II, 229, under παραρρέω: "ne excidamus salute promissa." In Knapp, Heb 2:1, Kierkegaard underlined παραρρυῶμεν. 9

effugiemus] Cf. Heb 2:3: ἐκφευξόμεθα. Bretschneider I, 388, under ἐκφεύγω recommends the translations "effugio, aufugio, evado." 11

coepisset enarari per D.] i.e., coepisset enarrari per Dominum. 12

sp. s.] Spiritu sancto. 14

super omnem] This is an unfortunate translation of Heb 2:9 ὑπὲρ παντός. The Vulgate has "pro omnibus." On the preposition ὑπέρ and its function at this point see Bretschneider II, 547, and → 161,*39*. 23

salutis nostræ] "Nostræ" is Kierkegaard's translation of αὐτῶν in Heb 2:10, which the Vulgate correctly translates as "eorum." 25

consummare (perfectum facere servatorem)] The word "consummare" caused Kierkegaard to pause and mark it with a question mark. Subsequently he placed the start of Bretschneider's explanation of διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι in Heb 2:10 in brackets, cf. Bretschneider II, 501, under τελειόω 2. This points to an alternative translation. For the spelling "consumare," cf. inf. re. the translation of Heb 8:1: "suma" for "summa." 25

sanctificans et santificati] → 161,*24*. 26

carne et sanguine] Cf. Knapp, Heb 2:14: τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκε σαρκὸς καὶ αματος. Kierkegaard underlined τὰ παιδία. 30

succurere] i.e., succurrere. 37

παραρεω ... παραρυεω] Bretschneider II, 229. — **παραρεω**: i.e., παραρρέω. — **παραρυω**: i.e., παραρρύω. — **παραρυεω**: i.e., παραρρυέω. 1 174*m*

dilecti] This illustrates Kierkegaard's liking for this word. One would at this point expect "sancti" as in the Vulgate, cf. Heb 3:1: ἀδελφοὶ γιοι. See also Bretschneider I, 10ff. 39 174

175 2 **honorem domus**] Kierkegaard has marked the sounding "s" with a double underlining and has added an "N. B.," also underlined. It would seem that he wanted to be quite clear that the form "domus" is to be understood as a genitive. He has underlined the corresponding genitive in Knapp τοῦ οκου (Heb 3:3).

4 **in tota domo**] Kierkegaard forgets "ejus," cf. Heb 3:5: ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οκῳ αὐτοῦ.

7 **sp. s**.] Spiritus sanctus.

8 **exacerberatione**] i.e., "exacerbatione," cf. Heb 3:8: παραπικρασμῷ, which Kierkegaard has underlined in Knapp. The form "exacerberatio," which is also found in Heb 3:15 (→ 175,*19*) and in a draft of *Philosophical Fragments* (see *SKS* K4, p. 189), is Kierkegaard's own and is perhaps occasioned by the familiar "Cerberus." As an extension of this he uses "exacerbero" in Heb 3:16 for "exacerbo," → 175,*19*.

11 **vagantur**] In the ms. there is a subjunctive "vagentur," which does not function as such at this point in Heb 3:10. The Vulgate has "errant." Kierkegaard has perhaps been misled by πλανῶνται, where the indicative and the subjunctive are identical due to a contraction.

16 **omnes**] There is no basis in Heb 3:14 for "omnes."

19 **exacerberatione**] → 175,*8*.

19 **Nonnulli**] At Heb 3:16 Knapp has τίνες while offering the reading τινες in the critical apparatus. It is unclear whether Kierkegaard's translation is based on the reading given in the apparatus or whether it is a result of the above-mentioned uncertainty concerning τίς/τις, → 173,*31*. The Vulgate has "quidam."

19 **exacerberarunt**] → 175,*8*. Kierkegaard has underlined παρεπίκραναν in Knapp (Heb 3:16).

20 **per M.**;] Per Moysen (Heb 3:16). Kierkegaard has underlined the Greek question mark after Μωσέως, → 139,*17* in Knapp.

21 **qui**] i.e., quis, cf. Heb 4:1.

31 **d**.] Deus (Heb 4:4).

33 **relinquitur nonnullis introire**] Comp. Heb 4:6 ἀπολείπεται τινὰς εἰσελθεῖν. The Vulgate has "superest introire quosdam."

34 **Rursus**] The clause introduced by "Rursus" is, despite the full stop, the main clause following the preceding "quoniam"-clause (Heb 4:6–7).

40 **cadat**] Cf. Heb 4:11: να μὴ ἐν αὐτῷ τις ὑποδείγματι πέσῃ τῆς ἀπειθείας. Cf. Bretschneider II, 555, under ὑπόδειγμα: "ne secundum exemplum poenae incredulitatis vobis impositum cadat, moriatur, vel: ne in poenam exemplo aliorum depictam incidat."

ad divisionem usque animæ et corporis] On the basis of Knapp one would at this point expect "animæ et spiritus," cf. Heb 4:12: ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος. Kierkegaard also forgets ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν (NT-1819: "both joints and marrow"). 1 176

occulis] i.e., oculis. 4

sermo] Cf. Heb 4:13: πρὸς ν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος. Kierkegaard's translation is not a felicitous one. Cf. Bretschneider II, 23, under λόγος: "cui (Deo) ratio est reddenda. Alii: cum quo sumus arcte coniuncti." The Vulgate has "ad quem nobis sermo." Kierkegaard underlined πρὸς ὅν in Knapp. 4

confessiones] On the basis of Heb 4:14—τῆς ὁμολογίας—one would expect "confessionem" (as in the Vulgate). Perhaps Kierkegaard has confused the Greek genitive singular with the accusative plural, which also has the ending -ας. 6

imbecillitati] Heb 4:15 has ταῖς ἀσθενείαις, the Vulgate: "infirmitatibus." 7

fiducia] Cf. Heb 4:16: μετὰ παρρησίας. The Vulgate has "cum fiducia." 8

potest] Cf. Heb 5:2: δυνάμενος. The Vulgate has "possit." 13

habentium . . . exercitatos] Cf. Heb 5:14: ἐχόντων. 31

si deus permiserit] In this conditional clause in Heb 6:3 it is necessary to add the "si," which Kierkegaard has presumably forgotten due to starting a new page. 37

imposibile] i.e., impossibile. 38

sp. s.] Spiritus sancti. 39

resipiscentiam] → 142,*32*. 1 177

pluviam] Cf. Bretschneider II, 538, under ὑετός. 2

benedictionis divinæ] This translates Heb 6:7: εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. The Vulgate has: "benedictionem a Deo." Bretschneider I, 510, under εὐλογία proposes "larga bona." 3

immitatores] i.e., imitatores. 11

juravit:] A colon is subsituted for the original text's λέγων. The Vulgate introduces Heb 6:14 with "dicens." 13

imposibile] i.e., impossibile. 20

nobis] There is no basis in Heb 6:18 for the "nobis." 21

secundum ordinem M.] Secundum ordinem Melchisedech. 23

Abr:] Abraham. 28

h: e:] Hoc est. 29

3) sine patre] In connection with Heb 7:13 Kierkegaard has inserted a verse reference, although this is very rare in the journal, cf. supra in Tit, → 172,1.

Ab.] Abraham.

accipiunt] NT-1819 has the past tense: "those of Levi's offspring who succeeded to the priesthood" (Heb 7:5).

h: e:] Hoc est.

ex lumbo] The Vulgate has the plural "de lumbis Abrahae" (Heb 7:5).

Davidis] A mistake for Abraham (Heb 7:5).

ab Ab:] Ab Abraham.

benedixit ei qui] In the original text Heb 7:6 reads: τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας εὐλόγηκε (the Greek perfect has been underlined by Kierkegaard in Knapp). The Vulgate has: "hunc, qui habebat repromissiones, benedixit."

ibi . . . ibi] This seems to be used here with the sense of "hic . . . ibi," which translates the original δε . . . ἐκεῖ in Heb 7:8.

Melch.] Melchisedech.

178 **Quid**] This is where the main clause served by the conditional clause with which Heb 7:11 begins: "Si igitur," etc.

secundum similitudinem M.] Secundum similitudinem Melchisedech.

secundum ordinem M:] Secundum ordinem Melchisedech.

Et non sine jurejurando] Kierkegaard left a space in the ms. to allow for subsequent completion. What is missing is a translation of καθ' ὅσον (Heb 7:20). This adverbial expression can be correlated with κατὰ τοσοῦτον in v. 21, which Kierkegaard translates with "tanto" in connection with the comparative "præstantioris." Bretschneider II, 177, under ὅσος recommends translating the correlative terms καθ' ὅσον—κατὰ τοσοῦτον with "quanto—tanto"; but since "quanto" presupposes a comparative, Kierkegaard was in doubt as to what to do in relation to the expression "non sine jurejurando." He could have chosen "quantum—tantum," as does the Vulgate, but he preferred not to.

d.] Dominus (Heb 7:21).

secundum ordinem M:] Secundum ordinem Melchisedech. At this point, where Knapp closes the brackets, one would expect Kierkegaard too to close the parenthetical insertion beginning "qui" in Heb 7:21 (see above).

p. populi] Peccata populi, (Heb 7:27).

ad dextram throni] Cf. Heb 8:1: ἐν δεξι τοῦ θρόνου. See also below in the translation of Heb 12:2: "ad dextram vero dei consedit," which indicates that Kierkegaard prefers the form "dextram" to "dexteram."

quod deus non homo fixit] The correlative to "quod" is "tabernaculi veri"; in Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς. One expects "dominus" here, not "deus," cf. Heb 8:2: ν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος.

dona] The Vulgate has: "munera et hostias," cf. Heb 8:3: δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας.

pontifex] Kierkegaard translates ἱερεύς in Heb 8:4 as "pontifex," where he should have used "sacerdos." Bretschneider's interpretation is probably at the back of this, see Bretschneider I, 580, on ἱερεύς in the sense of "summus sacerdos."

M.] Moysis (genitive) (Heb 8:5).

secundum exemplum] Kierkegaard has forgotten the accusative "exemplum," which renders the Greek of Heb 8:5: τὸν τύπον. The Vulgate has "exemplar." Bretschneider II, 533, under τύπος 3 (a) recommends the translation "exemplum," a solution which Kierkegaard also used immediately before, in v. 5, when he had to translate the almost synonymous ὑπόδειγμα. Kierkegaard underlined τύπον in Knapp, along with the rest of the verse, and in the margin gave a reference to "Exod: 25.40" (as does Bretschneider, op. cit., where "exemplum" is explained as "Pattern, Model").

D.] Dominus (Heb 8:8). Kierkegaard gives a marginal reference in Knapp to "Jerem: 31:31 sq").

d.] Dominus (Heb 8:9). 179

domo I.] Domo Israel (Heb 8:10).

d] Dominus (Heb 8:10).

Neque doceat quisque civem suum] Comp. Heb 8:11: διδάξωσιν. The Vulgate has "docebit." Kierkegaard underlined πολίτην ("citizen") in the main text in Knapp along with the reading given in the apparatus: πλησίον ("neighbor"). Indeed Bretschneider II, 314 here explains πολίτης in just this sense "i. q. ὁ πλησίον, ὁ ἀδελφός, alius quivis nobiscum versans in republica, socius, proximus; Heb 8:11." The Vulgate has "proximum." NT-1819: "And they shall not teach their neighbor," etc.

maximum] Kierkegaard forgets "eorum" (αὐτῶν) (Heb 8:11).

(sc: foedus)] The brackets contain a clarificatory comment on "prius." Kierkegaard rightly asserts

that "foedus" (i.e., "testamentum") is presupposed here and not "tabernaculum," which was how NT-1819 understood it. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the relevant πρώτη in Heb 9:1 and must have consulted Knapp's critical apparatus in this connection, where the divergent readings σκηνή and διαθήκη are noted. — **sc**:: scilicet.

17 **secundum tabernaculum**] Kierkegaard misunderstands the opening of Heb 9:3: μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα σκηνή (i.e., "behind the second curtain [was] the tabernacle," etc.). The mistake may have arisen due to Kierkegaard overlooking the commas in the Vulgate: "Post velamentum autem secundum, tabernaculum, quod. . . ." In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined δεύτερον καταπέτασμα.

19 **A**.] Aaron (Heb 9:4).

20 **plances tabulæ foederis**] This renders Heb 9:4: αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης (Kierkegaard underlined these words in Knapp). Bretschneider II, 288, explains the word πλάξ thus: "duae tabulae, quibus inscriptae erant leges mosaicae, igitur tabulae, quibus inscriptum erat foedus Deum inter et Israelitas." Kierkegaard's form "plances," which Bretschneider does not mention, is a mixture of the Greek πλάκες and the Latin "plancæ."

20 **Cherubim gloriæ, obumbrantes**] Vulgate: "obumbrantia." Kierkegaard has underlined the indeclinable plural Χερουβίμ in Heb 9:5.

24 **sp. sancto**] Spiritu sancto.

29 **præcepta . . . imposita**] Kierkegaard originally wrote "præceptis" in Heb 9:10, which comes from the variant δικαιώμασι in Knapp's apparatus. When Kierkegaard later realized that this reading was unsustainable and that the original text's δικαιώματα together with the attached participle ἐπικείμενα was to be understood as in apposition to δῶρα and θυσίαι in v. 9, he corrected it to "præcepta." The Vulgate has "iustitiis carnis . . . impositis," an interpretation which lies behind NT-1819.

33 **redemtionem**] i.e., redemptionem.

35 **per sp. æt**.] Per spiritum æternum, cf. Heb 9:14: διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, which is underlined by Kierkegaard in Knapp. At the same time he underlined the deviant reading ἁγίου in Knapp's critical apparatus, cf. the Vulgate's "per Spiritum sanctum." NT-1819 translates it as: "by means of an eternal spirit."

38 **redemtionem**] i.e., redemptionem.

hæreditatis æternæ] Kierkegaard has forgotten or neglected to translate Heb 9:16. 39

hysopo] i.e., hyssopo. 3 180

remisio] i.e., remissio. 7

santa] → 161,*24*. 9

introit] One expects the perfect "introiit" as a translation of the aorist εἰσῆλθεν of Heb 9:24. The use of the present may very well express Kierkegaard's wish to make the text more urgent and dramatic. 9

domini] Kierkegaard has forgotten ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν at the end of Heb 9:24. 11

sepe] i.e., sæpe. 12

victimis] Kierkegaard forgets the attribute αὐταῖς in connection with θυσίαις (Heb 10:1). 20

continenter (continue, semper)] Kierkegaard has written "ue semper" above the adverb "continenter," which is to be read as "continue, semper." Two variations on "continenter" are available, cf. Bretschneider I, 305, under διηνεκής, which, however, does not have "continue" but "continuo" as a translation of Heb 10:1: εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. 20

Imposibile] i.e., Impossibile. 23

parasti] The ms. has "parabo" here. Kierkegaard seems to have misunderstood the verbal form of the Greek at Heb 10:5—κατηρτίσω—which is aorist indicative, middle voice, second person singular, thinking it to be future active, first person singular—καταρτίσω. In Knapp, Kierkegaard underlined the clause σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. 26

deus] This is vocative. See Heb 10:9, comp. 10:7. 27

scabelum] i.e., scabellum. 36

ne . . . recorder] Knapp gives Heb 10:17 as μὴ μνησθῶ, the Vulgate translates this as "non recordabor." 40

cogitationibus] Kierkegaard forgets "eorum," cf. Heb 10:16: ἐπὶ τῶν διανοιῶν αὐτῶν (thus Knapp). The Vulgate has "mentibus." 40

qui] Kierkegaard lets the correlative term be "J(esus)." In Heb 10:20 the relative term ν points back to εσοδον in v. 19 (this corresponds to the gerund form "introeundi" in Kierkegaard's translation) or perhaps alternatively to παρρησίαν (Kierkegaard: "libertatem"). It is this latter interpretation that provides the basis for the Vulgate's translation: "fiduciam in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, quam initiavit nobis viam novam." 4 181

comessturus] i.e., comesturus. 13

santificatus] → 161,*24*. 17

sp. gratiæ] Spiritum gratiæ. 17

24 **sustinuistis**] Kierkegaard forgets "cum gaudio," cf. Heb 10:34: μετὰ χαρᾶς.

28 **cessabit**] The ms. has a passive, "cessabitur," at this point, which renders the future χρονιεῖ of Heb 10:37 in Knapp. Bretschneider II, 623f., under χρονίζω, recommends: "tardo, cunctor, moror." Kierkegaard's passive possibly came about under the influence of the two deponents in Bretschneider.

32 **sperandarum**] One would rather expect a neuter plural—"sperandorum"—as the translation of ἐλπιζομένων. Kierkegaard's use of the feminine may be due to the following "rerum," comp. the Vulgate's construction for Heb 11:1: "Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium."

36 **donis**] Kierkegaard has written a question mark above "donis," but this seems to be mistaken, since one would expect it above "loquitur" (see the following note).

37 **loquitur**] In Heb 11:4 Knapp gives this as λαλεῖ and in his apparatus adds the alternative reading λαλεῖται; Kierkegaard has underlined both readings (see preceding note).

182 3 **Abr**:] Abraham.

6 **Cum I. et J**.] Cum Isaac et Jacob (Heb 11:9).

8 **S. vim ad concipiendum (al: facultatem prolis faciendæ) accepit**] Cf. Heb 11:11: πίστει καὶ αὐτὴ Σάρρα δύναμιν εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος ἔλαβε which Kierkegaard has partially underlined in Knapp. In translating καταβολὴν σπέρματος Kierkegaard adds Bretschneider's interpretation in brackets, but he himself prefers another interpretation, which refers to Bretschneider I, 634, under καταβολή: "Alii: iniectio seminis virilis, et vertunt: ad semen iniectum recipiendum, i. e. ad concipiendum." — **S**.: Sara. — **al**:: alii.

9 **(peperit)**] Kierkegaard has added in brackets an unnecessary verb, which he has found as a textual variant and underlined in Knapp's critical apparatus: ἔτεκεν. Kierkegaard has opted for Bretschneider's recommended translation "pario," cf. II, 513, under τίκτω. In the main text of Heb 11:11 he has underlined ἡλικίας in the expression παρὰ καιρὸν ἡλικίας.

14 **docentes**] This renders Heb 11:14's λέγοντες. The Vulgate has "qui dicunt." Cf. Bretschneider II, 12, under λέγω, 4 l.

17 **puduit**] Heb 11:16 has the present: ἐπαισχύνεται.

Abrah: protulit I.] Abraham protulit Isaac, Heb 11:17. 18

proferre] One expects "proferebat" as a translation of the Greek imperfect de conatu προσέφερεν in Heb 11:17. Perhaps Kierkegaard has misconceived προσέφερεν as an infinitive, but it is also possible that "tentatus" with the infinitive "proferre" is meant to express Abraham being put to a test in which God wants to see whether he is ready to offer up his only son, etc. 19

benedixit I. J. et E.] Benedixit Isaac Jacob et Esau (Heb 11:20). 22

J. . . . J.] Jacob . . . Joseph (Heb 11:21). 22

J. . . . de exitu Is.] Joseph . . . de exitu Israel. In this connection Kierkegaard has forgotten "filiorum," cf. Heb 11:22: περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. 23

M.] Moyses (Heb 11:23). 24

a parentibus] Kierkegaard forgets to translate αὐτοῦ (thus Knapp) (Heb 11:23). 25

filius filiæ P.] Filius filiæ Pharaonis (Heb 11:24). 27

quam ad breve tempus durans oblectamentum carnis] Kierkegaard translates ἀπόλαυσις at Heb 11:25 with "carnis," where one would expect "the temporal enjoyment of sin." The Vulgate has: "(Moyses . . .) magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei, quam temporalis peccati habere iucunditatem." 28

Æ.] Ægyptum (Heb 11:27). 30

Ægyptii] Cf. Heb 11:29: οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κατεπόθησαν. 34

muri J:, circumdata per septem dies] The participle in the neuter plural is a grecism. Kierkegaard has translated κυκλωθέντα, which in Heb 11:30 is tied to τὰ τείχη, without noticing that the Latin equivalent is "muri," and thus masculine plural. Itala has "girati." — **J**:: Jericho. 34

R. adultera] Rahab (Heb 11:31). In Knapp, Kierkegaard has underlined ἡ πόρνη. 35

de G., B. S. J. D. et S.] de Gedeon, Barac, Samson, Jephte, David et Samuel (Heb 11:32). 37

auffugerunt] i.e., aufugerunt. 39

conjecerunt] The ms. has "conjicierunt," → 140,*13*. 40

aciem alienorum] Renders παρεμβολὰς ἀλλοτρίων (Heb 11:34) underlined by Kierkegaard in Knapp. The Vulgate has: "castra exterorum." NT-1819: "The camp of the enemies." 40

redemtionem] i.e., redemptionem. 42

ludibria flagella] One expects "et," cf. Heb 11:36: ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων. 1 183

6 **per sp. s.**] "Per spiritum sanctum." There is no basis for this in Heb 11:39, which reads: διὰ τῆς πίστεως, so one would expect "per fidem."

19 **dei**] This is a mistake for "domini," cf. Heb 12:5: μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου.

25 **vivemus**.] One expects a question mark here, at the end of Heb 12:9.

26 **castigant**] The Vulgate has the imperfect "erudiebant" as a translation of the Greek imperfect of Heb 12:10: ἐπαίδευον.

35 **E**.] Esau (Heb 12:16).

37 **resipiscentiæ**] → 142,*32*.

38 **accessistis**] The ms. has "accedistis" here, → 140,*13*.

40 **sonitum verborum, quæ**] Kierkegaard lets the "quæ" be governed by "verborum." In Heb 12:19, however, ς relates back to φωνῇ, which in Kierkegaard's translation is given as "sonitum." The Vulgate has "vocem verborum, quam."

184 1 **M**.] Moyses (Heb 12:21).

4 **ecc**.] Ecclesiam (Heb 12:23).

5 **sp**.] Spiritus (Heb 12:23).

6 **præ Abelis**] Heb 12:24 has the singular παρὰ τὸν Ἄβελ. Kierkegaard underlined the expression κρεῖττον λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἄβελ in Knapp, who, in his apparatus, gives the reading τὸ Ἄβελ, i.e., assuming αμα and with the personal name in the genitive. The form "Abelis" could be a genitive here, with "sanguine" assumed. But given that Kierkegaard has previously (at Heb 11:4) used the form "Abelus" (with the genitive "Abeli"), it is also possible that he has used an ablative plural here in order to express the idea of "men like Abel."

10 **commovebo**] In Heb 12:26 Knapp has σείω, but in the apparatus he gives the future σείσω, which Kierkegaard has chosen to follow in his translation. The Vulgate has "movebo."

10 **Hoc vero, semel**] "Semel" is to be understood in apposition to "hoc."

14 **metu**.] Kierkegaard has forgotten or neglected to translate Heb 12:29.

22 **vos . . . possitis**] One would expect "nos . . . possimus" as a translation of the accusative with the infinitive ἡμᾶς λέγειν in Heb 13:6. The Vulgate has "dicamus." Cf. supra re: Kierkegaard's confusion between ἡμεῖς/ὑμεῖς, → 161,*27*.

24 **immitamini**] i.e., imitamini.

27 **ambulati sunt**] On the use of the passive, → 142,*22*.

Proferamus] Kierkegaard forgets δι' αὐτοῦ, which introduces Heb 13:15. The Vulgate has "per ipsum." 34

pastorem] The ms. has "gregem." Kierkegaard has confused ποιμήν with ποίμνη. Cf. Heb 13:20. 1 185

T.] Timotheum (Heb 13:23). 6

I.] Italia (Heb 13:24). 8

Oritur] James 1:11 has the aorist ἀνέτειλε here, the Vulgate "exortus est." 21 185

promisit deus] A mistake for "dominus," cf. James 1:12. 24

a patre lucis] The Vulgate has the plural "luminum" as a translation of τῶν φώτων (James 1:17). 30

genuit vos . . . sitis] One expects "nos" and, by way of extension, "ut simus," etc., cf. James 1:18. On Kierkegaard's unsureness regarding ἡμεῖς/ὑμεῖς, → 161,*27*. 31

eorum, quæ sunt ab illo creata] This translates τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων in James 1:18. 32

dilecti] This has no basis in James 2:1 where there is simply: ἀδελφοί μου. 32

αποκυεω] Bretschneider I, 138. 1 185*m*

d. J. Chr.] Domini Jesu Christi. Kierkegaard forgets "nostri," cf. James 2:1. 10 186

opulentus] This is a rather pedestrian translation of χρυσοδακτύλιος (James 2:2). The word is underlined by Kierkegaard in Knapp. Bretschneider II, 625, recommends "annulis aureis superbiens" here, which is explained as "opulentus, nobilis." Kierkegaard has borrowed this interpretation. The Vulgate has "aureum annulum habens." NT-1819: "with a gold ring on his finger." 11

introiverit] With this rather abrupt transition to the second part, one would expect an "et," comp. James 2:2: εἰσέλθῃ δὲ καὶ πτωχός. 12

quæso] This translates James 2:3's καλῶς. It is not found in Bretschneider I, 623, who here recommends "honorifice, magnifice." The Vulgate has "bene." 14

scabellum meum] The blank line in the ms. after "scabellum meum" was kept for James 2:4. In this verse Kierkegaard underlined the first verb and two variants in Knapp as well as inserting a question mark at the end of the verse. 14

fr. d.] Fratres dilecti. Kierkegaard forgets "mei," cf. James 2:5. 16

comittas] i.e., committas. 24

24 **ne fures . . . furasti**] "Ne fures" is a wrong translation of μὴ φονεύσῃς in James 2:11. The mistake is due to Kierkegaard having had in mind the conventional sequence of the ten commandments, in which "you shall not commit adultery" is followed by "you shall not steal"—cf. Ex 20:14–15. The form "furasti" may be explained in the same way, even though one expects a future, as in Knapp.

29 **fr**.] Fratres. Kierkegaard forgets "mei," cf. James 2:14.

31 **qui**] i.e., "quis" (James 2:16).

34 **et ego bona opera**] This is an elliptical construction in which "habeo" has been omitted, cf. James 2:18: κἀγ ἔργα ἔχω. The verb appears at the beginning of the verse as "habes."

36 **deum unum esse**] Kierkegaard has clearly forgotten "unum," cf. ὁ θεὸς ες ἐστι (James 2:19).

38 **cum proferret I. f**.] Isaac filium (James 2:21).

186*m* 1 **παρακυπτω**] Bretschneider II, 225.

2 **χαλινος**] Bretschneider II, 602.

187 3 **qui emissi erant nuntios**] "Nuntios" is an alternative to "qui emissi erant."

4 **ejiciens**] The ms. has "ejicientes," but the participle refers to Rahab, cf. James 2:25.

6 **intelligentes**] Kierkegaard forgets "fratres mei," cf. James 3:1.

6 **illos judicium accepturos**] It is unclear what Kierkegaard is trying to say with "illos" in this context. One would expect "nos," cf. ληψόμεθα (future first person plural) (James 3:1). The Vulgate, however, has: "scientes quoniam maius judicium sumitis."

9 **totum corpus circumagimus**] In connection with "corpus" Kierkegaard forgets to translate αὐτῶν, which makes it clear that it is the horse's body that is being talked about, cf. James 3:3. The Vulgate has "omne corpus illorum circumferimus."

10 **Ecce naves**] Kierkegaard overlooks καί ("also"), cf. James 3:4.

13 **incendit**!] Kierkegaard's only use of an exclamation mark in the Latin part of *CC* (James 3:5). Generally he entirely departs from Knapp, who uses the exclamation mark quite frequently.

13 **Et lingua ignis mundus injustitiæ**] "Mundus injustitiæ" is in apposition to the subject "ignis," cf. James 3:6: καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας. Kierkegaard has underlined the final phrase ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας in Knapp.

14 **inflamans**] i.e., inflammans, → 140,*12*.

15 **inflamata**] i.e., inflammata, → 140,*12*.

plena] The original text also has the nominative here: μεστή (James 3:8). Kierkegaard underlined μεστὴ ἰοῦ θανατηφόρου in Knapp. 18

Illa benedicimus deo et patri, illa exsecramur] The two "illa"s are instrumental ablatives and translate ἐν αὐτῇ in James 3:9. The Vulgate has "in ipsa." 18

Num fons ex eodem foramine emittit dulce et amarum?] Cf. James 3:11: μήτι ἡ πηγὴ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀπῆς βρύει τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρόν; (in Knapp , Kierkegaard underlined ὀπῆς). The Vulgate: "Numquid fons de eodem foramine emanat dulcem et amaram aquam?" Bretschneider I, 224, under βρύω offers the following clarification: "de fontibus: aquas emitto." Kierkegaard's forgetting the subject "fons" may perhaps be owing to the fact that he also has a passive, "emittitur," in view. 21

ficus;] The semicolon here is possibly due to a confusion over the following Greek question mark σῦκα → 139,*17*. 22

ita neque aqua salsa facere dulcem] This renders οὕτως οὔτε ἁλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ in James 3:12 (where the verb δύναται from the beginning of the verse is assumed). Kierkegaard underlined ἁλυκόν in Knapp and in the apparatus he also underlined the variant οὐδεμία πηγὴ ἁλυκὸν καί. The manuscript's accusative "aquam salsam" thus shows that he considered taking that reading as the basis for his translation, but didn't get further than thinking about it. In this particular case the translation should have run: "neque fons (potest) aquam salsam facere et dulcem." 23

sancta] Translates ἁγνή (σοφία) (James 3:17). Bretschneider I, 14, here recommends "pura." 29

duplici animo] Translates δίψυχοι (James 4:8). This solution is not found in Bretschneider I, 314, under δίψυχος. Kierkegaard has taken it from the Vulgate's "duplices animo," which is also what Kierkegaard had originally written. NT-1819 has: "Purify your hearts, you double-minded!" 4 188

plorate] This translates κλαύσατε in James 4:9; but Bretschneider I, 671, under κλαίω, gives no grounds for the remarkable "ejulabitis," which Kierkegaard originally wrote. 5

et lætitia] Kierkegaard has hereafter omitted to translate εἰς κατήφειαν, which concludes James 4:9. He has supplied the Greek word in a marginal note, → 188*m*,*1*. 5

fr.] Fratres. 6

12 **temporis sp**.] Temporis spatium. Elsewhere the abbreviation "sp." is reserved for "spiritus."

13 **Quin dicere debeatis**] This translates the opening of James 4:15: ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν ὑμᾶς. At this point Kierkegaard breaks off and leaves the rest of James untranslated.

188*m* 1 **κατηφεια . . . tristitia**] Bretschneider I, 656. → 188,*5*.

189 1 **At the moment . . . bankruptcy**] The bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 and the bankruptcy of the National Bank in 1813 continued to cause economic difficulties into the 1820s. In the 1830s the payment of the national debt was a matter of serious concern—not merely for the government, but for the public at large. The publication of the financial accounts starting in 1835 led to a comprehensive public debate in newspapers such as *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, *Fædrelandet*, and *Kjøbenhavns Flyvende Post*. The latter reported the following (no. 65; Dec. 11, 1835): "It is depressing to see how the state, after having enjoyed the profoundest internal and external peace for more than 20 years, nevertheless apparently has an annual deficit of upwards of one million rixdollars. Compare this to those European states whose internal peace has been disturbed and who, though burdened with a comparably large deficit at the establishment of the peace, have nevertheless managed not only to pay off the debt, but to reduce taxes or to undertake significant improvements, paid for by annual budget surpluses." Compare also T. Algreen-Ussing's article in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (no. 340, 3; Dec. 1836), in which he cites P. G. Bang, the director of the National Bank, to the effect that " 'a lack of progress in peacetime is a regression for a state which is burdened with such an extraordinary debt as Denmark'; further, if a war were to develop and the country were to become embroiled in it, 'the bankruptcy of the state, with all the dire consequences that entails, would then be unavoidable.' "

6 **the Tower of Babel**] Refers to the story of the Tower of Babel in Gen 11:1–9, where it is said that all the peoples of the earth spoke the same language. The people decided to build a city and a tower in order to make a name for themselves. God ("the Lord") realized that this would mean that none of their proposed plans would be impossible for them, so "the Lord confused the language of all the earth; and from there scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth," v. 9.

the confusion of nations and dialects] The renewed use of vernacular languages and regional dialects (→ 189,*7*) led to violent arguments, in Italy as elsewhere, over which dialect or linguistic form should be regarded as the common language. 6

the medieval attempt at Babel] Refers to Latin, which in the western Roman Empire was adopted as the common language of the church and the educational and bureaucratic institutions of then Roman Catholic Europe. The Renaissance, however, rediscovered vernacular languages and dialects. These were utilized more and more as literary languages—at the expense of Latin—in the succeeding centuries. 7

to go beyond] The expression signifies "going further" than another philosopher. It was common in the 1830s to regard the development of German idealism, from Kant through Fichte and Schelling to Hegel, as a series of efforts to "go further" than previous philosophies. After Hegel's death in 1831, the challenge was to go further than Hegel. A number of such efforts to "go beyond" or "go further than" Hegel appeared. See for example F. C. Sibbern's review of *Perseus, Journal for den Speculative Idee* [Perseus, Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg (no. 1, Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 569), where Sibbern comments that Heiberg "is able to move relatively freely within Hegelian conceptions and so begins to go beyond Hegel," *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 19, (Copenhagen, 1838), p. 293. 18

the Deer Park] Jægersborg Deer Park, north of Copenhagen. 24

the immanent negativity of the concept] Refers to the notion of dialectic in Hegel according to which the concept forms a complete, organic system and relates to itself in a dialectical way. A given concept is first posited, e.g., "being." This first positive concept contains its negation within itself, e.g., "nothing." This second concept is thus said to negate the first, from which it was originally posited. Finally, by means of a speculative or "rational" negation of the negation, the concept is sublated into a higher unity wherein both the immediate and the negative moment of the concept are integrated. For example, "being" and "nothing" are integrated in "becoming." This is the basic dynamic of the whole 28

system: the negative is incompleteness, but is also the motive force in the overcoming of this. This negativity is immanent because it emerges in every triad from the original positive concept and does not come from outside it. According to Hegel, the negative is the principle which moves the dialectic forward. See for example the introduction to *Wissenschaft der Logic*, ed. L. von Henning, vol. 1–2 (Berlin, 1833–34 [1812–16]; ASKB 552–554), in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe*, vols. 1–18 (Berlin, 1832–45; referred to as *Hegel's Werke*); vol. 3, pp. 43f. (*Jub*. vol. 4, p. 53): "That which enables the Notion to advance itself is the already mentioned negative which it possesses within itself; it is this which constitutes the genuine dialectical element." (For English translation cf. *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller [Amherst, N. Y.: Humanities Press, 1999], p. 55).

29 **Hegelian**] In Denmark this term refers especially to Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860), Danish author, editor, and critic; employed as theater director and translator at the Royal Theater from 1828 to 1839; made titular professor in 1829; docent in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the Royal Military Academy from 1830 to 1836. This term also refers to H. L. Martensen (1808–84), who later became lecturer (1838) and professor extraordinarius (1840) of theology at the University of Copenhagen, and was bishop of the diocese of Copenhagen (1854–84). Both appropriated and developed aspects of Hegel's philosophical system.

190 3 **older critics have been criticized . . . in order to find fault**] In an entry on a loose paper dated August 12, 1836, Kierkegaard wrote: "Heine (Romantic school) is quite right in so passionately criticizing A. W. Schlegel for the strange crablike walk in terms of which he always has an earlier work as a criterion [for judging a present work], and so on backwards. But Heine and his consorts themselves succumb to the opposite extreme insofar as they judge everything according to the minute criteria provided by the most recent contemporary work—for, here again in this short span of time, there is always a work that is a year, or half a year, younger to compare it with" (*Pap*. I A 223). In his criticism the German poet Heinrich Heine discusses the German Romantic poet A. W. Schlegel and criticizes him for the following: "When he wants to denigrate the poetic citizen, he compares his ballads with the old English ballads that Percy collected and shows that the latter are far simpler, more naive, more authentic, and consequently more poetically constructed." Cf. Heine's *Die romantische Schule* [The Romantic School] (Hamburg, 1836; ASKB U 63), which Kierkegaard bought at Reitzel's bookstore on Feb. 16, 1836, p. 127.

not the critique but a counter-critique] Refers to 10
the periodical *Kritik og Antikritik eller Anmeldelser og Bedømmelser af de nyeste indenlandske Skrifter* [Critique and Counter-Critique: Reviews and Criticisms of the Most Recent Domestic Literature], (Copenhagen, 1787–96). The periodical contained reviews of recent literature and gave authors the opportunity to explain themselves and respond to criticisms earlier reviewers had raised.

a novel . . . "to see her was to love her"] Alludes 13
perhaps to the line: "to see Charles was to love him," in scene 16 of A. E. Scribe's play *Den første Kjærlighed. Lystspil i een Act* [First Love: Comedy in One Act], trans. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen, 1832; in *Det kongelige Theaters Repertoire* no. 45; ASKB U 98), p. 13. The play was performed for the 1st time at the Royal Theater on June 10, 1831. Thereafter it was performed 139 times, the most performed of Scribe's plays.

philosophy . . . historical tail . . . from Descartes to 15
Hegel] Alludes perhaps to Phillip Marheineke's *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* [The Fundamental Principles of Christian Dogmatics as a Science] (Berlin, 1827; ASKB 644). Cf. the preface, p. xxvi, where Marheineke describes the significance of philosophy for dogmatics in the following way: "In philosophy, especially from Descartes to Hegel, truth-seeking spirit shows itself in its movement through all its essential moments, and the greatest service of this latter profound thinker is perhaps this: that he has speculatively taken up and concentrated the whole of the history of philosophy (and not merely its past)." Kierkegaard may also be referring to the fact that H. L. Martensen, in his lectures on the history of philosophy, traces Hegel's principle of reason back to Descartes. In his review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indledningsforedrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College that Began in November 1834] (vol. 16; Copenhagen,

1836), pp. 515–528 (hereafter *Indledningsforedrag* [Introductory Lecture]), Martensen presents Hegel as the conclusion of an era that began with Descartes's epistemological demand "de omnibus dubitantum est" ("everything ought to be doubted"). Hegel interpreted this demand in terms of a dialectical, presuppositionless doubt. Martensen writes: "Since philosophy has found that unconditioned point, it can step forth as *absolute* rationalism and is thereby the last and highest consequence of the Cartesian principle," p. 522.—**Descartes**: René Descartes (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician and natural scientist.—**Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher; privatdocent at Jena from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death.

16 **the time which philosophy has consumed since the beginning of the world**] Refers presumably to the Danish pastor E. Ewald who—like the Anglo-Irish archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) before him—reconstructed the chronology of the OT in such a way that the time from creation to the birth of Jesus could be reckoned as 4,000 years. Cf. his article "A Short Introduction to the Chronology, or Historical Record, of the Old Testament" (without pagination), in E. Ewald's *Index Chronologicus, eller Tiids-Register Over det Gamle Testamentes Kirke-Historie* [Index Chronologicus, or Chronological Inventory of Old Testament Church History] (Copenhagen, 1741). Compare also G. H. Schubert *Die Symbolik des Traumes* [The Symbolism of Dreams], 2nd ed. (Bamberg, 1821 [1814]; ASKB 776). In chapter 3, entitled "Die Symbolik der Natur" [The Symbolism of Nature], Schubert shows how the expectations of various religions for an incarnation of the divine converge on a date about 4,200 years after the creation of the world, calculated from cycles of different planets.

18 **the tail which natural scientists attribute to human beings**] Refers to the coccyx, which for a human being consists of the lowest four rudimentary vertebrae. As a rule these grow fused together beneath the pelvis.

21 **There once was a man named Descartes**] Refers presumably to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indledningsforedrag* (→ 190,*15*), where Martensen, in the effort to give an account of Hegelian logic, stresses that its dialectical skepticism has its beginning in Descartes's assertion that doubt is the presupposition of knowing. Martensen adds: "As is known, it was Descartes who emerged as the reformer of philosophy," p. 517.

22 **the well-known custom of monks**] Refers to the tradition in the early and medieval church of writing salvation histories, in verse, beginning with the 6 days of creation. Such histories were written, for example, by Basil the Great, Ambrose of Milan, and Gregory of Nyssa. The Danish archbishop Anders Sunesen (1161–1214) wrote such a *Hexaëmeron* (Greek, "work of creation in six days") around 1200. The 10th song, whose theme is redemption, was published in Latin by Kierkegaard's brother, P. C. Kierkegaard, in *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* [Journal for Historical Theology], ed. C. F. Illgen (Leipzig, 1835) vol. 5, pp. 201–224.

30 **Schattenspiel an der Wand**] German, "shadow-play on the wall." Shadowplays became a widespread phenomenon in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. Pictures were projected against a blank wall in the form of shadows by placing persons or cut-out figures between the wall and a light source.

32 **Görres**] Johann Josef von Görres (1776–1848), German historian of literature; political, philosophical, and religious author; professor at Munich starting in 1827.

32 **Chr. Mystik**,] Joseph von Görres, *Die christliche Mystik* [Christian Mysticism], vols. 1–5 (Regensburg and Landshut, 1836–42; ASKB 528–532); vol. 1, 1836, p. vii: "Thus the whole of the present becomes myth; critique itself is finally no longer able to withstand the principle of mythologization. It turns into a fly that sits on the nose of the world-giant, cleaning its wings with its feet, working precisely as it moves backward toward additional cleaning."

33 **In the end theater becomes actuality and actuality becomes comedy**] Alludes to Hegel's principle: "What is rational is actual; and what is actual is rational." See his *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, ed. E. Gans (Berlin, 1833; ASKB 551), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 189,*28*) vol. 8, p. 17 (*Jub.* vol. 7, p. 33). (For English translation cf. *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991], p. 20).

36 **the statement that suicide is cowardice**] Compare this to Christian Bastholm's *Betragtninger over Selvmord* [Thoughts concerning Suicide] (Copenhagen, 1787), p. 39: "It is said that suicide is always a heroic and courageous deed, the proof of a great soul who knows how to transcend those things that are so frightful for other, lesser souls. But should one really believe that those who speak thus also know what heroic courage is? I must confess that I regard suicide as cowardice, as cravenness." Compare also J. V. Müller's *Selvmord efter dets medicinske og moralske Aarsager betragtet* [Suicide, Considered in Terms of Its Medical and Moral Causes,] Danish trans., J. W. Fischer (Copenhagen, 1796), pp. 8f.: "If the wise person is able to dare this step [suicide], then the person who has been trampled into the dust by his fellow men deserves our sympathy even more when he succumbs to the magnitude of the sufferings of his body and soul . . . for how many other consequences were occasioned by this unhappy period, which compelled a man burdened by fate, but convinced of his own inner worth, to take such a step in order to achieve some peace from the storm and affliction which surrounded him! And yet many wretched self-conceited people, quite often almost drowning in sensual pleasures, cry out after the unhappy one: 'only a coward or a fool would end his life in such an unpraiseworthy way.' " Compare finally J. W. Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, cf., *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* vols. 1–55 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–33; ASKB 1641–1668), vol. 16, 1830. The young Werther has fallen in love with Lotte, who is married to Albert, and therefore sees no escape from his unhappy love other than to take his own life. Before this happens, he writes a letter to his friend Wilhelm telling him of a conversation he had had with Albert about suicide. In contrast to Albert, who asserts that suicide is weakness, Werther believes the following: "Human nature . . . has its limits. It can endure a certain degree of joy, sorrow, and pain, but collapses as soon as this is exceeded . . . And in my opinion it is just as absurd to call a man a coward who kills himself as to call a man a coward who dies of a malignant fever." (For English translation cf. *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. Victor Lange and Judith Ryan [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988], p. 34.)

the well-known debate . . . convinced the other] Refers to the story about two brothers from Westphalia who lived happily together until the younger brother became Lutheran and the older Catholic. The disturbance this created led their father to send the Catholic brother to a foreign country. The Catholic brother wrote back some years later, lamenting the fact that they did not share a single faith and would not meet together in the same heaven. He thus proposed that the two brothers make an experiment: the younger should try to convince him of the truth of Lutheran doctrine, and he should try to convert the younger to Catholicism. They agreed to meet and, after some initial accusations, went together to the Catholic mass and the Lutheran service, where each had a good experience. Six weeks later the younger brother wrote to his older brother to report to him that he had become Catholic. The older wrote angily back asking whether he was in fact bent on perdition—for now *he* had become a Lutheran. Thus, they had succeeded in converting one another and everything was as before—only a little worse. Cf. *J. P. Hebels sämmtliche Werke, Erzählungen des rheinländischen Hausfreundes* [Complete Works of J. P. Hebel. Tales of Rhenish Family Friends], vols. 1–8 (Karlsruhe, 1832), vol. 3, pp. 169–171. 9 191

popularize the system] Refers to J. L. Heiberg who, among other things, saw it as his mission to make the Hegelian system—i.e., speculation—accessible to the average person. See for example his preface "To the Reader" in the journal *Perseus*, vol. 1, 1837 (→ 189,18), p. xi: "From everything set forth here, one will see what the chief aim of this undertaking is. One could put it this way: it seeks to popularize speculative knowing." Cf. also F. C. Sibbern's review of *Perseus* no. 1 (→ 189,18), where he criticizes Heiberg's desire to popularize the speculative idea: "Heiberg could have been certain that, with respect to the philosophical periodical he published, everyone would immediately presuppose that he would make the main goal to *popularize* speculative knowing . . . and thus to make it interesting—without necessarily leading his readers any more deeply into the matter," *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 19 (Copenhagen, 1838), p. 283. Cf. further J. L. Heiberg's *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid. Et Indbydelses-Skrift* [On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age: An Invi- 15

tation] (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 568), pp. 48f. and pp. 50–84.

16 **per systema influxus physici**] Latin, "in accordance with the doctrine of physical influence." This is a designation for an epistemology in which the correspondence between the mental representation and the represented object was explained on the basis of a reciprocal action between soul and body.

16 **It is well known how Kant was treated**] Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), German philosopher; privatdocent from 1755 to 1769, appointed professor at the university in Königsberg in 1770. Kierkegaard refers to the initial reception of Kant in Denmark, which was marked by enthusiasm for his teaching among young philosophers. This, however, stood in contrast to the "eudaimonism" and "popular philosophy" which was then characteristic for philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, represented for example by professor B. Riisbrigh (1731–1809). The enthusiasm for Kant occasioned open conflict between the Kantians and those who opposed Kant, and the periodicals were happy to publish articles highlighting the tension. The conflict was often unscholarly, as is evident in the introduction to the periodical *Philosophisk Repertorium* [Philosophical Storehouse], ed. H. G. Sveistrup, A. S. Ørsted, and H. C. Ørsted (Copenhagen, 1798). Here the editors note 4 kinds of misunderstandings which Kant had been subjected to in Copenhagen. Common to these is an arrogant dismissal of Kantian philosophy by people who, according to its defenders, have not understood its profundity. The main goal of the periodical was to counter this sort of dismissal. In the notes to an anonymous article (pp. 209–235), the journal listed bibliographical references to articles critical of Kant (pp. 212–213). Kant's philosophy also met with resistance in Germany, where popular philosopher Christian Garve (1742–98) criticized *The Critique of Pure Reason* for being unnecessarily difficult to comprehend. He argued that Kant's book was difficult because it exercised the understanding in abstract thinking but did not enrich it with any new knowledge. The reason for the latter, according to Garve, was that the book was grounded in the thought of Irish philosopher George Berkeley (1685–1753). Cf. Garve's *Zugabe zu den Göttingischen Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* [Supplement to the Göttingen Report on Learned Matters] (Göttingen, 1782), pp. 40–48.

infinite number of encyclopedias] The 18th century was marked by the Enlightenment's desire to broaden philosophical, historical, and technical knowledge beyond narrow scientific circles to include general human knowledge. This effort achieved its unique expression in the French *Encyclopédie* [Encyclopedia], which collected the scientific knowledge of the age and made it accessible to everyone. Alongside this unique project many smaller dictionaries and encyclopedias were published, e.g., L. Moreri's *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique* [Great Historical Dictionary], vols. 1–6 (Basel, 1731–32; ASKB 1965–1969). Cf. also *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Kunste* [Universal Encyclopedia of the Arts and Sciences], ed. J. L. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, vols. 1–53 (Leipzig, 1818–37; ASKB 1311–1363). Compare also C. C. E. Schmid, *Wörterbuch zum leichtern Gebrauch der Kantischen Schriften* [Dictionary to Facilitate Use of Kant's Writings], 4th edition (Jena, 1798). 18

brief summaries] Expression for the compilation of a larger system into a summarized whole. Used often in the titles of shorter writings on philosophical, religious, and literary themes. 18

popularized versions] The general interest in scholarship and science aroused a desire to present the results of philosophy and the natural sciences in popular form to a broad audience. In his critique of Kant, for example, Christian Garve (→ 191,16) asserted that every philosophical doctrine ought to be made popular. Kant agreed with this, but maintained that this goal should be kept separate from the special interests of philosophy. Kant did not want abstract thought to become an artificial addition to popular thinking, and thus he limited himself to abstract thought. In relation to this issue, cf. Kant's preface to his *Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. Mary Gregor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). In Copenhagen Kant's philosophy was also popularized. Cf. Danish philosopher C. Hornemann (1759–93), whose lectures on Kant's critical philosophy had a popular style and were conceived as introductory lectures for the "uninitiated" (cf. *C. Hornemanns efterladte Philosophiske Skrifter* [Hornemann's Posthumous Philosophical Writings] [Copenhagen, 1795]). Cf. also Norwegian philosophy professor at the University of Copenhagen (1800–13), N. Treschow (1751–1833). Alongside his philosophical lectures at the university he 19

held popular lectures for the public. Earlier, these were held in Christiania (now Oslo) in the winter of 1797–98 and published as *Forelæsninger over den Kantiske Philosophie* [Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant] (Copenhagen, 1798). Heiberg took the same popularizing attitude as a spokesman in the preface to his journal *Perseus* (→ 191,*15*).

19 **presentations for the general public**] Frequently occurring phrase in the titles of, for example, catechisms, sermon collections, and other presentations.

20 **also treated Hegel in this manner**] Refers perhaps to J. L. Heiberg's *Indledningsforedrag* (→ 190,*15*), which was an attempt to present Hegel's complicated system in a concise and accessible way.

22 **Is there any foolish way in which the logical triad . . . been invoked?**] Refers to the Hegelians' treatment of Hegel's dialectical method (→ 189,*28*). Kierkegaard refers perhaps especially to a tendency among certain Hegelians to see triads everywhere. For example, Rosenkranz slavishly divides his *Encyklopädie* into 3 parts containing 3 chapters, each of which are again divided into 3 sections with 3 subdivisions. Cf. K. Rosenkranz *Encyklopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* [Encyclopedia of the Theological Sciences] (Halle, 1831; ASKB 35). Compare also Marheineke's *Dogmatik* (→ 192,*28*).

32 **the pair of boots . . . ride**] Charles XII (1682–1718), king of Sweden (1697–1718), was active commander of the Swedish army throughout his reign and made Sweden into a great European power. In 1709 he had to retreat from a battle with Peter the Great in southwest Russia and fled to Turkey. There he spent several years engaged in a futile effort to raise an army that would make it possible for him to return home again in triumph. He gave up his project and left Turkey only when his sister, Ulrika Eleonora, explained in a letter that parliament wanted to give her the throne in place of the absent ruler. Charles became impatient with his slow Turkish retinue and rode home alone on a swift horse. With only the most necessary provisions, he made it to the castle at Stralsund (in Pomerania, at the time controlled by Sweden) on Nov. 22, 1714. It is said that he "had to have his boots cut from his legs and that after sixteen days he finally took to bed again. The crowd in the streets the next day was enormous when he appeared on his horse." Cf. *Karl Friedrich Beckers Verdenshistorie, omarbeidet af Johan Gottfried Woltmann* [Karl Friedrich Becker's History of the World, Adapted by Johan Gottfried Woltmann], trans. J. Riise (Copenhagen, 1822–29), vols. 1–12, [Ger. 1801–05], (ASKB 1972–1983); vol. 9 (1825), p. 79.

34 **the immediate . . . was a pure abstraction**] Within Hegel's logic, pure immediacy—which he asserted is "being"—is the proper beginning of philosophy. This "abstraction" becomes more and more concrete in the course of its dialectical development (→ 189,*28*). The idea of the immediate as abstraction can be found, for example, in Heiberg's *Ledetraad ved Forelæsningerne over Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik ved den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Outline of the Philosophy of Philosophy or Speculative Logic. As Guide to Lectures at the Royal Military College] (Copenhagen, 1831–32; hereafter, *Ledetraad* [Outline]), § 26, p. 11: "If one abstracts from every determination in everything—which is necessary in order to get beyond all presuppositions (and this means to come to the beginning, which is the abstract immediate)—then only one thing remains from which one cannot further abstract, because it is itself without presupposition: namely, the abstract immediate or beginning. This one is being in general, the most abstract or absolute being, the furthest abstraction of everything."

3 192 **serve two masters**] Reference to Jesus's words to the disciples in Mt 6:24: "No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon."

3 **their efforts at revolution . . . which is the antidote for**] Refers to the idea, commonly ascribed to Hegel, that history unfolds according to inexorable laws—a notion that makes revolution impossible in principle. Cf. Kierkegaard's lecture in the Student Union on November 28, 1835, published in *Vor Journal-Litteratur. Studium efter Naturen i Middagsbelysning* [Our Journal Literature: Study According to Nature in the Light of Midday]. In that piece he remarks, with reference to revolutionary striving in general, and to the outlook of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in particular, that "a natural development does not occur in leaps, and life's seriousness will ironize every such attempt, even if for the moment it succeeds" (*Pap*. I B 2, p. 172).

8 **immediate unity**] The expression is used, among other places, in the logic of J. L. Heiberg; see for

example his *Ledetraad* (→ 191,*34*), §18, p. 8: "In every logical triad the third stage, or the resulting unity, is itself the first stage—i.e., is the immediate unity in a new and higher circle in which the same movement repeats itself anew."

9 **a brunette and a blonde**] A contrasting pair that appears often in romantic Nordic literature. The dark-haired one represents the foreigner, who is captivating and unsettling, while the light-haired one is mild and calm. Examples from the period's novels are Beengjerd and Dagmar in B. S. Ingemann's *Valdemar Seier* [Valdemar the Victorious] (Copenhagen, 1826), and Naomi and Luzie in H. C. Andersen's *Kun en Spillemand* [Only a Fiddler] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 1503).

11 **happy moment**] Probably refers to the 3rd moment or stage in Hegel's dialectical development of the logical triad (→ 192,*8*).

17 **a society**] Probably refers to the "Society for the Proper Use of the Freedom of the Press," which was founded in 1835 and as early as November of 1836 had 2,965 members, scattered over the whole of Denmark. The society was organized into local chapters in provincial towns. In addition to a wide range of "popular writings" aimed at the middle class and intended to ennoble the mind, improve taste, and expand knowledge, the "Free Press Society" (as it was called) published the weekly periodical, *Dansk Folkeblad* [Danish People's Paper]. The primary goal of the latter was "to expand such knowledge as could contribute to enlightening the people and educating their judgment in relation to objects that must be of importance to all." Cf. *Love for Selskabet for Trykkefrihedens rette Brug*, § 2.

20 **the Jesuitism of the Middle Ages**] The Jesuits were members of a Roman Catholic religious order, founded in 1534 by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola. It was founded as a reaction to the Reformation and sought to win the faithful back to the Roman Catholic Church as well as, more generally, to preserve the authority of the pope over the church. According to the stereotypes of many Protestants, the Jesuits used aggressive tactics, including intrigue and slander, to force non-Catholics to submit themselves to the Jesuit order and to the church. The tactics attributed to the Jesuits came to be associated with the saying "the end justifies the means."

28 **In this way faith has become immediate consciousness**] On a loose paper from 1836 Kierkegaard writes the following: "That which Schleiermacher calls 'religion' and the Hegelian dogmaticians call 'faith,' is at bottom nothing more than the first immediacy, the condition for everything—the *vitale Fluidum*—the atmosphere that we, in a spiritual sense, breathe in; and which, therefore, cannot rightly be indicated with these words" (*Pap*. I A 273). Cf. the Hegelian dogmatician Philipp Marheineke, who in his *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* [Fundamental Principles of Christian Dogmatics as a Science], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1827 [1819]; ASKB 644), defines faith in contrast to science as "an immediate consciousness of truth" (p. 49). See also the Hegelian theologian J. E. Erdmann, whose *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen als Einleitung in die Dogmatik und Religionsphilosophie* [Lectures on Faith and Knowledge as an Introduction to Dogmatics and the Philosophy of Religion] (Berlin, 1837; ASKB 479) describes faith as "the immediate consciousness of reconciliation" (pp. 29f.).

inspiration] Refers to the doctrine that all biblical texts are "inspired" by God (2 Tim 3:16). Thus, the Bible or sacred scriptures are thought of as God's revelation and inerrant word, commanding the highest authority for the church's belief and doctrine. There seems also to be reference to the biblical-dogmatic idea that God continually breathes (or pours in) his spirit, the Holy Spirit, into a humanity corrupted by sin, and thus effects a new creation and a new prompting in the human will. 32

God's breathing the spirit of life into man] Refers to Gen 2:7: "Then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being." 33

incarnation . . . the presence of one or another idea in one or more individuals] This formulation probably alludes to I. H. Fichte's definition of revelation and incarnation in *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer* [The Idea of Personality and the Immortality of the Individual] (Elberfeld, 1834; ASKB 505), pp. 119ff. 33

our finance experts . . . vigorous and thoroughgoing budget cuts] Refers to the "Petition to his Majesty the King concerning the Finances and National Debt of Denmark," which the Advisory Assembly of Estates in Roskilde adopted on February 20, 1836. Among other things, the petition recom- 3 193

mended "that the most vigorous measures be undertaken in order to reduce the state's yearly economic expenditures." The petition was drafted by the merchant P. A. Tutein and was published in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, March 29, 1836 (no. 94, pp. 375–378), among other places. The 3 other advisory assemblies favored the petition; in general the budget was the greatest matter of concern for the political writers of the day. The frugal-minded were notably represented by professor C. N. David, attorney Orla Lehmann, and the director of the bank, P. G. Bang. However, supreme court justice Tage Algreen-Ussing set himself apart as the most radical voice. Cf. his article in *Dansk Folkeblad* where he writes that, he expects, "as the first and only remedy," that Bang will "recommend what all of the country's 4 advisory assemblies had expressed as if with a single voice: thoroughgoing and vigorous budget cuts." Cf. *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, December 3, 1836, no. 340, p. 1376.

13 **Luther regained the concept of faith for his age**] Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian, Augustinian monk, professor at Wittenberg, reformer. A crucial point in the Lutheran confrontation with Roman Catholic theology was a notion of faith based on the idea that a person is justified by faith alone ("sola fide") apart from works, and that the person who is justified lives by faith alone. Luther based this idea primarily on his reading of Paul's letter to the Romans. Cf. Letter to the Romans, chs. 3 and 4, along with 1:17.

15 **the rapid printing press**] Refers to the "rapid press," a printing machine that prints with a rotating cylinder and therefore is faster than the "fly swatter," which required manual insertion and extraction. In 1825 *Adresseavisen* (→ 195,*8*) became the first newspaper in Denmark to introduce the "rapid press," which had been invented at the beginning of the 19th century.

23 **prodigal sons**] Refers to Jesus's parable of the prodigal (or "lost") son in Lk 15:11–32.

24 **your letter**] The letter's addressee is not identified.

25 **Grundtvig's. . . . theory of the Living Word has**] Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), author, writer of hymns, historian, and pastor, turned against the idea that the Bible was God's word—a notion that H. N. Clausen, for example, had set forth in his *Catholicismens og Prostantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus* [The Church Constitutions, Doctrines, and Rites of Protestantism and Catholicism] (Copenhagen, 1825). In *Kirkens Gienmæle mod Professor Theologiæ Dr. H. N. Clausen* [The Reply of the Church against Dr. H. N. Clausen, Professor of Theology] (Copenhagen, 1825), Grundtvig dismissed the biblical text as the foundation of faith and the church. Rather, he argued, it is the Lord's Prayer, the confession of the Apostle's Creed at baptism, and the words of institution at communion that constitute "the living word" which makes the church into a "Christian church." He developed this theory of the "living word" further, for example, in his *Christelige Prædikener eller Søndags-Bog* [Christian Sermons, or Sunday Book], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1830; ASKB 222–224). He writes: "Just as the living word of God came into the world on the *tongues* of the Lord and the apostles, so also it propagates itself from mouth to mouth," vol. 3, p. 586. He continues: "Only the living, obedient, loudly spoken word of God can burn on the lips of believers, burn into their hearts, and open the source in them that springs up to eternal life. For *only in this word* is there *the Spirit*, the *Holy Spirit*, which unlike moths and bookworms, neither can nor will live in volumes and pages, but flies on invisible wings—as the voice may well be called—and dwells only in those hearts which lovingly embrace the word that comes from the mouth of God," pp. 586f.

that the written word is null and void] Cf. *Kirkens Gienmæle*, pp. 15ff., where the "written word" is placed in negative contrast to "Jesus's spoken word." Cf. also the introduction to Grundtvig's *Nordens Mythologi eller Sindbilled-Sprog* [The Mythology or Symbolic Speech of the North], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB 1949), pp. 59ff., where "the written word" is understood as powerless in contrast to the "spoken word," which is living. 30

confirmed by a governmental court order. ..] Instead of answering Grundtvig's critique (→ 193,*25*), H. N. Clausen brought a libel suit. He regarded Grundtvig's critique as defamatory and aimed personally at him, rather than as engaging in a theological controversy. Clausen won the case, and Grundtvig was obliged to pay a fine of 100 rixdollars to the agency administering Copenhagen's welfare services. In addition, his future writings were to be subjected to censorship. According to the freedom of the press law of September 27, 1799, 32

there was no general censorship in Denmark. However, the law listed a series of punishable offenses for authors who criticized the constitution, the government, the king, religion, etc. Anyone who had been convicted was obliged to submit his writings to the police for censorship for the rest of his life. After censorship of all writings under 24 sheets (384 pages in octavo format) was introduced in 1814, the rule relating to individual censorship was referred to as "particular" or "special censorship." "Particular censorship" thus applied to Grundtvig starting in 1826, but he was exempted from it in 1837.

193 35 **I have had grief since I last wrote you**] The recipient of the letter is unidentified.

36 **the black sealing wax**] A letter sealed with black wax was a sign that a family was mourning a loss. Kierkegaard normally used red wax to seal his letters.

38 **our grieving family**] Kierkegaard's family was hard hit by death. In addition to the deaths of the 2 brothers (→ 193,*39* and → 194,*2*), Kierkegaard's sister, the 24-year-old Maren Kirstine, died on March 15, 1822; his sister Nicoline Christine died at 33 on September 10, 1832, after giving birth to a still-born son; on July 31, 1834, Kierkegaard's mother, Anne Lund, died; and in the same year on December 29, Kierkegaard's sister, the 33-year-old Petrea Severine, died. Finally, Elise Marie Boisen, the 1st wife of Kierkegaard's elder brother Peter Christian, died on July 18, 1837.

39 **my brother**] Kierkegaard's brother Niels Andreas Kierkegaard (born 1809) died on September 21, 1833 in New Jersey (United States), to which he had emigrated in 1832.

194 2 **my other brother, who died many years ago**] Kierkegaard's brother Søren Michael Kierkegaard (born 1807) died on September 14, 1819 after an accident at school.

11 **my brother-in-law the business agent**] Kierkegaard had 2 brothers-in-law, the brothers Henrich Ferdinand and Johan Christian Lund; the latter was a clothier.

16 **Yes! Was ist der Mensch**?] German, "What is man?" Alludes to Ps 8:5, which in Luther's German translation has the same wording. Cf. *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers mit einer Vorrede vom Dr. Hüffel* [The Bible, or the Entire Holy Scripture, according to the German Translation of Dr. Martin Luther, with a Foreword by Dr. Hüffel] (Carlsruhe and Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 3). At the time the phrase was widely understood as referring to a philosophical and anthropological category. Kant uses the same formulation in his *Lectures on Logic*, where he asserts that metaphysics answers the question "what can I know?" morality "what must I do?" and religion "for what may I hope?" Finally, anthropology answers the question "what is man?" (For English translation cf. Immanuel Kant, *Lectures on Logic*, trans. J. Michael Young [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992], p 538.) In *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (→ 190,*36*) Goethe has the main character pose the question in the same way.

25 **of the hairs on all heads: that every one is numbered**] Cf. Mt 10:30.

26 **the undertaker**] A legal ordinance of June 26, 1818, decreed "that wherever it is the case, other than in the poorest circumstances, that a hearse is used, an undertaker must be employed." This meant that everyone, except poor people—who received a frugal but free burial—had the obligation to let a state undertaker arrange the burial. In Kierkegaard's time undertakers were strongly criticized for exploiting this privilege by charging shamelessly high prices for the many extras at the funeral.

4 195 **no such thing as original sin**] Kierkegaard refers perhaps to "speculative theology," which in the work of K. G. Bretschneider criticized the doctrine of original sin. Cf. Bretschneider's "Beurtheilung der Lehre von der Erbsünde nach der Vernunft" [The Evaluation of Hereditary Sin according to Reason] in *Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Handbook of Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], vols. 1–2, 3rd edition (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 25–26), vol. 2, pp. 73ff. Compare also *Süd- und Nordlichter am Horizonte speculativer Theologie. Fragment eines evangelischen Briefwechsels* [Southern and Northern Lights on the Horizon of Speculative Theology: Fragment of an Evangelical Exchange of Letters,] ed. Anton Günther (Vienna, 1832; ASKB 520), which is a fictive exchange of letters between a Reformed and an evangelical (Lutheran) pastor, who argue respectively against and for Augustine's doctrine of original sin.

5 **moving-day**] Refers to "change-over day" or "moving day," which took place on the 3rd Tuesday of April and October. On moving day the servants and assistants were moved in to the new residence so they could ready themselves for the actual moving day (respectively, May 1 and November 1). Moving day was also the day, according to law, for terminating or entering into contracts, e.g., mortgages and leases.

8 **Adresseavisen**] The common name for *Kiøbenhavns Kgl. allene privilegerede Adresse Contoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office] published 1759–1909. The name underwent many changes in the course of time. Mainly a newspaper for advertisements, it also contained announcements, eulogies, and at certain periods, news, literary contributions, and political articles. Starting in 1800 the newspaper was published 6 days a week.

8 **that one has lost everything**] The expression has not been verified in *Adresseavisen*, but similar expressions such as "this, our irreparable loss" are widespread.

18 **the rule from the "proper etiquette" book—that no one should begin to eat or drink before the others**] Refers to G. I. Wenzel's *Manden af Verden eller Grundsætninger og Regler for Anstand, Tække, fiin Levemaade og sand Høflighed* [The Man of the World: Basic Principles and Rules of Decorum, Neatness, Fine Lifestyle, and True Politeness], trans. R. T. Bruun (Copenhagen, 1818), p. 98. In the section relating to "Conduct at the Dinner Table," it reads: "It would be an indecency to be the first to eat. One ought to wait until some of the others have begun."

22 **without food and ale the hero is nothing**] Proverb, noted as no. 2586 in E. Mau's *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [Treasury of Danish Proverbs], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1879); vol. 1, p. 280.

23 **wake**] In Kierkegaard's time it was not unusual to treat the guests to food and ale. However, strictly speaking, entertainment around a set table was illegal at a burial. Cf. the legal ordinance of Nov. 7, 1682, § 13, reasserted in a bylaw from June 26, 1818.

25 **pallbearers**] In Kierkegaard's time bodies were transported in a special hearse from the deceased's home to the chapel or church, and then further to the graveyard. The Theological Faculty at the University of Copenhagen selected a group of students from Regensen College to carry the casket and accompany the hearse to the graveyard. After the plague of 1711, Regensen had a monopoly on this service. Under unique circumstances, the friends or fraternity fellows of the deceased could carry the body, but they were supposed to pay Regensen a compensation for this lost "corpse money."

$\frac{+}{1}$] Presumably an indication of the date, where the month is January, but the day is unknown. 39

apparent polar elevation] Polar elevation is the angle between the horizon and the celestial pole, and is the expression for the latitude at which one finds oneself. This is determined by measuring the angle that the horizon makes in a given place with the North Star, which is near the celestial north pole. In part because it is measured with respect to the apparent horizon, and in part because the North Star moves with respect to the celestial pole, apparent polar elevation is first measured with a sextant and then corrected with tables. The apparent polar elevation is thus the apparent angle between the horizon and the north pole. 2 196

read about a man ... never spoke to anyone] Source not identified. 9 196

just like Queen Gudrun] Queen Brunhild was angry with Queen Gudrun because Gudrun's husband, Sigurd, had killed the great snake Fafner. It was a disgrace for Brunhild not to have married the bravest man. After the quarrel it was Brunhild who took to bed while Gudrun gloated. In this condition Brunhild would neither talk to anyone, drink wine, sew precious pearls into the king's clothing, nor give good advice. Cf. *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier, efter islandske Haandskrifter* [History of Nordic Conflicts, Based upon Icelandic Manuscripts], trans. C. C. Rafn, vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1821–26; ASKB 1993–1995). Cf. *Volsunga-Saga eller Historien om Sigurd Fafnersbane* [Volsunga Saga, or the Story of Sigurd Fafnersbane], vol. 1, pp. 96–108. 10

Kaspar Hauser ... right in the middle of a street] Alludes to the story of Kasper Hauser (1812–33), who, after having spent his childhood locked up as a foundling, was found in Nuremberg on the street on May 26, 1828 by a couple of shoemakers. Because of his former isolation, he could not speak intelligibly, except for a couple of simple sentences, and thus he could not give an account of where he had come from, nor did he himself know who he 13

was. The many details of the story, not all of which agree with each other, immediately made the fate of Kasper Hauser a mystery. Cf. "Den fremmede Dreng i Nürnberg I" [The Strange Boy in Nuremberg I] in *Kjøbenhavns Flyvende Post*, no. 65, August 15, 1828; and "Den fremmede Dreng i Nürnberg II" in *Kjøbenhavns Flyvende Post*, no. 66, August 18, 1828.

196 19 **Faust**] Refers to Dr. Faustus, who according to the legend entered into a pact with the Devil, Mephistopheles, in order to attain knowledge. Kierkegaard knew the Faust figure from folk tales (cf. ASKB 1460–1461 and U 35) and from contemporary re-tellings, e.g., J. W. Goethe's *Faust* (part 1 [1808] and part 2 [1831]; ASKB 1669), and N. Lenau's *Faust* (1836). Cf. also H. L. Martensen's study "Betragtninger over Ideen af Faust. Med Hensyn paa Lenaus Faust" [Observations on the Idea of Faust, with Reference to Lenau's Faust], in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, no. 1, June 1837 (ASKB 569), pp. 91–164. See also BB:12, pp. 85–96 in this book.

23 **doublethinker**] Expression not identified.

25 **the question . . . is that me talking**?] The following story is told of Salomon Soldin (1774–1837), bookseller on Grønnegade in Copenhagen (see map 2, D2): A customer came into the store, and while Soldin was up on a ladder retrieving a book, the customer spoke a few words to Soldin's wife using Soldin's voice and intonation. Soldin then turned to his wife and said: "Rebecca, is that me who is talking?" Soldin's wife's name was Hanna, née Ruben.

36 **the Word which created the world**] Refers to Jn 1:1–3: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being."

197 6 **nature worshipers**] Refers to a religious tendency in Romanticism which cultivated the experience of nature as a religious experience. Kierkegaard could point to the poem "Jesu Christi gientagne Liv i den aarlige Natur" [The Repetition of the Life of Jesus Christ in the Annual Cycle of Nature] in *Adam Oehlenschlägers Poetiske Skrifter* [Poetic Writings of Adam Oehlenschläger], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1597–1598). Cf. vol. 1, which begins with the words: "Hver Vaar, naar Taagerne flygte hen, / Da fødes det lille Barn Jesus igien. / Den Engel i Luft, i Lund, i Elv, / Det er vor Frelser! Det er ham selv! / Derfor Naturen saa huldt og skiønt / Sig fryder og klæder i Haabets Grønt" [Every year, when the fogs depart, the little child Jesus is born anew. / The angel in the air, in the grove, in the river—that is our saviour, that is he himself! / Thus nature, so deep and beautiful, / rejoices and clothes itself in the greenery of hope], p. 421. Oehlenschläger continues later under the heading "Teachings of Jesus:" "Let my dark, billowing green leaves beckon you away from noise and deafening tones. . . . Doesn't the shuddering which shivers the innermost branches, / while you wander here quietly, without courage, alone, / Doesn't it say to you that life is more than a shadow?" p. 438.

7 **drivel-heads sat upon a single neck . . . what to do**] Refers to the saying of Caligula: "If only the people of Rome had a single neck!"—with the implication that the whole head could then be cut off in a single blow. Cf. Suetonius "Cajus Cæsar Caligula," ch. 30, in *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* [Suetonius's Lives of the First Twelve Roman Emperors], trans. into Danish J. Baden, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1802–03; ASKB 1281), vol. 1, p. 312. After his ascendency in 37 A.D., the Roman emperor Caligula (12–41 A.D.) became intoxicated with his power, which he considered to be divine. He carried out countless executions.

14 **nightengale . . . "Crazy"**] A play on words. In Danish, "nightengale" is "nattergal," from "nat" (night) and "gale" (to sing), while "gal" can also mean "crazy."

15 **Thou art the man**!] Refers to the story in 2 Sam 12: 1–7 about the prophet Nathan, who tells King David a parable about a rich man who took a poor man's only lamb and prepared it for a visitor because he did not deign to take from his own animals, even though he had many. David was incensed and exclaimed that the rich man should restore the lamb fourfold and die. At that point Nathan said to David: Thou art the man! David had allowed Uriah to be killed and married Uriah's wife Bathseba.

19 **the Indians honor the insane**] Presumably refers to the treatment of the mad in India. In traditional Indian medicine, psychological maladies are gener-

ally ascribed to one of two causes: imbalance in the body's humors, or possession by demons. In general, Indians treat their sick with great respect, and for those possessed by demons (i.e., supernatural beings) this is especially the case.

197 30 **the Christians . . . death-days of the martyrs their birthdays**] The Christian martyrs of the early centuries were highly revered in the church and especially in devotional life. This celebration of the martyrs led to the publication of the proceedings from their sentencing, along with Christian eyewitness reports, in the form of stories of the martyrs. These stories entered into the liturgical part of the celebrations that were held at burials for the purpose of remembrance and commemoration of the days of the martyrs' deaths. Since the martyrs were thought to enter directly into paradise, the days on which they died were celebrated as their real birthdays. Cf. *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, trans. J. B. Lightfoot, ed. and completed J. R. Hamer (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956), ch. 18, where it is reported that the Christians in Smyrna "took up [Polycarp's] bones, more valuable than precious stones and finer than gold, and put them in a proper place. There, as far as we are able, the Lord will permit us to meet together in gladness and joy and to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom," p. 160.

35 **Erasmus Montanus . . . the crowd**] Refers to the discussion as to whether the earth is round or flat in act 4, scene 2 of Holberg's comedy *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg* [Erasmus Montanus, or Rasmus Berg] (1731). Erasmus Montanus has returned home from his studies in Copenhagen with newly acquired knowledge and begins to challenge the entire village, including his future father-in-law, who does not want to give his daughter away to an infidel who thinks the earth is round. Peer Degn, a local, argues against Erasmus in the following way: "Ask now each of these good men who live here in this town, and see which of them go along with you in saying the earth is round. I certainly think one must rather more believe what so many say, than one person alone. *Ergo*, am I wrong?" *Den Danske Skue-Plads* [The Danish Theater], vols. 1–7 (Copenhagen, 1758 or 1788 [1731–54]); ASKB 1566–1567), vol. 5.

the Titans . . . a fiery sigh] In Greek mythology 1 198
giants like Gaia ("earth") were born from the blood of the castrated Uranos ("sky"). In the struggle against the Olympian gods, the giants were conquered and imprisoned in volcanoes. Others were buried under islands and mountains, from which place they spewed forth fire. Cf. *Paul Fr. A. Nitsch neues mythologischen Wörterbuch* [Paul Fr. A. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], 2nd edition, F. G. Klopfer, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945), vol. 1, p. 751.

no, please, no condolences] Stock phrase in obitu- 5
aries when a death is announced but it is requested that no one beyond the immediate family participate in the funeral service. An example: "All who knew this good person, I am convinced, without evidence, will share in my justifiable grief—so no condolences are necessary," *Adresseavisen* (→ 195,*8*) no. 185, May 8, 1804.

an idea which sprang . . . out of the brow of an 9 198
individual] Alludes to the Greek myth in which the goddess of wisdom, bravery, and artistry, Athena, is born by springing forth fully armed from Zeus's split forehead.

the proverb . . . had perched] Recorded as no. 9168 11
in E. Mau's *Danske Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 195,*22*), vol. 2, p. 310.

the Bridge of Sighs] "Il ponte dei sospiri" in Ven- 16 198
ice is the bridge between the Doge's Palace and the prison, over which those who were condemned to death were led to their beheading. Presumably already in Kierkegaard's time it was the designation for the walkway, built by C. F. Hansen (1808–15), over Slutterigade between the building which served both Copenhagen's City Hall and courthouse, on the one hand, and the jail building, on the other.

"bluff, emotional, enthusiastic Danes"] Source not 33 198
identified.

a Wehmaler . . . national faces] Refers to a novella 1 199
by Clemens Brentano, Cf. *Viel Lärmen um Nichts. Von Joseph Freiherrn von Eichendorff; und: Die mehreren Wehmüller und ungarischen Nationalgesichter. Von Clemens Brentano, Zwei Novellen* [Much Ado About Nothing, by Joseph Freiherrn von Eichendorff, and The Various Wehmüller and Hungarian

National Faces, by Clemens Bretano: Two Novellas] (Berlin, 1833; ASKB 1850). The portrait painter in the novella, who is not named Wehmaler but Wehmüller, travelled around selling portraits of people of ostensibly different nationalities. In reality he had 39 different portraits of Hungarian faces. These were then given national costumes of different sorts, according to the customer's wishes.

3 **The whole business is of course . . . national face**] Refers to the emerging awareness of the question of nationality that characterized Germany in the 19th century, but was also current in Denmark. Awareness of the question of nationality arose especially from the precincts of the Student Union in Copenhagen. In Schleswig this question became the object of an essay by U. Lornsen, *Ueber das Verfassungswerk in Schleswigholstein* [On the Constitution of Schleswig-Holstein] (1830), which aroused a bit of a stir and annoyed the king because it proposed that the duchies become an independent state in close association with Denmark.

200 1 **Hamann**] Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88), German author and philosopher, born and raised in Königsberg, where he was a friend of Immanuel Kant. His richly allusive and not easily accessible writings became an important source for philosophy, especially in the struggle against the Enlightenment's one-sided ideal of reason. His collected works and letters were published in *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth, vols. 1–8 (Berlin, 1821–43; ASKB 536–544).

4 **the abstract immortality . . . was an illusion**] The absence of a doctrine of immortality in Hegel's system and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit* (Breslau, 1830), which he published under the pseudonym Friedrich Richter, led to a comprehensive discussion of the doctrine of immortality. (For English translation, cf. *Thoughts on Death and Immortality*, trans. James A. Massey [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980].) Among others, Kierkegaard's teacher, Danish philosopher Poul Martin Møller, participated in this discussion with his monograph "Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed, med Hensyn til den nyeste herhen hørende Literatur" [Thoughts concerning the Possibility of Demonstrations of the Immortality of the Human Being, with Reference to the Most Recent Literature on the Subject], in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 17 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 1–72 and pp. 422–453. In that piece Møller discusses *Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit* as "a text that has created a huge uproar because its goal is to establish that the Christian faith's belief in personal immortality is a prejudice," p. 1. Marheineke also treated the question of immortality and made the distinction between a "sensible" and "abstract" consciousness of immortality. He criticized the former for giving in to "human representation." Concerning the latter he wrote: "In abstract consciousness, the idea of immortality, though going beyond sensible consciousness in the element of pure thinking . . . is not the idea of the known truth, and thus also not the true idea," cf. Philipp Marheineke, *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* (→ 192,*28*), p. 385.

6 **living for posterity and of being misunderstood by one's times**] Refers to Friedrich Roth's introductory commentary to *Hamann's Schriften*. In order to console himself over Hamann's absence of recognition by his contemporaries, Roth cites Hamann himself, who expresses the joyous thought that his writings will be appreciated by posterity. Roth writes: "But his confidence that a *later generation* would do him justice lights up many passages of his writings, especially in the following passage from the preface to his *Kreuzzüge des Philologen* [Crusade of the Philologists] (1762): 'One easily overcomes the double sorrow of not being understood by one's contemporaries—and consequently being mistreated—by the foretaste of the powers of a better posterity,' " cf. *Hamann's Schriften*, (→ 200,*1*), vol. 1, p. x. Roth's citation is from Hamann's *Kreuzzüge des Philologen*, where the citation can be found in an introductory remark signed "the editor," cf. *Hamann's Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 114.

9 **Simeon Stylites**] Simeon (also called "Simon") Stylites (ca. 390–459), Christian ascetic and hermit; in ca. 420 he climbed atop a 3-meter—and subsequently a 20-meter—pole outside of Antioch, Syria. There he spent the rest of his life. He preached twice a day before a large crowd and gave spiritual counsel.

11 **served by angels**] Refers to the NT story of the temptation of Jesus in the wilderness by the Devil. The Devil tempted Jesus to prove that he was the son of God by asking him to change a stone into a

loaf of bread and by throwing himself down from the pinnacle of the temple. Failing that, he tempted Jesus, again in vain, to assume power over nations and kingdoms in return for bowing down and worshiping him. Following this temptation the text reports: "Then the Devil left him, and suddenly angels came and waited on him," Mt 4: 11.

20 **as Soldin said: "Rebecca, is that me talking?"**] (→ 196,*25*).

30 **a password which God whispered in Adam's ear ... Judgment Day**] Kierkegaard is probably referring to Grundtvig. Cf. an entry on a loose sheet dated July 6, 1836, where he writes: "Grundtvig regards the Apostle's Creed as the *password* which Christ whispered into the ear of humanity, and which he will again demand to hear on Judgment Day from the *last person living*." In the margin he adds a note to the "password": "password (also with reference to what Grundtvig so frequently reiterates, that in the ancient church they did not dare speak it out loud. The one whispered it into ear of the other and so forth)," (*Pap*. I A 202).

36 **begin polemically ... Holberg**] Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Danish-Norwegian author, comic poet, and scientist; appointed professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1717. Kierkegaard is probably alluding to the fact that in 1719 Holberg became involved in a sharp polemic with Schleswigian physician, jurist, and historian Andreas Hojer. In the preface to his *Kurzgefaßte Dännemärckische Geschichte* [Brief History of Denmark] (Flensburg, 1719), Hojer claimed that Holberg's work, *Introduction til de fornemste europæiske Rigers Historier* [Introduction to the History of Leading European Countries] (1711), was plagiarized from Samuel Pufendorf. Holberg was initially surprised by the accusation, but subsequently began a counterattack with 2 Latin disputations that were ostensibly authored by 2 academics. Hojer reacted with a strongly dismissive discussion of Holberg, disguised as a review of 2 satirical poems by Christian Falster. According to Holberg himself in his first biographical letter, *Epistula ad Virum Perillustrem* (1728), this quarrel was the immediate occasion for the beginning of his career as a satirist. He writes in his *Første Brev* [First Letter]: "In this way I myself became a satirist—by turning the venom of my pen against satirists," *Ludvig Holbergs udvalgte Skrifter* [Selected Writings of Ludvig Holberg], ed. K. L. Rahbek, vols. 1–21 (Copenhagen, 1804–14); vol. 21, 1814, p. 336 (A. Kragelund, 1965, I, p. 216).

the case ... with Goethe] Johann Wolfgang von 39
Goethe (1749–1832), German poet, dramatist, essayist, jurist, statesman, and natural scientist. Kierkegaard alludes to Goethe's influence on the German "Sturm und Drang" movement as a result of works such as the epistolary novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (→ 190,*36*). "Sturm und Drang" was a literary revolution that problematized the individual's position within society, where the radicality of the conflicts of modernity were concretely experienced. Goethe's *Werther* was thus received positively the young, especially by fellow poets all over Europe, as the personification of their own feelings. In Denmark a translation was forbidden because the Theological Faculty advised against it. The work was published in Denmark for the first time in 1832 in *Johann Wolfgang v. Göthe's Udvalgte Skrifter* [Selected Writings of Johan Wolfgang v. Göthe], vols. 1–6 (Copenhagen, 1832–35); vol. 1, trans. into Danish S. Meisling. In 1820 a translation by H. L. Bernhoft was published in Christiania (Oslo).

the case ... with Kant] Kant (→ 191,*16*). Kierke- 39 200
gaard refers to Kant's polemic with the metaphysicians (e.g., Locke, Berkeley, Hume), who did not recognize the limits of reason, but rather extended their analyses beyond the limits of possible experience. Cf. Kant's preface to *The Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Werner Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), pp. 5–40. Kant's goal in that work was to raise a critique of this point of view by investigating and determining the possibilities and limits of reason.

men with staffs] Derogatory expression for the po- 2 201
lice, who were equipped with staffs.

How unfortunate are we ... "possession of the 8 201
maiden!"] Refers to the act 3, scene 1, of Holberg's comedy (→ 200,*36*) *Den honette Ambition* [Social Aspirations] (1731), where Leonore's fiancé Leander says: "How unfortunate we human beings are in this world! There are few things that occasion *solid* joys, and the same few, sweet things are often mixed with bitterness. At one moment I thought I would harvest the fruit of my love and come into *possession* of the maiden, whom I love fervently; but just when one thinks oneself most secure, there arises an unexpectedly strong counterwind, which

threatens downfall." Cf. *Den Danske Skue-Plads* (→ 197,35), vol. 5.

12 **S. T.**] Italian abbreviation of "Salvo Titolo" (without title); used when one is uncertain of an addressee's title, and in Kierkegaards time it was frequently used to indicate an informal and friendly relationship to the addressee.

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL DD

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript and Its Transmission

Journal DD was originally "a book, marked DD, bound in quarto,"[1] which Kierkegaard wrote in both from the back and from the front. The original covers and three pages of text have been lost, while the spine of the original book survives. In the cases where pages are missing, a printed version of the text has been preserved in H. P. Barfod's edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*) [From the Posthumous Papers of Søren Kierkegaard][2] and in a single case in Barfod's transcription.[3] In seven instances where neither the manuscript has been preserved nor the text has been transcribed, the entries are found registered in Barfod's catalogue of Søren Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-cat*.).[4] Of the original forty-nine pages with writing on them, forty-six are preserved in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

As noted, entries have been made in *Journal DD* both from the back and from the front.

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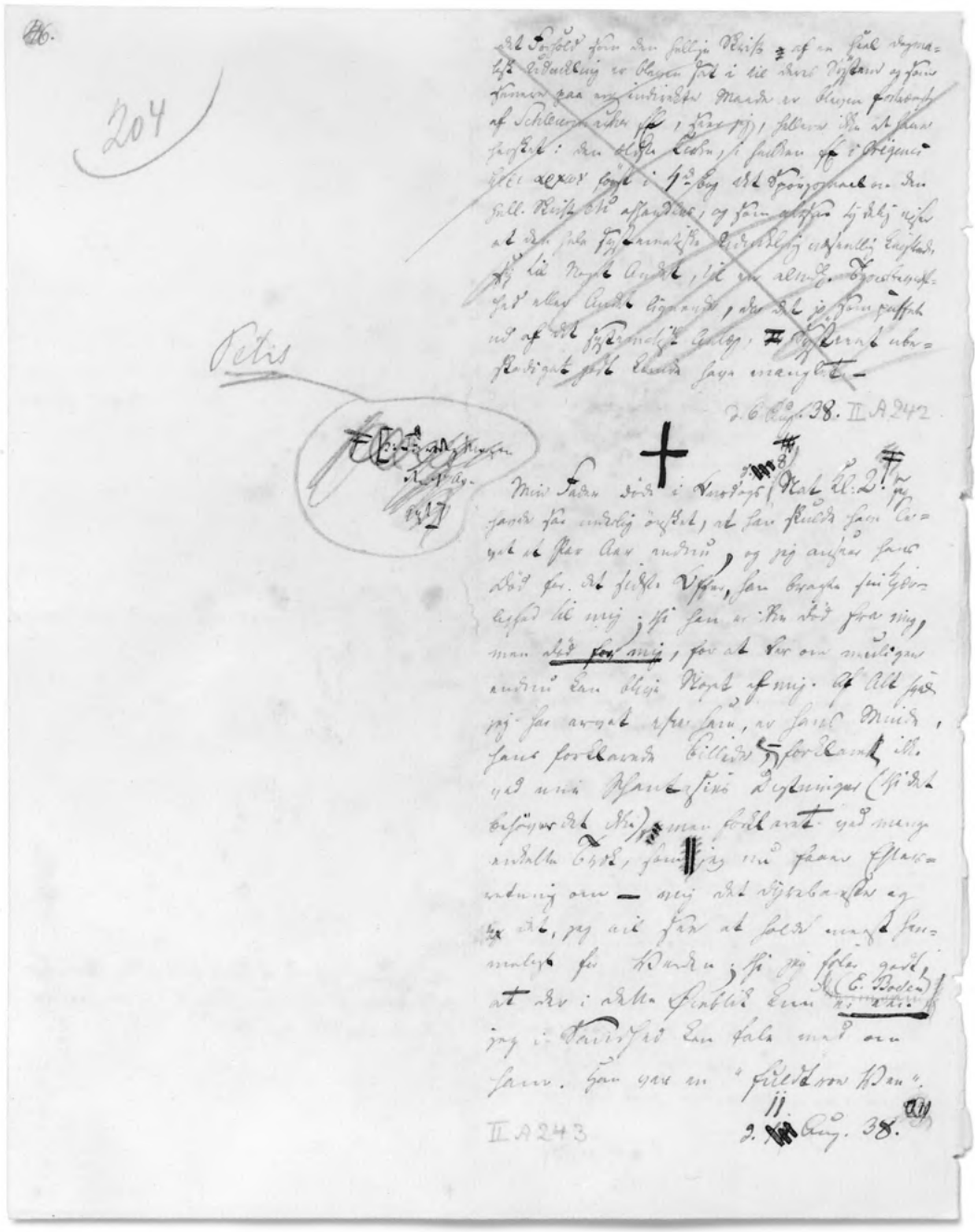
1) H. P. Barfod's catalogue (*B-cat*.) 440. See also "Tekstkritiske retningslinier for *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*. Journaler, notesbøger og papirer," paragraph 1.3, *SKS*, vol. 17, p. 305f.

2) *EP* I–II, pp. 124, 126–129, 134f., 148, 154–156, and 507. According to *B-cat*., the entries appeared in the journal on pp. 13, 17f., 37, 41–44, and 47.

3) The entry appeared in the journal on p. 48, at the end of DD:132, which has been cut out of the manuscript.

4) *B-cat*. 440. The entries appeared in the journal on pp. 41–43.



11. Journal entry DD:126, written in connection with Kierkegaard's father's death; see *KJN* 1, 249.

A.

The main part of the entries written from the front are dated and cover the period from May 29, 1837 to January 28, 1839. From April 28, 1838 there is a striking drop in the number of entries, after which the number rises again in July. Thus there are twenty-eight entries from April 1838, only one from May and June, after which the number rises again to seventeen in July. One possible explanation for this can be that in May, June, and the beginning of July, Kierkegaard was busy working on his debut book, *From the Papers of One Still Living*, which was published on September 7, 1838.[1]

Kierkegaard originally indicated August 18, 1838 as the date for entry DD:126, only to change the date later to August 11. The mistaken dating is odd since the entry concerns his reaction to the death of his father. Kierkegaard changes not merely the dating of the entry, but also the date of his father's death, from the 15th to the 8th of August. The same thing holds for the next entry, DD:127; here also he first dates the entry August 18, only to change the date later to August 11.

One entry, DD:26, dated July 13, 1837, stands between the entries dated July 11. This, however, is not a matter of a break in the chronology. The entry, which is now missing in the manuscript, was originally in the margin opposite entry DD:25, which is also confirmed by *B-cat*. But in *EP*, where the wording is indirectly transmitted, the entry is published with no indication that it was a marginal entry.

After an entry dated January 28, 1839, which is the last of the entries written from the front of the book, Kierkegaard returned several times to the journal and added marginal notes to four different entries.[2]

Kierkegaard concluded the year 1838 on the middle of page 64 of

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1) Cf. the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Af en endnu Levendes Papirer* in *SKS*, vol. K1, p. 70. Similarly, in the period from April to May 1838 Kierkegaard wrote a series of entries, which are included in *Journal FF*.

2) Namely, the entries DD:6c, dated May 14, 1839; DD:64a, dated June 8, 1839; DD:100a, dated May 20, 1839; and DD:165a, dated February 13, 1839.

the manuscript, after which he began to write entries at the top of the next page under the heading "1839." The first two marginal entries from that year, DD:188.a and DD:188.b, dated January 1, 1839, were written two days before the main entry to which they belong. This is presumably because Kierkegaard copied the two marginal entries from another manuscript, thus occasioning a break in the chronology.

B.

In those entries which constitute the part of *Journal DD* written from the back of the book, Kierkegaard has written a draft of a loose sketch for a drama with the title "The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar." The draft has no date.

In *EP* Barfod reproduces the two title pages along with the list of characters and, without further argument, puts the date of the composition of the manuscript as 1838 with the remark: "A more precise date is lacking."[1] The editors of *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* likewise date the manuscript to 1838, but do so in parentheses in order to emphasize the uncertainty of this dating.[2] The period of composition has since been debated but without any conclusive result.[3]

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1) *EP* I–II, pp. 166–168.

2) *Pap*. II B 1.

3) In his *Den unge Søren Kierkegaard. En række nye bidrag* [The Young Søren Kierkegaard: A Series of New Contributions] (Copenhagen, 1929), pp. 419ff., Frithiof Brandt has a lengthy section on the drama, in which, among other things, he claims that it was written in reaction to Henrik Hertz's novel *Stemninger og Tilstande* [Moods and Circumstances], which was published in July 1839. Brandt writes that in the piece one can see "Kierkegaard being ironic about the unusual tone of reality in '*Stemninger og Tilstande*' " (p. 429). Brandt dates the composition of the drama to the period between July 1839 and spring 1840. In his work *Kierkegaard's Relation to Hegel* (trans. George L. Stengren, [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980], p. 180f.), Niels Thulstrup closely follows Brandt's theory, whereas Henning Fenger in *Kierkegaard: The Myths and Their Origins* (trans. George C. Schoolfield [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980]), rejects Brandt's dating and writes, "It is Danish intellectuals and their political and philosophical jargon that Kierkegaard parodies—just as he

The title of the draft of the drama appears for the first time on a loose paper, dated August 10, 1836:

> The conflict between the orthodox and rationalists can be interpreted as a conflict between the old and the new soap-cellar, which also has in common with religious conflicts that it develops a considerable terminology, resulting in: (1) The Old Soap-Cellar, where the New Soap-Cellar people live (the rationalists who have bought the building from under the Old Soap-Cellar people, that is, taken possession of the Church), (2) The New Soap-Cellar, where the Old Soap-Cellar people live (the orthodox, who are progressive (Grundtvig), abandon Luther, etc.).[1]

In an entry in *Journal BB*, BB:32, Kierkegaard discusses H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College Which Began in November 1834]. This entry was written between January 27 and February 4, 1837; thus Kierkegaard presumably read the review immediately after it appeared sometime in January 1837.[2] Martensen's review is the point of departure for "The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar" (see section III below).[3] Kierkegaard thus seems to have written this draft in the period immediately after January 27 and no later than May 29, 1837, when he flipped the journal over and began a series of entries, the first of which bears the latter date.

We may conclude then that Kierkegaard began *Journal DD* at the end of January 1837 with the draft of "The Conflict between the Old

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does in *From the Papers of One Still Living* from September 1838. The drama and the debut book coincide in one of their aims. ... They also form a chronological entity. That Thulstrup follows Brandt's dating does not speak favorably for his source criticism. Nothing indicates 1839, everything indicates the spring and summer of 1838," p. 142. (Translation slightly modified.)

1) KA, A pk. 1; published as *Pap*. I A 220.

2) *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 515–528. The final article is dated "the 28th of December 1836," and the number must thus have been published in January of 1837.

3) See explanatory notes to DD:208, pp. 554–557 in this book.

and the New Soap-Cellar," and that he flipped the journal over when he was finished with this draft at the end of May of the same year. What was originally the back now became the front, and here he wrote the first entry on May 29, 1837 and the last on January 29, 1839. The journal thus covers the period from January 1837 to January 1839. The fact that Kierkegaard, following his usual practice, returned and added a few marginal entries later in 1839 does not affect in any material way the dating of the journal as such.

C.

There are similarities in content and some partial overlap in the chronology of *Journal DD* and *Journal FF*, the latter of which contains entries dated from September 13, 1836 to August 18, 1838. With respect to content, there is a series of shorter entries, which appear in both journals word for word or with slight variations. Moreover, Kierkegaard wrote in *Journal AA* from the period covering June 17, 1835 to May 16, 1837 and in *Journal BB* from the period from March 24, 1836 to March 19, 1837. He thus worked on *Journal DD* parallel with *Journals AA*, *BB*, and *FF*.[1]

III. Content

As indicated, *Journal DD* falls into two separate parts: the longer part, which constitutes the actual journal, begins at the front of the book and consists of 207 entries with various marginalia and footnotes; and the shorter part, which was written from the back of the book and consists of the draft of "The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar."

This draft, which is a loose sketch of a student comedy in three acts, represents a satire on H. L. Martensen's promotion of Hegelian philosophy in the period after he had returned to Copenhagen from his long educational trip in the fall of 1836. The draft seems to be inspired by Martensen's comprehensive and programmatic review of J. L. Heiberg's previously mentioned *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire*

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[1]) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal AA*" and "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*."

Høiskole. The satire is not in the first instance directed against Martensen's person or philosophical position, but rather against the affected use of Hegelian language and terminology, which at the time had become fashionable among the students at the University of Copenhagen. In the last part of the comedy the satire is aimed increasingly at Martensen's review and his immediate enthusiasm for Hegelian philosophy. Kierkegaard mimics Martensen's claim that modern philosophy must begin with Descartes's systematic doubt; the philosophers Martensen discusses in his review appear on stage and a number of formulations and phrases employed by Martensen are worked in.

While this back part of the journal forms a whole, the front part of the journal is different. Here the content of the 207 entries is so heterogeneous that it is difficult to give them a collective or definitive characterization; nevertheless, a number of them revolve around the same constellation of themes, while others reflect concrete events.

The journal begins with three entries, which are concerned with articles in the *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* [Journal for Speculative Theology] (ed. Bruno Bauer, vols. 1–3 [Berlin, 1836–38; ASKB 354–357]). They concern Karl Rosenkranz's article "Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie" [A Parallel to the Philosophy of Religion] and Carl Daub's article "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" [The Form of Christian Dogma and Church History]. Kierkegaard is especially occupied with the relation between polytheism and monotheism, which he returns to in DD:7, where he again refers to Rosenkranz and also discusses J. E. Erdmann's article "Ueber den Begriff des Sündenfalls und des Bösen" [On the Concept of the Fall and of Evil] from the same journal. Erdmann's point of view is then discussed in the next two entries (DD:8–9). After this there follows a lengthy excerpt from Rosenkranz's article (DD:10).

Another constellation of themes running through several entries is fairy tales, legends, and popular beliefs. One of the entries is concerned with O. L. B. Wolff's translation from English of *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen* [Mythology of Fairies and Elves] in two volumes (DD:23), another with the brothers Grimm's edition of *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* [Fairy Tales] (DD:18f.), and yet others with their translation, *Irische Elfenmärchen* [Irish Elf Tales] (DD:35.a, 61–61.a, 64, 69–70). Also belonging to this group is the entry DD:40, where reference is made to F. L. F. von Dobeneck's *Des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglaube und Heroensagen* [Popular Beliefs and Heroic

Legends of the German Middle Ages], edited by Jean Paul in two volumes.

Topics and events concerning church history and the history of dogma are treated in about twenty entries. The first, DD:121, is from July 11, 1838, and the last, DD:180, is from December 18, 1838. It is possible that all of them have to do with Kierkegaard's participation in C. T. Engelstoft's private tutorial classes on church history in Summer Semester 1838 and his private lectures on the first part of the history of the church in Winter Semester of 1838–39.[1] The entries reflect that in this period he was reading *Dr. Wilhelm Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie til Brug ved Forelæsninger* [Dr. Wilhelm Münscher's Textbook on the Christian Church History for Use in Lectures], translated by F. Münter, in a new and improved edition revised by J. Møller (Copenhagen, 1831; ASKB 168); K. Hase, *Kirkehistorie. Lærebog nærmest for akademiske Forelæsninger* [Church History, Textbook Primarily for Academic Lectures], translated by C. Winther and T. Schorn (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 160–166); and H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of Church History], 3rd ed., vols. 1–2 (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159).

There are two further themes which ought to be mentioned and which appear in the first part of the journal. One theme comprises about ten references to and discussions of J. G. Hamann. The other theme is irony and humor, not least the humorous aspect of Christianity, which Kierkegaard tries to delineate in a series of entries; here, for example, one can refer to DD:3, 6, and 18, where Hamann is also discussed, as well as DD:36–37, 39, 41–41a, and 68.

One can likewise see how he begins noting down various ideas for future literary projects. Thus in DD:87, dated December 7, 1837, we find: "I would like to write a novella in which a man walked past the plaster-cast seller on Østergade every day, doffed his hat, stood in silence, and then said as he had done regularly every day: 'Oh! you wonderful Greek nature, why was I not allowed to live under your heaven in the days of your prime?' "[2] Three days later he notes the following idea in DD:90: "I would like to write a novella in which the main character is a man who has acquired a pair

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1) The Summer Semester ran from May to September inclusive, and Winter Semester from November to March inclusive.

2) In this volume p. 240.

of spectacles, one lens of which reduces images as powerfully as an oxy-hydrogen microscope and the other magnifies on the same scale, so that he apprehends everything very relativistically."[1]

Parallel with the theological, philosophical, and literary entries, reflections of a more private character are to be found. Of the concrete and personal events that give occasion for entries, three in particular come to mind: first, the death of Poul Martin Møller (DD:101); second, Kierkegaard's religious awakening (DD:113); and third, the death of Kierkegaard's father (DD:126).

The author and philosopher Poul Martin Møller, who was one of Kierkegaard's teachers at the University of Copenhagen, died on March 13, 1838. On April 2, 1838 Kierkegaard notes in DD:101: "I went over to hear Nielsen recite "Glæde over Danmark" [Joy over Denmark] but was so strangely moved by the words: Do you remember the far-traveled man? yes, now he has travelled far—but I for one shall certainly remember him."[2] Kierkegaard did so six years later in the dedication to Poul Martin Møller in *The Concept of Anxiety*.[3]

Many of the personal entries in the journal bear witness to Kierkegaard's increasing religious enthusiasm in the spring and summer of 1838. His brother P. C. Kierkegaard also noticed this and in May 1838 noted in his diary that he, i.e., Søren, began to "come closer not merely to individual Christians, for example, Lindberg, but to Christianity."[4] Some of the entries from this important period in Kierkegaard's life have unfortunately been lost.[5] One key entry in this context, DD:113, however, is indirectly transmitted via *EP*. It is dated May 19, 1838 and reads in full as follows:

> There is an *indescribable joy* that glows through us just as inexplicably as the apostle's unmotivated exclamation: "Rejoice and again I say, Rejoice."—Not a joy over this or that, but a full-

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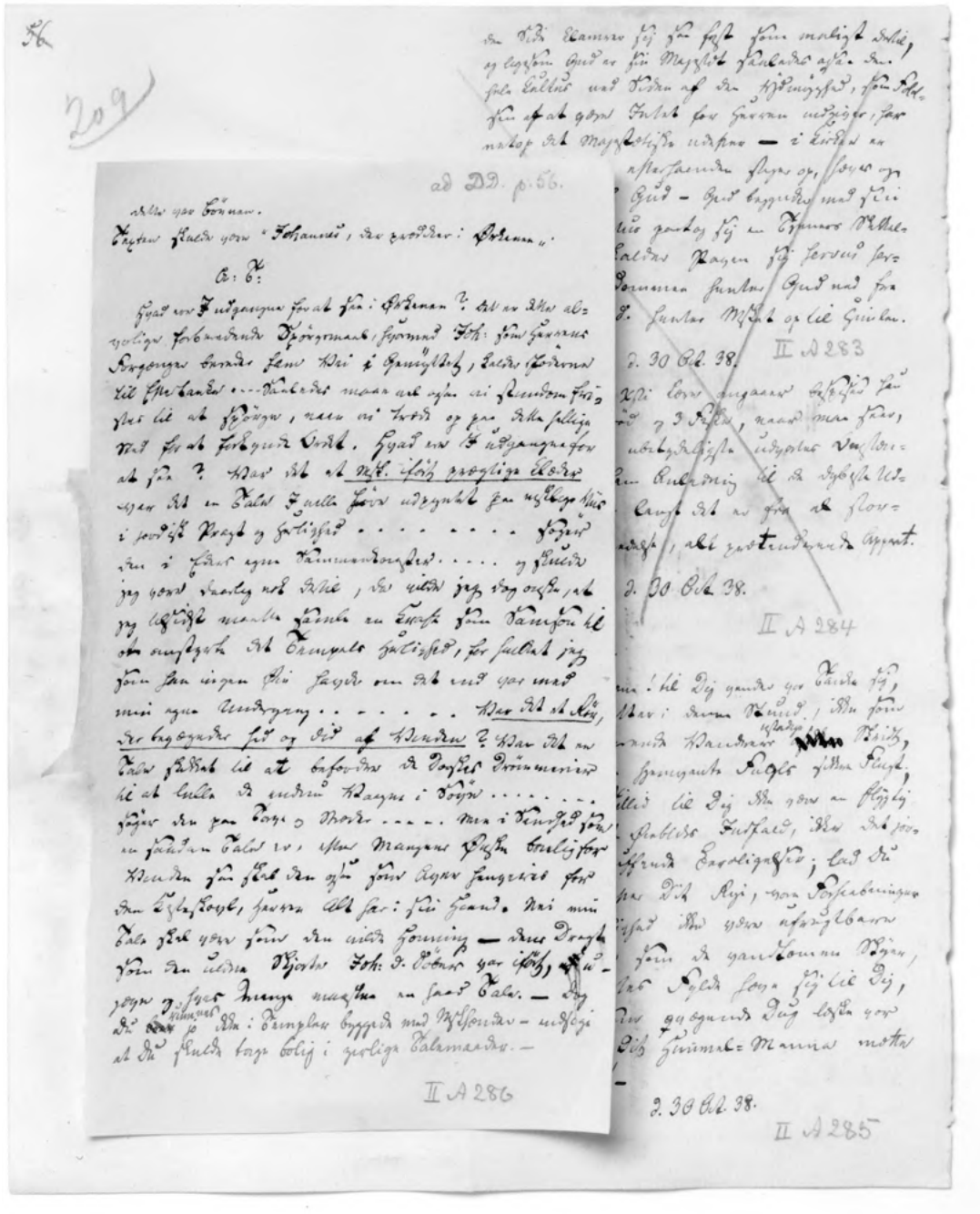
1) In this volume pp. 240–241. The entry appears later in the "Diapsalmata" in *Either/Or* in a modified form. Cf. *SKS*, vol. 2, p. 33.

2) In this volume p. 244.

3) Cf. *SKS*, vol. 4, p. 311.

4) P. C. Kierkegaard's diary 1830–50 (NKS 2656, 4°), p. 98.

5) Namely, seven entries of which only the initial words are preserved in *B-cat*. 440 (the entries appeared in the journal on pp. 41–43).



12. Addition to DD:164.a, written on a slip of paper and glued to the margin; see *KJN* 1, 258–259.

> bodied shout of the soul "with tongue and mouth and from the bottom of the heart": "I rejoice at my joy, of, in, with, at, upon, by, and with my joy"—a heavenly refrain which as though suddenly interrupts our other songs, a joy which like a breath of air cools and refreshes, a puff from the trade winds which blow across the plains of Mamre to the eternal mansions.[1]

Generally *Journal DD* contains many religious deliberations and reflections, and some of the entries toward the end of the journal, from October 1838 to January 1839, are formulated as actual prayers.[2] An addition to a prayer, DD:164a, is written on an octavo page and pasted into the margin on p. 56 of the manuscript.

In the summer of 1838, on the night between August 8 and 9, Kierkegaard's father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard died. Søren Kierkegaard writes about this on August 11, 1838 in DD:126:

> †
>
> My father died on Wednesday, the 8th, at 2:00 a.m. I did so earnestly desire that he should live a few years more, and I regard his death as the last sacrifice his love made for me, because he has not died from me but *died for me*, so that something might still come of me. Most precious of all that I have inherited from him is his memory, his transfigured image, transfigured not by my poetic imagination (it has no need of that), but by many little individual traits I am now learning about, and this I will try to keep most secret from the world. For at this moment I feel there is *only one person* (E. Boesen) with whom I can really talk about him. He was a "good and faithful friend."[3]

Kierkegaard used three entries in *Journal DD* as models for portions of his published writings. An individual passage of DD:113 is used in the foreword to *From the Papers of One Still Living*,[4] and entries

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1) In this volume pp. 245–246.

2) Cf. DD:164, 185, 188.b, 189, 196, and 202.

3) In this volume p. 249.

4) Cf. *SKS*, vol. 1, p. 9.

DD:90 and DD:154 appear in revised form in two of the "Diapsalmata" in the first part of *Either/Or*.[1]

[1]) Cf. *SKS*, vol. 2, p. 33.

Explanatory Notes

205 2 **Carl Rosenkranz (Bauer, Zeitschrift . . . no. 1) p. 1**] Refers to K. Rosenkranz's article "Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie" [A Parallel to the Philosophy of Religion] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie in Gemeinschaft mit einem Verein von Gelehrten* [Journal for Speculative Theology, in Cooperation with a Society of Scholars], ed. Bruno Bauer, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1836–38; ASKB 354–357, abbreviated here as *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 1–31. Rosenkranz begins the article thus: "If it were a matter of reducing the various figures of religion to the one simplest expression, then the following judgments could be made by way of suggestion: / (1) man is God. / (2) God is God. / (3) God is man. / The first judgment is that of all ethnic religions, the second that of all monotheistic religions, the third the judgment of the Christian religion, by which it is recognizable even in its sects." Kierkegaard gives an account of Rosenkranz's article in DD:92. — **Carl Rosenkranz**: Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz (1805–79), German theologian and philosopher; appointed professor extraordinarius at Halle in 1831, and professor ordinarius at Königsberg in 1833. Rosenkranz was one of the age's best known and most versatile Hegelian theologians. Kierkegaard owned several of his works, including his influential *Encyclopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* [Encyclopedia of the Theological Sciences] (Halle, 1831; ASKB 35) (→ 225*m,30*) and his *Psychologie oder die Wissenschaft vom subjectiven Geist* [Psychology, or the Science of Subjective Spirit] (Königsberg, 1837; ASKB 744). — **Bauer**: Bruno Bauer (1809–82), German theologian, privatdocent in Berlin; professor at Bonn from 1839 to 1842.

5 **abstract monotheism**] The common characteristic of the large, non-Christian monotheistic religions, Judaism and Islam. They are said to be abstract since neither of them contains a doctrine of incarnation; i.e., because they deny that Christ is the son of God, these forms of monotheism are not made concrete, but remain abstract.

tautological predications] In a subject-predicate proposition, a predicate which is expressed of a subject whose concept is contained in or identical with it. In the aforementioned article, Rosenkranz writes the following: "Monotheism keeps the human and the divine strictly *apart*. The judgment it reaches, therefore, has the subject itself as its predicate. 'God is God' is a positive analytic judgment" (p. 11). When he writes that abstract monotheism only allows tautological predicates about God, Kierkegaard alludes to Ex 3:14, where it is written: "I am Who I am." 6

עדוני] Error for **אדני**, Hebrew "Adonái," "my Lord." In the *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the OT, it is often transliterated as κύριος, the Lord. Since the Jews were not permitted to utter God's name, Yahweh, the four consonants YHWH were accompanied in the Hebrew text by the vowel symbols for "o" and "a" from "'Adonái" in order to remind the reader that instead of "Yahweh" they should read "'Adonái." The mistaken reading "Jehovah" has its origin in this conflation (→ 210,*36*). 8

the parallelism so characteristic of the Jews] Alludes to "parallelism of members" (often called "parallellismus membrorum"), which is the most important stylistic element in Hebrew poetry and is seen in a repetition of identical or analogous words and/or grammatical structures in two or more successive lines of verse. Such parallelisms can be synonymous (where the content of the two lines is the same, yet expressed in different words), antithetic (where the content of the two lines stands in opposition to one another) and synthetic (where the content of the first line is developed and explicated in the second line), and it can constitute both a piasm (where the parallel terms appear in the same sequence) and a chiasm (where the parallel terms are inverted). 9

plural "Elohim,"] Plural of the Hebrew word "'ēlóach," which means "god"; it is used in the OT as a designation for gods, but often in the "royal we" form about God. 2 205*m*

collective or distributive predicate] The distinc- 3

tion is between a predicate which is said of a plurality but cannot be said of the individual elements of that plurality (a collective predicate), a predicate which can be said of a plurality and can also be said of the individual elements of that plurality (a distributive predicate), and a predicate which is said of a unity, whose possible elements can be separated only in thought but not in actuality.

5 **Gen 3:22**] "Then the Lord God said, 'See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever.' " — **Gen**: Genesis, Greek "creation," "generation."

5 **מִמֶּנּוּ אַחַד**] Should be, אַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ Hebrew "'achád mimmēnnu," "one of us," (Gen 3:22).

8 **Cf. Göschel**] Cf. K. F. Göschel's article "Der Pantheismus und die Genesis" [Pantheism and Genesis] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 184–191, especially p. 188: "The Elohim, אלהים [→ 205*m,2*] constitute the sharpest opposition to the abstract pantheistic God. The *plural* already has in itself individuation as its necessary presupposition: therefore it is written later: *one of us*, מִמֶּנּוּ אַחַד [→ 205*m,5*]. But here this plural, in its double connection with the singular, also indicates the absolute *unity of plurality*, thus the *Trinity*, which to itself becomes object in itself, and again takes itself back into the unity from the difference between subject and object." — **Göschel**: Karl Friedrich Göschel (1781–1861), German official and philosopher, tried without success to unite right and left Hegelians. He later affiliated himself with the right Hegelians and tried, along with them, to combine Christianity with Hegel's philosophy.

13 **the unknown god**] Alludes to Acts 17:23, where Paul, in his speech on the Areopagus, says to the Athenians: "For as I went through the city and looked carefully at the objects of your worship, I found among them an altar with the inscription, 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you."

16 **Daub in the same journal**] Carl Daub (1765–1836), German philosopher and theologian; appointed professor of theology at Heidelberg in 1795. Theologically and philosophically, Daub was influenced by Immanuel Kant early in his career, but later came under the influence of F. W. J. Schelling. He ended as a right Hegelian and one of the leading representatives of speculative theology. Here reference is made to Daub's treatise, "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" ["The Form of Christian Dogma and Church History"] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), which begins in vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–60, is continued in vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 63–132, and completed in vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 88–161.

17 **Es ist nicht der Eine . . . knechtisch verehrte), etc**.] "It is not the One, as a tri-temporal God—he who (first) is, what he (second) was, and (third) will be, what he is—(whom Judaism slavishly worshiped by subordinating the transhistorical belief to the historical belief and by such subordination corrupting itself), etc." Quotation from *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, no. 1, p. 135. Kierkegaard leaves out Daub's italics in "*Eine*" and "drei-*zeitiger*" and has variant orthography and punctuation. After "verehrte" Daub continues: "but rather the *One* as tri*une*, which the teaching of Jesus had revealed and which *Moses* and the *Prophets* had *prophesied* in relation to the founder of this faith and to the life of the founder, the *One* and tri*une*, which the teaching of Jesus—that made the life of Jesus the condition for its historical relation to mankind—revealed to mankind in and by the names, *Father, Son,* and *Holy Ghost*, for mankind's faith and for its knowledge of faith."

15 **Daub's philosophical view**] → 205*m,16*. 205

16 **the 3rd volume of Bauer's journal**] *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 88–161 (→ 205*m,12*).

18 **the natural and the historical sense**] The natural senses and a sense for the historical.

26 **the subject**] Daub speaks of the intelligent, i.e., knowing, subject. The quotation from Daub cited by Kierkegaard appears in a context where Daub is discussing the dependence of the will on nature and history, and continues: "Within this limitation, volition degrades—since in it [volition] the sense for history conditions and *serves* the sense for nature—into a desire for the past if, in memory, the past was pleasurable to the senses and the imagination. And furthermore, this desire degrades into a yearning for the past, which thus is something [arbitrarily] beloved. And this yearning degrades into a longing for its [this past's] return and its temporally and spatially persistent presence. This

longing, a *volition*—though in the form of desire—thus has the equally necessary consequence that the intelligent subject substitutes an act of imagination for this retrograde act of intuition [*Nachschauungsakt*], since it [the retrograde act of intuition] can neither be nor become a directly intuitive act, and merely conditions the representation of the past. Furthermore, with this longing within the intelligent subject—a longing which is only capable of mimicking the already-formed principles of free movement (and these movements themselves)—[the intelligent subject] comes upon this *thought* (madness)," *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,2), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 126f. The passage quoted by Kierkegaard follows afterward.

27 **an dem Vergangenen . . . des Verweslichen habe)**] "In what is past, that which has been for the senses is the imperishable, and in what has been, the natural is the imperishable (and thus it does not hold true in this case that, as the apostle teaches, 'What is sown is perishable, what is raised imperishable,' but rather, since it is the imperishable in itself, it has the appearance of the perishable only until it is perceived again)." Quotation from *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,2), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, p. 127. — **verweslich gesäet werde . . . auferstehe**: Quotation from 1 Cor 15:42.

206 1 **Hamann**] Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88), German scholar and philosophical author, born and raised in Königsberg, where German philosopher Immanuel Kant was the most famous of his numerous friends in the literary and philosophical world. His difficult, allusive works became an important philosophical source for the 19th century's criticism of the Enlightenment's one-sided ideal of reason.

18 **offering his knowledge-greedy . . . his narrow-necked flask**] Alludes to Aesop's fable about the fox and the stork. Cf. *Phædri Æsopiske Fabler* [Phaedrus's Fables of Aesop], trans. M. R. Thaarup (Copenhagen, 1826), book 1, no. 26, p. 14f.: "It is said that the fox invited the stork to dinner and served soup in a flat dish so that it was impossible for the hungry stork to get as much as a single drop. The stork, bearing this treatment in mind, invited the fox to dinner, and placed chitterlings in a long-necked jar into which he could easily put his bill. The stork ate his fill as his guest's stomach growled. For the fox could only lick around the neck of the jar. Then, as legend has it, the foreign bird spoke these words: 'What one has done unto others, one ought to suffer oneself.' "

the mother church] The Roman Catholic church. 30 206

to come back as prodigal sons] Alludes to Jesus's parable of the lost or prodigal son. Cf. Lk 15:11–32. 31

not . . . declare them heretics] While there is indeed no condemnation of the Roman Catholic church in the two earliest Lutheran confessional books *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession] from 1530 and *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* [Apologia for the Augsburg Confession] from 1531, there is one in the later confessional book *Formula Concordiae* [The Book of Concord] from 1580. The latter is not regarded as a confessional book by the Danish Evangelical Lutheran church. — **schüchtern:** German, "bashful." 32

what Catholics do to them] At the meeting of the Catholic church held in Trent in the years 1545–47, 1551–52, and 1562–63 (often referred to as the Council of Trent), Protestants were condemned as heretics; cf., for example, *Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie* (→ 248*m*,24), p. 224. 33

just as it once was with marl] Refers to the mistaken view formerly held by some farmers that marl could replace manure as fertilizer. Thus, they failed to add manure to the soil, with the result that the soil eventually became exhausted; cf., the saying "Mergel giver en rig far, men en fattig søn" ["Marl makes a rich father but a poor son"] (recorded in *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], ed. Videnskabernes Selskab, vol. 4, 1826, p. 133; cf. E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [Collection of Danish Proverbs], vols. 1–2 [Copenhagen, 1879], no. 6433, vol. 2, p. 23). 7 208

the truth is hidden in the mystery] Refers presumably to 1 Cor 2:7, where Paul writes: "But we speak God's wisdom, secret and hidden, which God decreed before the ages for our glory." Cf. also Eph 3:9; Col 1:26 and 2:3. 14 208

εν μυστηριῳ αποκρυφη] Greek "en mystēríō apokrýphē," "hidden in mystery." 14

εν μυστηριῳ] Greek "en mystēríō," "in the mystery" (→ 208,14). 28

30 **My yoke is easy and my burden is not heavy**] Cf. Mt 11:30, where Jesus says: "For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

33 **this purely Socratic view**] Alludes to Socratic ignorance; cf., for example, Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus*, 149d–150c, where Socrates says: "I am so far like the midwife that I cannot myself give birth to wisdom, and the common reproach is true, that, though I question others, I can myself bring nothing to light because there is no wisdom in me. The reason is this. Heaven constrains me to serve as a midwife, but has debarred me from giving birth. So of myself I have no sort of wisdom, nor has any discovery ever been born to me as the child of my soul." (English translation quoted from *Theaetetus*, trans. F. M. Cornford in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961], p. 855.) Cf. also the *Apology*, 21d, where Socrates declares: "At any rate it seems to me that I am wiser than he is to this small extent that I do not think that I know what I do not know." (English translation quoted from *Socrates's Defense (Apology)*, trans. Hugh Tredennick in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, p. 8.)

34 **Hamann**] → 206,1. Perhaps Kierkegaard has in mind "Socratic Memorabilia" (1759), where Hamann says: "Socrates was, gentlemen, no mean critic. He distinguished in the writings of Heraclitus what he did not understand from what he understood, and drew a very proper and modest inference from the comprehensible to the incomprehensible." *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. F. Roth and G. A. Wiener, vols. 1–7 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–25), and vol. 8.1–2 (index volume) (Berlin, 1842–43; ASKB 536–544), vol. 2, 1821, p. 12. (English translation quoted from *Hamann's Socratic Memorabilia*, trans. with commentaries by James C. O'Flaherty [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967], p. 143.)

210 1 **behind this self-degradation ... self-elevation**] Presumably alludes to Mt 23:12, where Jesus says: "All who exalt themselves will be humbled, and all who humble themselves will be exalted."

6 **the least in the kingdom of heaven ... John the Baptist**] Cf. Mt 11:11. John the Baptist, son of Zechariah and Elizabeth, understood himself as preparing the way for the coming Messiah; he lived a strict ascetic life and was active in the desert near the Jordan river where he preached judgment and conversion, baptized the repentant, and gathered a group of followers. His activity was, however, short-lived since the tetrarch Herod Antipas had him arrested and executed shortly thereafter.

in this view of life] Cf. Hamann's letter from October 12, 1759 to J. G. Lindner, where he writes: "Baumgarten, Forstmann, Reichel, Paul, and Kephas are people, and I hear more often with joy the word of God in the mouth of a Pharisee as a witness against his will, than from the mouth of an angel of light." *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,34), vol. 1, p. 497. See BB:37, p. 122 (*Pap*. II A 12, p. 16, note). 10

Balaam's prophesying donkey] Alludes to the story in Numbers 22:22–35 about the soothsayer Balaam who journeyed off on his donkey against God's will. Three times an angel blocked his way; the first two times the ass turned around, but Balaam forced it to continue by beating it. The third time, it could not get past the angel and lay down, even though Balaam beat it. Then God caused the ass to speak, and it said to Balaam: "What have I done to you, that you have struck me these three times?" Balaam answered: "Because you have made a fool of me! I wish I had a sword in my hand! I would kill you right now!" But the ass said: "Have I been in the habit of treating you this way?" "No," answered Balaam. God then opened Balaam's eyes, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing on the road with drawn sword, and he bowed deeply. And the angel said to him: "Why have you struck your donkey these three times? I have come out as an adversary, because your way is perverse before me. The donkey saw me, and turned away from me these three times. If it had not turned away from me, surely just now I would have killed you and let it live." Balaam then confessed his sin, and the angel gave him permission to move on. 13

the changing of wine into water at Cana] Alludes to the story of the wedding in Cana as told in Jn 2:1–11, where it is written that when the wedding party had run out of wine, Jesus changed water to wine. 20

Pharisees and ... their big stone in front of the tomb] Alludes to the story in Mt 27:62–66, where it is reported that the high priests and the Pharisees sought out Pilate and requested that he guard Jesus's tomb for three days in order to prevent his disciples from stealing the body and claiming that Jesus had risen from the dead. If this were to hap- 24

pen, they said, "the last deception would be worse than the first." Pilate provided them with soldiers who stood guard at Jesus's tomb and who placed a seal on the tombstone.—It was not the Pharisees who placed the stone in front of the tomb; Joseph of Arimathea did so after he received the body of Jesus from Pilate. He laid Jesus's body in the tomb, which he had recently had made for himself; cf. Mt 27:57–61.

26 **on the crib . . . the child was wrapped**] Refers to the account of the birth of Jesus in Lk 2:1–7, where it is told that the Virgin Mary gave birth to Jesus in a stable, wrapped him and laid him in a manger. That the infant Jesus is said to have been wrapped in rags seems to be a later age's poetical account of the New Testament story; cf., for example, H. A. Brorson's Christmas hymn, "Frisk op! endnu en Gang" ["Be of Good Cheer, Again!"] (1732), where one reads in the sixth verse: "Jeg har i Stalden funden / Min Skat i Pjalter bunden." ["I have found in the stall / My treasure bound in rags"], *Troens rare Klenodie, i nogle aandelige Sange fremstillet af Hans Adolph Brorson* [Faith's Rare Treasure, Presented in Some Spiritual Songs by Hans Adolph Brorson], ed. L. C. Hagen (Copenhagen, 1834; ASKB 199), p. 19.

27 **the crucifixion between two thieves**] → 210*m*,25.

208*m* 1 **Daub**] → 205*m*,16.

1 **his now-published lectures**] Cf. *D. Carl Daub's Vorlesungen über die philosophische Anthropologie* [Dr. Carl Daub's Lectures on Philosophical Anthropology], ed. P. Marheineke and T. W. D. Dittenberger (Berlin, 1838), in vol. 1 of *D. Carl Daub's philosophische und theologische Vorlesungen* [Dr. Carl Daub's Philosophical and Theological Lectures], ed. Marheineke and Dittenberger, vols. 1–7 (Berlin, 1838–44; ASKB 472–472g). Here Daub defines humor as follows: "The principle of humor is not a tendency, let alone a passion, but it is rather the energy of reason and freedom, independent of all passion, united with thoroughgoing understanding, acute power of judgment, lively fantasy, striking wit. The humorist has a great knowledge of people," p. 481. After giving an account of how the humorist eliminates selfishness and passion by viewing himself from the perspective of infinity, Daub continues: "Not every people has its humorists. In the literature of the Greeks and the Romans, there are none; for satirists are not humorists. In the works of the *satirists*, the finite is merely placed in opposition to the relative. The question of why the ancient world did not have the aesthetic way of thinking which we call humor could be the object of a scholarly investigation. Is it perhaps due to the fact that the eternal light had yet to rise, as it now has in Christianity?" p. 482.

4 **the anc**.] The ancients, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans (see the previous note).

8 **Consider the lilies of the field . . . one of these**] Cf. Mt 6:28–29, where Jesus says: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin, yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of these."

11 **you have revealed these things to the blind**] Alludes to Mt 11:25, where Jesus says: "I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent and have revealed them to infants."

13 **the poor in spirit**] Alludes to Mt 5:3, where Jesus says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

13 **Martha, Martha**] Alludes to Lk 10:41–42, where Jesus says to Martha, who is busy working, while her sister, Mary, sits at Jesus's feet and listens to his words: "Martha, Martha, you are worried and distracted by many things; there is need of only one thing. Mary has chosen the better part, which will not be taken away from her."

18 **There is more joy . . . need repentance**] Cf. Lk 15:7, where Jesus says: "Just so, I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance."

22 **It is easier . . . to enter the kingdom of heaven**] Cf. Mt 19:24.

31 **be the one to cast the first stone**] Cf. Jn 8:7.

36 **שַׁעֲרֵי־מָוֶת**] Hebrew "sha'are-máwæth," "the gate of death," cf. Ps 9:13 and 107:18, see *Biblia hebraica*, ed. A. Hahn, stereotype edition (Leipzig, 1839; ASKB 1), p. 997 and p. 1065.

1 **the Socratic principle**] → 208,33. 210*m*

2 **God be merciful to me a sinner . . . is praised for it)**] Alludes to Jesus's parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector who went into the temple to pray (Luke 18:10–14). The Pharisee stood up and praised himself in his prayer. The tax collector, by contrast, "standing far off, would not even look up to heaven, but was beating his breast and saying,

'God, be merciful to me, a sinner!' " v. 13. Jesus said of the tax collector: "This man went down to his home justified rather than the other," v. 14.

8 **in the Middle Ages parody developed within Xnty itself**] Alludes to "the festival of fools," a popular amusement which was held at New Year in the Middle Ages, in part with the approval of the church as a replacement for the pagan saturnalia. Christians began to participate in such festivals in the 2nd century and, to an even greater degree, in the 4th century. In the 11th century, these were replaced by clerical festivals for lower ranking priests and deacons and by children's festivals for the students of the cathedral schools. During the wild festivals, which included noisy processions and dances in the church, not only were humorous and indecent songs sung, but children, adolescents and deacons also dressed as bishops or even the pope. They also parodied masses, which were often referred to as "fools' masses." In the 13th century, "child bishops," "fool abbots," and even "fool popes" were elected. The fool bishop dressed in clerical robes and was given charge of the official duties of a bishop for one day. Although several attempts were made to eliminate the clerical festivals, and a prohibition was issued in the 16th century forbidding the election of "child bishops," the custom continued in many places into the 18th century. In part 2, chap. 4, of *Der Abt*, Walter Scott talks of these medieval "fools' festivals," cf. *Walter Scott's sämmtliche Werke* (→ 210*m*,*11*), vol. 86, p. 45f.

11 **Walter Scott's der Abbt, Stuttgart 1828**] Refers to the novel *The Abbot* (1820) by Scottish author Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832). Kierkegaard refers to Leonhard Tafel's German translation, *Der Abt eine Fortsetzung des Klosters* in five parts, which constitute vols. 85–89 (Stuttgart, 1828), in *Walter Scott's sämmtliche Werke*, vols. 1–173 (Stuttgart, 1826–33).

12 **II, pp. 40f.: der Narrenpapst . . . der Abt der Unvernunft**] "The fool pope, the child bishop, the abbot of irrationality." In chapters 4–5 in part 2 of *Der Abt eine Fortsetzung des Klosters*, in *Walter Scott's sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 86, pp. 41–76, a carnival-like procession is described which, in imitation of the medieval fools' festivals, intrusively disrupts the ordination of the new abbot in St. Mary's Abbey in order to mock the Catholic church. Of the "fool pope," "the child bishop," and "the abbot of foolishness" it is written on p. 47: "In England and Scotland the miter of the Catholics, the cap of the reformed bishops, the cloak and the tassel of the Calvinist priests served to adorn, one after another, the fool pope, the child bishop, and the abbot of irrationality." Cf. also *Abbeden. En romantisk Skildring af Walter Scott* [The Abbott: A Romantic Sketch by Walter Scott], trans. Andreas Rasmussen, parts 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1823), part 1, p. 197.

between two thieves . . . suffered the punishment he deserved] Alludes to Luke 23:32–33, 23:39–43, where it is told that Jesus was crucified between two thieves, the one on his right side and the other on his left. One of them mocked Jesus, but was rebuked by the other: "Do you not fear God, since you are under the same sentence of condemnation? And we indeed have been condemned justly, for we are getting what we deserve for our deeds, but this man has done nothing wrong," v. 40–41.

expression for Mohammedanism . . . between two magnets] Refers to the legend of Mohammed's (→ 253,*10*) coffin of iron in Medina, which was kept suspended in the air by means of a lodestone; cf., for example, "Mahomed" in Holberg's *Adskillige store Heltes . . . sammenlignede Historier og Bedrifter* [Comparative Stories and Exploits . . . of Several Great Heroes] (1739), see *Ludvig Holbergs udvalgte Skrifter* [Selected Writings of Ludvig Holberg], ed. K. L. Rahbek, vols. 1–21 (Copenhagen, 1804–14), vol. 10, 1807, p. 76. 210

incarnation] "Becoming flesh," "becoming human"; refers to God becoming man in Christ; cf., for example, Jn 1:14.

brothers and coheirs in Xt] A combination of Col 1:2: "faithful brothers and sisters in Christ," and Rom 8:17: "joint heirs with Christ."

individualized polytheism] Cf. K. Rosenkranz's article "Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie" (→ 205,*2*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*, vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 6ff., where Rosenkranz speaks about the individuality of the Greek gods.

concretized monotheism] Cf. J. E. Erdmann's article "Pantheismus die Grundlage der Religion" [Pantheism, the Basis of Religion] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 133–157; p. 147, where, in a discussion about the concept of God in Judaic monotheism, Erdmann speaks of "the concrete Jehovah" in opposition to Elohim (→ 205*m*,*2*) as "the abstraction of God—

divinity." Cf. also Erdmann's article "Ueber den Begriff des Sündenfalls und des Bösen" (→ 211,*10*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*, vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, p. 197f.

36 **Jehovah**] → 205,*8*.

36 **abstract monotheism**] → 205,*5*.

37 **God is one**] Gal 3:20; cf. also Deut 6:4.

211 1 **I am who I am**] Ex 3:14.

2 **Messiah**] Greek transcription of Hebrew "Mashiyách" and Aramaic "Meshichá," corresponding to the Greek "Kristos," "the anointed one."

3 **like Moses**] Moses, the central figure in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, who, at God's command, leads the Israelites out of Egypt, and who on Sinai imparts God's revelation to the people; he is never addressed directly as a prophet in the OT, although in Deut 34:10 he is referred to as the ideal prophet, the like of which will never come again.

3 **there were many prophets among the Jews**] In addition to those prophets to whom the OT books are attributed, a large number of more or less prominent prophets are mentioned in the OT.

5 **Mohammed**] Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Abdel-Muttalib (ca. 570–632), Arab prophet and founder of Islam.

210*m* 29 **no one ascends into heaven ... from heaven**] Cf. Jn 3:13.

211*m* 1 **a slip of paper**] The slip itself is not in KA.

4 **I am who I am**] → 211,*1*.

211 9 **Gen 3:22**] → 205*m*,*5*.

10 **Erdmann (Bauer ... p. 205)**] Refers to J. E. Erdmann's article "Ueber den Begriff des Sündenfalls und des Bösen" [On the Concept of the Fall and of Evil] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, pp. 192–214. In this article, Erdmann notes the difficulty of making consistent what the serpent says, i.e., that man by eating from the tree of knowledge "will be like God" (Gen 3:5), and what God says, i.e., that man "has become like one of us" (Gen 3:22), since the serpent does not seem to have lied. Erdmann tries to answer this as follows: "This difficulty disappears, however, as soon as one takes the words in just that strict sense in which they are given: divinity created man in order that man could be like Him; through the Fall, according to the divine explanation, he has become not like the Elohim, but rather like *one* of the Elohim ... and has thus only *partially* become like the divinity. Thus the serpent indeed lied, since it promised complete likeness with God, but now the likeness has only *partially* come about. That the likeness to which man is destined is first only partial means nothing other than that he has only just begun to become that for which he is destined. That he is *posited* to become that for which he is destined, is progress, but the shortcoming is that he has only just *begun* to be posited as that for which he is destined. The Fall is thus *on the one hand* the discontinuation of the original unity, and therefore it is a *loss*, and God has remorse—*but on the other hand* man has now become that for which he was destined, and this is recognized by God, and thus it is a real *progress*—but *finally* this progress is only a beginning, but only the end is the truth, and that event is therefore a *point of transition*," p. 205. — **Erdmann**: Johann Eduard Erdmann (1805–92), German theologian, philosopher, and historian of philosophy of Hegelian persuasion; appointed professor extraordinarius at Berlin in 1836, and professor ordinarius of philosophy at Halle in 1839.

1 Jn 3:2] 1 Jn 3:2: "Beloved, we are God's children now; what we will be has not yet been revealed. What we do know is this: when he is revealed, we will be like him, for we will see him as he is." 12 211*m*

pantheism ... a moment in religion that is surmounted ... its foundation] Cf. J. E. Erdmann's article "Pantheismus die Grundlage der Religion" (→ 210,*35*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, p. 142: "Precisely because pantheism is the foundation of all religion, precisely for this reason no single religion is pantheism any longer, but rather where religion exists, pantheism has already become a more or less sublated moment and is negated in it. ... Where religion exists, pantheism has therefore become a mere basis, i.e., has been overcome." 14 211

the error in Schleiermacher's definition of religion ... pantheism] Cf. J. E. Erdmann's article "Pantheismus die Grundlage der Religion" in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, p. 143: "We have designated the doctrine of *absolute* dependence on God as the (subjective) standpoint of pantheism. In order to make this standpoint valid as the religious standpoint, Schleiermacher lets the subject, albeit with a *mini-* 16

mum of self-activity, *stand confronting* the divine for a moment (and from here, he derives the *feeling* of dependence). Thus, there is no longer a consistent pantheism, but it has gone beyond itself, if only slightly. As soon as Schleiermacher moves to the ethical religions in which the self-activity of the subject comes forth, it happens even more. Given this position, one can offer a critique of Schleiermacher's standpoint as internally contradictory, i.e., it is both too pantheistic and not pantheistic enough. It is *not* pantheistic *enough* in the sense that the foundation of religion which he sets up in the introduction of his *Glaubenslehre* is no longer pure pantheism, but rather already a duality, an opposition of feeling and the divine. But it is *too* pantheistic in the sense that pantheism does not remain in the *foundation* of his works, but is rather raised (raises its head) in the development of religion; and therefore too much has happened already for a mere foundation, since feeling is already there, which is too little for religion itself since the dependence is still absolute." — **Schleiermacher**: Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian, philosopher of religion, and classical philologist; ordained pastor in Berlin in 1796, appointed professor extraordinarius at Halle in 1804, and professor of theology at Berlin in 1810 (→ 240,*1*). In his early work *Über die Religion, Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (Berlin, 1799), Schleiermacher defines religion as an intuition and feeling of the universe, i.e., as an immediate experience of the infinite in the finite. Religion must not be confused with metaphysics or ethics. In his dogmatics, *Der christliche Glaube,* (→ 211,*18*) Schleiermacher excludes intuition from his definition of religion. Here it is defined as an immediate feeling of absolute dependence, which, in its clarified form, appears as an immediate consciousness of God in self-consciousness, since the word "God" is the most unambiguous expression for the authority upon which human beings feel absolutely dependent. Schleiermacher defines the task of dogmatics as that of giving a clear doctrinal presentation of the testimony of faith, a kind of doctrine of language for the presentation of Christianity, since the content of the Christian faith cannot be objectified as a doctrine of God. Here he clearly distinguishes himself both from the traditional Protestant dogmatics of the age and from Hegelian speculative dogmatics. Even though Schleiermacher did not found a school, he did have a widespread influence on dogmatics in the 19th and 20th centuries. (For English translations, cf. *The Christian Faith*, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999]; *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, trans. Richard Crouter [Cambridge University Press, 1996]).

he makes that moment of extra-temporal fusion . . . into religion] Cf., for example, § 8.2 in Schleiermacher's *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* [The Christian Faith, in Accordance with the Principles of the Evangelical Church, Presented in Context], 3rd ed., vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1835–36; ASKB 258, abbreviated hereafter as *Der christliche Glaube*. The first edition was published in Berlin in 1821–22, but the 2nd, revised edition from 1830 was far more influential; the 3rd edition is an unchanged reprint of the 2nd edition), vol. 1, pp. 44–46. *18*

Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie . . . pp. 1–32.)] → 205,*2*. *20* 211

He shows that . . . Mensch] "(1) Man is God. (2) God is God. (3) God is man." Excerpt from p. 1 (→ 205,*2*). *23*

ethnicism . . . posit a unity . . . submit] Excerpts from pp. 1 and 2. — **ethnicism**: Rosenkranz (→ 205,*2*) speaks of ethnic religions as identical to pagan religions; he writes that pagan religions are only religions isofar as they unify divine nature with human nature. He continues: "But these religions have precisely *that* shortcoming of positing the unity as immediate rather than self-mediating and, at the least, when a mediating process has taken place, of forgetting it again in the result. The synthetic judgment [man is God] is therefore an assertoric judgment." — **assertoric judgment**: A judgment in which something is asserted as true, in contrast to a problematic judgment in which something is asserted as possible and an apodictic judgment in which something is asserted as necessary. — **Zauberer**: Magician, the shaman of the natural religions. — **elementary powers**: Natural forces. *29*

In the Indian . . . the lama is God immediately] Excerpts from p. 3. — **brahmin**: Indian sacrificial priest. — **Lama**: Tibetan Buddhist monk. Rosenkranz identifies Tibetan Buddhism with Buddhism in general. — **the Catholic clergy**: Rosenkranz *34*

writes the following: "It is the same situation which is posited in the Roman Catholic church, except on colossal scale, namely, the priesthood is treated as a *character indelebilis* [Latin, "indelible character"], so that the actual behavior of the subject need not be in harmony with dignity of his office, but the same respect must be shown him, regardless," p. 3.

212 4 **In dualistic . . . puts a limit on it)**] Excerpts from p. 5 and p. 6. — **him**: namely, the human being who participates in the struggle between good and evil, between light and darkness. Rosenkranz writes: "For in all dualistic systems, man assumes the position of being a *co-combatant* for one substance against the other," p. 5. — **the abstract quietism**: Rosenkranz uses the expression "the abstract quietism" in connection with the Buddhist doctrine of the elimination of desire. — **substance**: The word is used here by Rosenkranz about good (positive substance) and evil (negative substance), respectively, since in dualism these are ascribed to the character of an object or a person, i.e., are conceived as something substantial and not as moral properties reflected in actions.

10 **With the Greeks it was the religion of art . . . (Aristophanes)**] Excerpts from p. 6, p. 7, and p. 8. — **Heracles**: (Roman, Hercules), the most popular and most worshiped hero of ancient mythology. — **the hero**: Rosenkranz makes the claim that neither religions of nature nor pantheism have a concept of the hero but that this first arose in and with dualistic religions, where existence is viewed as a struggle between good and evil. — **the dialectic of thought**: The idea that every conceptual determination of what something is, produces ("passes over into") its negation, i.e., into a conceptual determination of what it is not, after which the original determination and its negation are united in a richer determination of the given thing. Rosenkranz writes: "The hero, who raises himself to divinity through action, has his counterpart in the *atheist*, who, through the dialectic of thought, denies his own faith in the gods," p. 7. — **Aristophanes**: Greek comic poet (ca. 445–ca. 385 B.C.). Rosenkranz describes how tragic heroism develops into comedy which "makes the *accidental* individuality the absolute." This implies that Greek art religion, i.e., worship of beautiful individuality ("man is god"), is dissolved. He continues: "Aristophanes has long been insufficiently recognized for this dissolution of the religion of art. In his essay on natural right and in the *Phenomenology*, Hegel has shown the deepest perception on this matter, but only summarily. In his book on Aristophanes, *Rötscher* has pursued this thought further," p. 8.

19 **The Romans . . . made himself God**] Excerpts from p. 9 and p. 10. — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, privatdocent from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. — **Ernsthaftigkeit**: seriousness, often associated with moral earnestness (→ 230*m,1*). — **R.**: the Romans.

22 **Er hat nicht . . . die immer als Resultat erscheint**] "He does not have to give his will a determinate direction like the Emperor of China; he does not live like a lama in a monkish quietism; he is no hero like Rostem; he is no artist like a Phidias or a Scopas, who created the divine ideal and thereby finally came to experience himself as the power of religion; through the title, through the name, he (knows) himself as the unconditioned power. This apotheosis is the caricature of the Hellenic apotheosis, which always appears as a result." Quotation from p. 10. — **Rostem**: Rustam (or Rustem), hero from ancient Iranian legend. — **Phidias**: Sculptor from Athens (born ca. 490 B.C.). — **Scopas**: Greek sculptor from Paros, the second largest island in the Cyclades in the Aegean (4th century B.C.).

32 **Monotheism . . . against whom man must not strive**] Excerpts from pp. 12, 13, and 14. — **Deism**: The religious view which conceives of God as a distant creator who set the world in motion and, as the absolute law-giver, placed the moral law in the human soul. Since then, however, God has remained at a distance from the existing world and the human life within it. — **the first books**: The first 5 books in the OT. — **Moses**: → 211,*3*. — **in Job**: The book of Job in the OT.

40 **Mohammedanism develops . . . his guidance becomes fatalism**] Excerpts from p. 16 and p. 17.

42 **Deism basically reverses . . . deserved bliss.)**] Excerpt from p. 19 and part of p. 24, where Rosenkranz discusses the deistic phrase: "When human beings exists, so also does—since they need His happiness to have their own—God exist."

6 213 **Xianity. Paganism . . . examples of this**] Excerpts from pp. 21 and 22. — **Substance**: Here substance

is the absolute in its historical development. Each historical phase is overturned or overpowered by passing over into its opposite; paganism's worship of man and the beautiful individuality is thus also destroyed. Rosenkranz writes: "Substance, in its fermentation, destroys the weak vessel; . . . in pantheism, quietist orgies of rage, contemplating suicide; in dualism, intoxicating sexual orgies and heroic berserker fury rage; the Roman emperor *seeks* least of all to transcend himself. He is not a pantheon, gathering the beautiful gods in an amicable unity; he is only the abyss into which they disappear, which is also why ugliness and unnaturalness are the order of the day, rather than plastic limitation in which form and content merge together." — **Suetonius's Vitæ Imperatorum**: Latin, "Lives of the Caesars" by Suetonius. In his *De vita Caesarum*, Roman historian Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (born ca. 70) wrote biographies of twelve Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian in which he described their excesses in detail. Cf. *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* [Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus's Description of the Lives of the first Twelve Roman Emperors], trans. J. Baden, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1802–3; ASKB 1281).

12 **Hegel: "Sich so als den Inbegriff . . . Ausschweifung]** "In this knowledge of himself as the sum and substance of all actual powers, this lord and master of the world is the titanic self-consciousness that thinks of itself as being an actual living god. But since he is only the *formal* self which is unable to tame those powers, his activities and self-enjoyment are equally monstrous." Quotation from p. 22. The "lord and master of the world" refers to the emperor. In Hegel (→ 212,*19*) the quotation is found in *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550), in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Complete Edition] vols. 1–18 (Berlin, 1832–45, abbreviated here as *Hegel's Werke*), vol. 2, p. 363 (*Jub*. vol. 2, p. 371). (English translation quoted from *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977], p. 292f.)

18 **Xnty is the negative identity . . . concrete unity]** Excerpts from pp. 23 and 24. — **negative identity**: The identity of opposites, an identity in which difference is preserved. — **assertoric**: → 211,*29*. — **categorical**: A categorical judgment is one in which a predicate is either ascribed to a subject or denied of the subject. — **problematic**: → 211,*29*. — **hypothetical**: A hypothetical judgment has the form: "If this is the case, then something else is also the case." Rosenkranz explains how the categorical judgment of monotheism, "God is God," becomes hypothetical in Christianity by taking the form: "If God exists, then also—through him—man exists (namely, the God-man, Jesus)." — **apodictic**: → 211,*29*. — **disjunction**: Exclusion, opposition. The line of reasoning here is that, in Christianity, there is a relationship of opposition between God and man, but this opposition is united or mediated in the God-man, Jesus.

Weil Gott . . . wird er es auch] "Since God in himself is man, he thus becomes man also." Quotation from p. 25. *26*

It is not like the incarnations in Indian pantheism . . . the stamp] Excerpt from p. 25. The gods of Hinduism appear in many different forms (incarnations); for example, the Vedic god Vishnu is worshiped in many different incarnations. *27*

But neither is it a human becoming . . . consciousness] Excerpt from p. 26. *30*

Xnty therefore contains . . . life-view] Excerpt from p. 30. *32*

Das tragische der Kunstreligion . . . nur eine secundäre] "The tragic element in the religion of art was the pain of inconceivable death which, though it did not exactly negate the enjoyment of beautiful cheerfulness, as in Egypt, nevertheless was deeply troubling. The sad element in monotheism was the burden of law, which human beings certainly recognized as the sacred law of God, but not as their own. Even the autonomy of theoretical reason and the autarchy of practical reason in deism is only a secondary autonomy." Quotation from pp. 30f. *33*

Indeed, it was very good] Alludes to Genesis 1:31: "God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good." The expression "saare godt" ["very good"] does not appear in any of the official Danish Bibles from 1550 to 1740 (it appears for the first time in the authorized translation of the OT from 1931); however, it was used by Hans Tausen in his translation of *De fem Mosebøger* [The Pentateuch] from 1535, just as it was used in the articles in *Dr. M. Luthers liden Catechismus* [Dr. M. Luther's Small Catechism], published in 1693 and *2* 214

subsequent editions (cf. ASKB 189, an edition from 1849). The expression was then used by others; cf., for example, the account of the creation in S. B. Hersleb, *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien. Udarbeidet især med Hensyn paa de høiere Religionsklasser i de lærde Skoler* [Textbook on Bible History. Prepared Especially with Respect to the Advanced Classes in the Preparatory Schools], 3rd printing (Copenhagen, 1826 [1812]; ASKB 186 and 187), p. 2. Cf. also the ritual for marriage in *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Official Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381), p. 261.

3 **It is finished**] Jn 19:30.

214*m* 1 **it was also said before man was created**] In Gen 1:25, before God created human beings, it is written: "And God saw that it was good," while in Gen 1:31, after God has created human beings (cf. Gen 1:26–27), it is written: "God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good."

5 **No one is good but God**] Alludes to Mk 10:18, where Jesus says to the rich man: "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone."

8 **what Hegelians would call pure being**] Hegel (→ 212,*19*) begins his logic with "pure being" which is the utmost abstraction from all concrete determinations; cf. *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1833–34 [1812–16]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 3, p. 77 (*Jub*. vol. 4, p. 87): "*Being, pure being*, without any further determination." (English translation quoted from *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller [London: George Allen and Unwin, 1989], p. 82.) Cf. also *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, ed. L. v. Henning, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1840–45 [1817]; ASKB 561–563, abbreviated here as *Encyclopädie*), vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 6, p. 165, § 86 (*Jub*. vol. 8, p. 203): "*Pure being* makes the beginning, because it is pure thought as well as the undetermined, simple immediate, and because the first beginning cannot be anything mediated and further determined." (English translation quoted from *The Encyclopaedia Logic. Part One of the Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. T. F. Gerats, W. A. Suchting, H. S. Harris [Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991], p. 136.) H. L. Martensen characterizes pure being as follows: "pure being = nothing. Of all determinations of thought, this is the most empty and devoid of content, and also that from which it is *impossible* to abstract. It is the one category which is without presupposition but which is itself presupposed and contained in all others. Only here does thought win a foothold and only here can knowledge of the truth independent in itself truly begin," Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College Which Began in November 1834] (Copenhagen, 1835, abbreviated here as *Indlednings-Foredrag*), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 521f.

all God's deeds being good] There are a number of places where this idea appears; cf. especially Jas 1:17: "Every generous act of giving, with every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variation or shadow due to change." *11*

Phil 1:6] Phil 1:6: "I am confident of this, that the one who began a good work among you will bring it to completion by the day of Jesus Christ." *15*

the miraculous . . . (time and space)] Cf. Daub's treatise "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" (→ 205*m*,*12*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 95–103. — **sit venia verbo**: Latin, "if you will," "excuse the expression." — **manifestation**: revelation, appearance. *6* 214

If they do not hear Moses . . . rise from the dead] Refers to Lk 16:31, where these words are spoken by Abraham about the rich man's brothers in Jesus's parable about Lazarus and the rich man. — **Moses**: → 211,*3*. *11*

Daub (in Bauer's *Journal*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 103)] Carl Daub's treatise "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" (→ 205*m*,*16*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, p. 103. *21*

Bei dieser Forderung . . . ist gestellt habe] "However, with this requirement—for if the miracle is to be believed as a fact which is certain and true, it must be conditioned [as a certain and true fact] in a *necessary* fashion—*freedom* is ignored in history and *necessity* is ignored in nature. For the miracle—a *free* act—should be seen as if it were a *natural* event, it should be experienced; those present at the ascension of the savior of the world *saw only* his removal from earth, but not the unconditional free- *24*

dom, i.e., the power of his removal. The truth, which this miracle is, realizes itself and has its reality in the *power* of this movement, not in its fleeting and ephemeral *appearance*. Thus, as long as the doubter and the unbeliever do not give up the demand that a proof of the truth of miracles be given from the standpoint of history or nature, they prove that, in miracles, unconditional freedom has placed itself either under the law of causality (as in a *pragmatizing* theory of history) or under the sensuousness which miracles have in common with animality (as in a *merely empirical* theory of nature)." Quotation from *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, p. 103 to the top of p. 104. — **pragmatisirenden Geschichts- ... Kunde**: Daub contrasts a theory of history which recounts the causes of historical phenomena (a pragmatic history) with a theory of history which, similar to a merely descriptive natural science, only describes or presents historical facts.

215 *8* **true what Daub says ... life story**] Refers to Carl Daub's treatise "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" (→ 205*m,16*) in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, no. 1, 1837, p. 88f.: "*Jesus*' words to his parents (his first words in the gospel): 'Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?' (Lk 2:49); his words to his disciples: 'We must work the works of him who sent me while it is day; night is coming when no one can work.' (Jn 9:4; cf. 5:17), and his words to all humanity: 'It is finished,' (Jn 19:30)—these three statements contain the many data to which all others correspond, i.e., the teachings he reveals, the deeds he does, the suffering he endures, and the gospels about him; and if only one explores the relation of any of these other data to these aforementioned three statements—as well as the relation of every fact that is either only indicated by each datum, or of every fact (concerning prophecy and miracles) that is described by each datum—then one recognizes the form in its sublime unity with its content, undisturbed by any conflict, and one grasps the object (the life of *Jesus*, as the only one which is *just as* divine *as* human) of the history of the age."

9 **Knew you not ... my father's business**] Lk 2:49.

10 **I must work the works ... no man can work**] Jn 9:4.

It is finished] Jn 19:30. *12*

He is tempted] Refers to Mk 1:13: "He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan." Cf. also Mt 4:1–11. *15*

My God, why hast thou forsaken me?] Mt 27:46. *15*

αποκαραδοκια της κτισεως] Greek "apokaradokía tēs ktíseōs," "longing for creation." Quotation from Rom 8:19. *17* 215

F. de la Motte Fouqué] Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843), German author, wrote, among other things, the fairy tale, *Undine* (1811). *20*

Hoffmann] Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776–1822), German jurist, writer (often of novellas containing fairy tales), composer, and philosopher of music; composed, among other things, the opera *Undine* (performed 1816) to the text of Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué. *21*

Ingemann] Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789–1862), Danish writer, published the fairy tale *De Underjordiske* [The Dwellers of the Underworld] (1817), *Eventyr og Fortællinger* [Tales and Stories] (1820), and *Varulven, Den levende Døde, Corsicaneren. Tre Fortællinger* [The Werewolf, The Living Dead, The Corsican: Three Stories] (1835). *21*

You shall bruise its head when it wounds your heel] Refers to Gen 3:15, where God says to the serpent, after it had seduced Eve into eating from the tree of knowledge: "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel." *27* 215

Krishna] The Hindu divinity Krishna, who died from a stray arrow which hit his foot. *29*

Hercules] Roman name for the Greek hero Heracles (→ 212,*10*). This presumably refers to Achilles, who could only be wounded in the heel; he was ultimately killed by an arrow to the heel. *29*

Balder] The Nordic god Balder, who could be harmed by nothing but mistletoe; he was killed by a branch of mistletoe made into an arrow. *29*

The Middle Ages, being romantic] Around 1800, the word "romantic" was used in two senses, one chronological and one typological. In the chronological sense, the word designated the artistic tradition of the Middle Ages, whose Christian art was conceived in opposition to the classical and the *31* 215

modern. In the typological sense, the word designated the treatment of feelings and passions in the novel [Ger. *Roman*]. Hegel (→ 212,*19*) defined the content of romantic art as "absolute inwardness," exemplified especially in the Christian art of the Middle Ages; he uses the word primarily in the chronological sense; cf. *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, ed. H. G. Hotho, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1835; ASKB 1384–1386), vol. 2, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 10.2, p. 122f. (*Jub*. vol. 13, p. 122f.). (English translation: *Hegel's Aesthetics. Lectures on Fine Art*, vols. 1–2, trans. T. M. Knox [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, 1998], vol. 1, p. 519.) In Heinrich Heine (→ 226,*25*), for example, the two senses are combined: "What then was the Romantic school in Germany? It was nothing other than the reawakening of the poetry of the Middle Ages as it manifested itself in the songs, painting and architecture, and art and life of the Middle Ages. But this poetry has emerged from Christianity, it was a passionflower that sprouted forth from Christ's blood," *Die romantische Schule* [The Romantic School] (Hamburg, 1836 [1833]; ASKB U 63), p. 7.

33 **the seven sleepers**] The legend of the seven martyrs of Ephesos, who slept for 200 years in a cave that had been walled shut, is taken up again in *Legenda aurea*; it is retold in B. S. Ingemann's *Huldre-Gaverne eller Ole Navnløses Levnets-Eventyr fortalt af ham selv* [Gifts from the Huldre or Ole Nameless's Life's Adventure Told by Himself] (Copenhagen, 1831).—**Huldre:** Legendary sirens with cow-tails who lure young men up to the mountains and lose their tails if they marry them.

216 5 **the simple parallelism**] → 205,*9*.

6 **1000 years . . . one day as 1000 years**] Cf. 2 Pet 3:8: "But do not ignore this one fact, beloved, that with the Lord one day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like one day."

7 **a genuine speculative statement . . . perfects it**] According to Hegel (→ 212,*19*), concepts stand in a dialectical relation to one another such that a given concept is not merely negated or destroyed (for example, "north and not-north"), but rather negated and at the same time preserved by its opposite (for example, "north and south"). Hegel calls this negation and simultaneous preservation "Aufhebung" [sublation]. A "speculative statement" is a statement which expresses the organic unity of such opposite concepts (for example, "a road to the north is also a road to the south"). Here "one day" and "1000 years" are said to be in a dialectical relation of opposition of this kind.

Oehlenschlaeger] Adam Oehlenschläger (1779– 12 216
1850), Danish poet, titular professor in 1809, professor extraordinarius of aesthetics in 1810, rector of the University of Copenhagen during the 1831–32 academic year.

O bloom . . . He to what avail, etc.] Quotation from 13
the poem "Morgen-Vandring" [Morning Walk] in the section "Langelands-Reise" [Langeland Journey] in *Adam Oehlenschlägers Poetiske Skrifter* [The Poetic Writings of Adam Oehlenschläger], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1597), vol. 1, p. 364: "Smaablomster! Ak som det Eder gaaer, / Saa gaaer det mig. / En stakkels Poet, som en Kornblomst staaer, / Og græmmer sig. / Det nærende Korn kun i Veien han er; / Hvad retter han ud? / Han hæver sit barnlige Farveskier / Kun fromt til Gud!" [Little flower! / Alas, your fate / Is mine as well. / A poor poet, who stands / Like a cornflower / And grieves. / To the nourishing grain / He is merely a nuisance. / What does he accomplish? / He merely hoists his childish colors / In piety to God!].

brothers in Xt,] → 210,*34*. 28 216

Didn't he love John more than the others] Alludes 31
to Jn 13:23, 19:26, 20:2, 21:7, 21:20, where John is referred to as "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

Poul Møller] Poul Martin Møller (1794–1838), Dan- 32
ish philosopher and poet, appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen in 1830.

spiritual pederasty, as Hamann says] Cf. "Fünf 35
Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend" [Five Pastoral Letters Concerning School Drama] (1763), in *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,*34*), vol. 2, 1821, p. 434, where Hamann (→ 206,*1*) uses the expression "die Schande der heiligen Päderastie" ["the shame of the sacred pederasty"].

nil admirari] Latin, "marvel at nothing"; familiar 4 217
quotation following the opening words in Horace's letters, book 1 (*Epistolarum I*), no. 6.1; cf. *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*, stereotype edition (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 1248), p. 232. J. Baden translates the first sentence of the letter: "Intet at beundre . . . er næsten det første og eneste, som kan tilveiebringe og vedligeholde Lyksalighed" [" 'Marvel at nothing'—that is

perhaps the one and only thing . . . that can make a man happy and keep him so"]; and he adds the following remark to the first statement: "intet at ansee som Stort, intet værd at attraae, eller at frygte for" ["regard nothing as great, desire nothing, and fear nothing"], *Horatius Flaccus's samtlige Værker*, trans. J. Baden, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1792–93), vol. 2, pp. 299 and 304. (English translation quoted from Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough [Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1961], p. 287.) Horace's statement is an extension of Pythagoras's τὸ μηδὲν θαυμάζειν ("tò mēdèn thaumázein," "never be amazed") and the Greek philosopher's life rules about "athaumastia," i.e., "undisturbedness," for example, the Epicureans' "ataraxia" and the Stoics' "apatheia," which prescribe calm of mind and freedom from the passions as the highest good and as the ideal condition of the wise man. Similar "negative" moral principles are also found in Cynicism and Skepticism.

14 **non fluens**] Latin, "not fluid," i.e., what does not flow.

14 **molimina**] Latin, "difficulties," "efforts."

15 **Harmony—the beautiful**] In Pythagorean-Platonic aesthetics, the beautiful is identified with the harmonic, the well-ordered and well-proportioned; cf. Plato's dialogue *Philebus*, 64e, where Socrates says that "the qualities of measure and proportion invariably, I imagine, constitute beauty and excellence." (English translation quoted from *Philebus*, trans. R. Hackforth in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961], p. 1147.) After German art historian Johann Winckelmann published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* [History of the Art of Antiquity] in 1755, Greek art and the Greek world generally were conceived as the result of a Greek national character which strived for harmony. Winckelmann's conception of individual epochs of art history as organic units had great influence on German idealism's understanding of art and antiquity. Hegel is in line with Winckelmann when he writes (→ 212,*19*) of the Greek world: "This kingdom is consequently true harmony; the world of the most charming, but perishable or quickly passing bloom;" cf. his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. E. Gans and K. Hegel (Berlin, 1840 [1837]), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 9, p. 131 (*Jub.* vol. 11, p. 153). (English translation quoted from Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree [New York: Wiley Book Co., 1944), p. 106.])

a view of life appeared] i.e., Christianity. 20

all nature was corrupt] Cf., for example, Kierkegaard's notes to § 38 from Professor H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics in Winter Semester 1833–34 and Summer Semester 1834, where one reads that Augustine claimed "that all human beings have sinned in and with Adam and have received as just punishment a corrupt nature at birth, which only has the freedom to do evil" (Not1:6 / *Pap*. I C 19, in vol. XII, p. 83). 21

Paul . . . everything is new in Xt] Alludes to 2 Cor 5:17, where Paul writes: "So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!" 29

more recent . . . idealist philosophy] Refers primarily to J. G. Fichte and G. W. F. Hegel and perhaps also to the latter's Danish followers J. L. Heiberg and H. L. Martensen, who were eager to convert their fellow Danes to Hegel's philosophy. 7 216*m*

Haman] Hamann → 206,*1*. 2 217*m*

hear wisdom from Balaam's donkey . . . an apostle] → 210,*10*.—**Balaam's donkey**: → 210,*13*. 3

heavenly ladder . . . the opened heaven] Alludes to Gen 28:12, where Jacob sees, in a dream, "a ladder set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it," and to Jn 1:51, where Jesus says: "You will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." 7

the giants'] According to Greek mythology, Gaea's sons, the giants, stormed heaven and Zeus's throne; hence the expression, "storming heaven." 9

taking God's kingdom by force] Alludes to Mt 11:12: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and the violent take it by force." 11

Jean Poul] Jean Paul, pseudonym for Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825), German author, who wrote a large number of novels and novellas in a disconnected, loquacious, usually humorous or satirical style. He was neither a Romantic nor a classicist (like Goethe, his contemporary), but rather the last representative of the 18th century's age of sensibility. He chose his pseudonym after his intellectual hero, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Jean Paul was 13

one of the 19th century's most read and quoted authors. He also had a significant influence as a theoretician of aesthetics with his *Vorschule der Aesthetik* [Elementary Course in Aesthetics] published in 1804, 2nd expanded ed., vols. 1–3 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813; ASKB 1381–1383). Kierkegaard owned *Jean Paul's sämmtliche Werke* [The Complete Works of Jean Paul], vols. 1–60 (Berlin, 1826–28; ASKB 1777–1799).

13 **the greatest humorous capitalist**] The idea is perhaps that in his extensive authorship, Jean Paul had the largest "collection of capital" in the form of humorous ideas, descriptions, and situations.

16 **its ironical juxtapositions . . . in Schubert's "Symbolik"**] *Die Symbolik des Traumes* [The Symbolism of Dreams], 2nd ed. (Bamberg, 1821 [1814]; ASKB 776). Cf., for example, p. 41: "Thus this same (ironic) juxtaposition of the most distant extremes is also found elsewhere in nature. In the association of ideas in nature, the rational, temperate human being is followed by the mad ape; the wise, chaste elephant, is followed by the unclean pig; the horse by the donkey; the ugly camel by the slender deer. The bat [Fledermaus]—which, dissatisfied with the usual lot of mammals, tries to imitate the bird—is followed in a different respect by the mouse [Maus], which hardly dares emerge from the earth; and again, the giddy, always restlessly moving ape is followed by the indolent loris; and in the eyes of dreaming nature, even the sloth seems, because of a certain simian outward facial profile, not so very distant from the ape."

18 **Schubert**] Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1780–1860), German physician, natural scientist, and philosopher, appointed professor of natural science at Erlangen in 1819, and at Munich in 1827. Schubert was influenced by F. W. J. Schelling's philosophy of nature and later (ca. 1820) came under the influence of a mystic-pietistic asceticism.

21 **the man . . . who standing ten miles away . . . by blowing through the other**] Alludes to the fairy tale "Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt" [How Six Men Got on in the World] in *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, ed. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm, 2nd ed., vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1819–22 [1812]; ASKB 1425–1427), vol. 1, pp. 378–385. Here one reads of how a man (a great warrior) and his two servants, one a woodcutter and the other a hunter, came upon "seven windmills whose arms were turning with great speed, and yet there wasn't the slightest wind to either side; not even a leaf stirred. Then the man spoke: 'I don't know what's driving the windmills. There isn't the slightest puff of wind!' He continued on with his servants, and when they had walked two miles, they saw a man sitting in a tree, holding one nostril closed and blowing out the other. 'My good sir, what are you doing up there?' asked the man. He answered: 'Two miles from here are seven windmills; I'm blowing on them so they'll turn!' " p. 379.

the 3 kings from the East . . . precious incense] 35 217
Alludes to the story in Mt 2:1–12 about the wise men from the East. "In the time of King Herod, after Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, wise men from the East came to Jerusalem, asking 'Where is the child who has been born king of the Jews? For we observed his star at its rising, and have come to pay him homage,' " v. 1–2. After they had spoken with Herod, who sent them to Bethlehem, they departed, "and there, ahead of them, went the star that they had seen at its rising, until it stopped over the place where the child was. When they saw that the star had stopped, they were overwhelmed with joy. On entering the house, they saw the child with Mary his mother; and they knelt down and paid him homage. Then, opening their treasure chests, they offered him gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh," v. 9–11.

draperies] Cf. an entry from August 4, 1836 written 37
on a loose sheet of paper: "In a way the Romantic can also be seen in the drapery which modern art gives its statues and paintings (allegory in a way)" (*Pap*. I A 218).

put new wine in old leathern bottles] Cf. Mt 9:17, 11 218
where Jesus says: "Neither is new wine put into old wineskins; otherwise, the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins are destroyed."

the story of Loki and the dwarf . . . winning the wager] 21 218
Refers to the story of Loki, who, with his head as wager, bets the dwarf Brok that the latter's brother, the blacksmith Eitri (or Sindri), cannot make three things as precious as Sif's golden hair, the ship Skibbladner, and the sword Gugner. Eitri goes about forging three items from a pig's hide, gold, and iron, respectively. Each time, after plac-

ing the material in the furnace, he asks Brok to pump the bellows, without stopping, until he returns, and warns that if he stops, the item will be ruined. On each occasion, Brok is stung by a fly sent by Loki: the first time on the hand, the second time on the neck, and the third time right between the eyes. The first two times, Brok continues without interruption, but the third sting is so bad that blood runs into his eyes, temporarily blinding him; he then stops to wipe the blood off and chase the fly away. Eitri's finished products are the boar Gyllinborsti, the ring Draupnir, and the hammer Mjøllnir (the handle of which was a bit short due to the interruption). Eitri then gives the three items to Brok and sends him to Odin and Frey, who were to be judges in the matter. Loki ended up losing the wager. Cf. J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte indtil Frode 7 Tider* [Nordic People's Superstitions, Gods, Fables, and Heroes until the Times of Frode the 7th] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1947, abbreviated here as *Nordiske Folks Overtroe*), p. 64f. and p. 81f. Cf. also "Loke und der Zwerg" [Loki and the Dwarf] in *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen* (→ 218,*28*), vol. 1, pp. 131–135.

218 *28* **Mythologie der Feen und Elfen ... 1828. 2 Th**] *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen; vom Ursprunge dieses Glaubens bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Aus dem Englischen* [Mythology of Fairies and Elves, from the Beginnings of These Beliefs to the Most Recent Times. Translated from English], vols. 1–2, trans. O. L. B. Wolff (Weimar, 1828), abbreviated here as *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen*).

31 **1st part. The Tale of ... (from Rügen)**] "Abentheuer des Johann Dietrich" [Adventure of Johann Dietrich], in the section "Rügen" in *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen*, vol. 1, pp. 298–367.

32 **the underworld dwellers**] Supernatural beings (dwarfs), who, according to popular belief, live underground. Cf. *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen*, vol. 1, pp. 315ff.

32 **Ob sie auch sterben ... gejagt werden**] "It is not known whether they also die or, whether, as some people say, they crawl into stones and trees when they want to become old and thus grow into them, turning into strange sounds, moans and sighs, which one can hear without knowing where they come from, or turning into fantastic knobs and intertwined loops of branches, through which the witches are supposed to slip when they are hunted by the wild hunter." Quotation from *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen*, vol. 1, p. 319.

totality] Kierkegaard expresses the common conception held at the beginning of the 19th century that the Middle Ages formed an organic totality, characterized by a Christian cultural unity.—Concerning humor and totality, see § 32, "Humorische Totalität," in Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (→ 217*m,13*), vol. 1, pp. 237–247. (For an English translation, cf. *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973], pp. 88–91.) *8* 219

some of the more recent humorists became Catholics] Presumably an allusion to "the Romantics." Cf. an entry from March 1836 on a loose sheet of paper, where Kierkegaard writes: "Why is it that most, at least the most significant, of the Rom. school went over to Catholicism?"(*Pap*. I A 134). Friedrich Schlegel, for example, converted to Catholicism; Ludwig Tieck did not convert, though he had a deep interest in it. Cf. Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule* (Hamburg, 1836; ASKB U 63) (purchased by Kierkegaard on February 16, 1836 at the university bookseller C. A. Reitzel), p. 52: "For many of the followers of the Romantic school—Mr. Görres and Mr. Klemens Brentano, for example—there was no need for a formal transition since they were Catholics from birth, and they merely renounced their former free-thinking views. But others were born and raised in the bosom of the Protestant Church—for example, Friedrich Schlegel, Mr. Ludwig Tieck, Novalis, Werner, Schütz, Carové, Adam Müller, etc.—and their conversion to Catholicism required an official act." *11*

Justinus Kerner] Andreas Justinus Kerner (1786–1862), German writer, physician with an interest in parapsychological phenomena, poet, one of the main representatives of the late Romantic "Schwäbische Dichterschule" [Swabian School of Poets]. *16* 219

able to look so amicably at the phenomenon] Cf. "Fünfte Vorstellung" [Fifth Notion] from "Fünfte Schattenreiche" [Fifth Underworld] in "Dichtungen in Prosa," [Prose Poems] in *Die Dichtungen von Justinus Kerner*, p. 386f.: "I was not just a little *17*

amazed that the millhand spoke as I speak, and also had almost entirely taken on my face. I already wanted to point out that as he himself said: 'I do not know—I seem to myself as you seem to me.' We looked at one another alternately with and without a mirror, and I experienced a great joy over this appearance: for the millhand attributed it to the inner friendship which he felt for me."

17 **his *Dichtungen***] *Die Dichtungen von Justinus Kerner. Neue Vollständige Sammlung in Einem Bande* [The Poetry of Justinus Kerner: New Complete Collection in One Volume] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1834; ASKB 1734).

20 **If I wanted to grasp it, it**] The Danish sentence seems to be anacoluthic; the translation here attempts to restore the grammatical sequence.

21 **Mester Jakel**] Mester Jakel (diminutive of Jakob) is the peasant and fool figure who has given the name to the Mester Jakel comedies. They were performed with small hand-held marionettes and were among the popular amusements of the age. The Jakel comedy is similar to other puppet theaters in other countries, but this Danish version comes from Jørgen Qvist (d. 1811), who performed his pieces at Dyrehavsbakken, i.e., the amusement park at Deer Park.

219 25 **Justinus Kerner**] → 219,*16*.

29 **the proper continuity**] When Kierkegaard says here that both he and Justinus Kerner lack continuity, he means that their artistic talent is specific rather than universal, as was the case, for example, for the age's great cultural personality, the German poet J. W. von Goethe.

32 **Dichtungen**] → 219,*17*.

33 **Reports aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur**] *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur, durch eine Reihe von Zeugen gerichtlich bestätigt und den Naturforschern zum Bedenken mitgetheilt* [A Manifestation from the Nocturnal Realms of Nature, Corroborated by a Series of Testimonies, Reported for the Consideration of Natural Scientists] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836, abbreviated here as *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur*). Here Kerner records Elisabetha Eslinger's visions from the autumn of 1835 and the spring of 1836; he presents and comments on the records of the legal proceedings, the physicians' accounts, and the witness testimony recorded by local priests.

hereditary sin] The doctrine of hereditary sin, i.e., 3 220
the doctrine that sin is inherited or propagated, is based on several biblical passages, especially the fall of humankind recorded in Gen 3. See also Ps 51:5, where one reads: "Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me"; and Rom 5:12–14, where Paul writes: "Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned—sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned where there is no law. Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come." It was, however, only with Augustine that hereditary sin became dogma, i.e., an obligatory doctrine stating that sin is active in the sexual act and thus in the origin of the existence of every human being, and that every human being, since he is born in and with sin, has lost the ability to do good. This dogma was accepted by the entire church at the Councils of Carthage in 412, 416, and 418 and of Ephesus in 431. The dogma of hereditary sin was carried further by the Lutheran reformers and came to expression in the Lutheran confessional book, *Confessio Augustana* (→ 206,*32*) art. 2, "On Original Sin," where it is written: "In the same way, they [the reformers] teach that after Adam's fall, all men who are born according to nature are conceived and born in sin; that is, that from their mothers' wombs they are filled with evil desires and inclinations and could not by nature have any true fear of God or any true belief in God; and that this inborn sickness or original defect is in truth sin, which condemns and also leads to the eternal death of so many who have not been born again through baptism and the Holy Spirit," *Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse med sammes, af Ph. Melanchton forfattede, Apologie* [The Correct Unchanged Augsburg Confession Together with Its Apology by Ph. Melanchton], trans. A. G. Rudelbach (Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386, abbreviated here as *Den Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse*), p. 46. In the second half of article 2 the dogmatic problem of hereditary sin is emphasized: "Our churches condemn the Pelagians and others for denying that this original defect is *sin*, and for obscuring the glory of Christ's merit and benefits by contending that man can be justified before God by his own

strength and reason," p. 47. (For an English translation, cf. *The Book of Concord*, trans. and ed. Theodor G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.], p. 29.)

2 **Adam's fall**] Cf. the story of the Fall in Gen 3:1–19.

4 **Rom 5:13, 14**] See the previous note.

7 **Pelagian**] Pelagius, born in Britain, active around 400 as an ascetic revivalist preacher in Rome, travelled to Africa around 410, and soon thereafter to Palestine, where he disappeared from the historical record in 418. Pelagius denied the doctrine of hereditary sin, arguing for the freedom of the will to live a life free from sin as one follows God's will. He further conceived of sin as an act, not a condition; every human being is born equally good and uncorrupted as the human being whom God originally created. Although Pelagius held the view that man himself can effect his own salvation, he nevertheless did not deny the idea of God's grace; this comes to man through Christ, who with his shining example inspires the human individual to break with sin's habit-forming power and imitate him. At Augustine's prompting, Pelagius's doctrine was condemned by two North African synods in 416 and 418 and finally by the Synod at Ephesus in 431.

7 **cum hoc non ideo propter hoc**] Latin, "at the same time as this, but not therefore because of it."

8 **cum hoc et propter hoc**] Latin, "at the same time as this and because of it."

9 **the doctrine of the church**] Refers presumably to the Roman Catholic doctrine "extra ecclesiam nulla salus" (Latin, "no salvation outside the church"), i.e., that it is necessary to be a member of the church in order to receive eternal salvation.

10 **superabundance of good works**] Alludes to the Roman Catholic doctrine that the surplus of good works carried out by Christ and the saints can help others.

13 **Rom 5 ... the second Adam**] Alludes to Rom 5:12–21, where Paul draws a reverse parallel between the first Adam, who with his Fall introduced sin into the world (cf. Gen 3) and brought about the damnation of humankind, and the second Adam, Christ, who with his righteous actions brought righteousness and life to humankind.

15 **the doctrine ... some are saved in X**] Presumably an allusion to the dogmatic doctrine of conditioned salvation. All human beings have sinned due to hereditary sin and are thus subject to damnation. All human beings, however, are offered eternal salvation by virtue of God's grace and Christ's atonement, but the condition for this salvation is that the individual receive it in faith. Kierkegaard might also have in mind here the dogmatic doctrine of particularism, or the election of specific individuals to receive grace. Everyone has sinned, but the atonement of Christ is only valid for those who are chosen or determined for eternal salvation. Cf. Kierkegaard's summary of § 66 in professor H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics in Winter Semester 1833–34 and Summer Semester 1834 (Not1:8 / *Pap*. I C 19, in vol. XII, p. 121).

29 **we are supposed already to be like angels**] Alludes to Lk 20:36, where Jesus says: "Indeed they cannot die anymore, because they are like angels and are children of God, being children of the resurrection."

31 **the phenomenological path**] Alludes to Hegel's "Wissenschaft der Erfahrung des Bewußtseyns" [Science of the Experience of Consciousness], where he describes the development of consciousness from immediate consciousness to absolute knowing, i.e., "science." Cf. *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 2 (*Jub*. vol. 2). (For an English translation, cf. *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.])

32 **the worried, restless individual ... middleman**] Alludes to Hegel's analysis of "the unhappy consciousness," one of the forms of consciousness in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. This analysis is a description of the "unhappy," "divided" religious consciousness, which seeks to be united with God with the help of various mediating agencies, and which ends by finding this mediation through the church, which functions as "mediator." Cf. *Phänomenologie des Geistes* in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 2, pp. 171f. (*Jub*. vol. 2, pp. 179f.). (For an English translation, cf. *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977], pp. 136f.)

33 **middleman ... un-Protestant**] Alludes to the Catholic doctrine of the church, including the clergy in general and the pope in particular, as middlemen or mediators between God and human beings, a doctrine which is not recognized by Protestants.

Cf., for example, § 120 in *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studierende* [Hutterus redivivus or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: A Handbook in Dogmatics for Students], 2nd ed., ed. K. A. Hase (Leipzig, 1833 [1828]; cf. ASKB 581, which is a 4th ed. from 1839), p. 356.

39 **Günther**] Anton Günther (1783–1863), Czech, Austrian, Catholic, secular priest (i.e., not belonging to one of the monastic orders), philosopher, neoscholastic. He wished to reformulate the doctrines of the Catholic church on the basis of the philosophical movements of the time, and was especially influenced by J. G. v. Herder, I. Kant, J. G. Fichte, and F. W. J. Schelling. He criticized what he perceived as the age's pantheism and argued for a theistic view based on Descartes's philosophy. Kierkegaard owned a number of his works (cf. ASKB 520–523, 869–870, and 1672).

39 **the doctrine of works**] Refers presumably to the 7th and 13th letters in Anton Günther's *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des positiven Christenthums. In Briefen* [Introduction to the Speculative Theology of Positive Christianity. In Letters], vols. 1- 2 (Vienna, 1828–29; ASKB 869–870), vol. 2, "Die Incarnationstheorie" [The Theory of Incarnation], pp. 135–152, especially pp. 146–149, and pp. 306–352, especially pp. 312–315 and pp. 325–345. Cf. also the 5th and 6th letters, "die Lehre von der Kirche" [The Doctrine of the Church] in Günther's *Der letzte Symboliker . . . in Briefen* [The Final Symbolics . . . In Letters] (Vienna, 1834; ASKB 521), pp. 177 and 213–227.

221 2 **a christening present . . . cradle**] Refers to the custom of godparents (or other baptism guests) placing a gift in the child's crib, often in the form of money, called "cradle money."

6 **intercession . . . need to pray for oneself . . . through the living**] A recurrent characteristic of the visions portrayed by Justinus Kerner in *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* (→ 219,33) is their demand for intercession; cf. pp. 1, 7, and 12ff. Kierkegaard refers to one of the many places where this is expressed; cf., for example, pp. 213f.: "Even so, the constant request of the apparition to pray with her, and indeed at a given place, is likewise no empty pretence, for this is constantly repeated in hundreds of similar accounts. As already noted, Elisabetha Eslinger often said to the apparition: you are yourself a sinner, why do you turn to me? To which, as she said, the apparition only sighed and urged her even more to prayer."

8 **the ecclesiastical doctrine of requiem for the dead**] i.e., Roman Catholic masses for the deceased, held on All Saints' Day, on the day of burial, and on the anniversary of the death or burial. After the introduction of the doctrine of purgatory, requiems were conceived as a direct atonement for sins. Presumably Kierkegaard alludes to Justinus Kerner, *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* (→ 219,33), p. 237f., where the dead person's yearning for prayer, expressed by the apparition, is tied to the requiem: "The doctrine of purgatory (the middle realm), the doctrine of prayer for the dead, and the doctrine of exorcism in the Catholic religion *have their sole origin in such experiences*, and originate purely from nature. But if it were really the case that such accounts were less frequent in the Catholic world than in the Lutheran, which is not so, this would be because the Catholics regard the requiem as a prayer for the dead, and *they do so without being asked*; those souls need not approach Catholics with this request and thus do not torture them, which, however, they must do among Lutherans *since they do not pray for dead souls without being asked*. The Catholics could only refute this by saying that this claim is entirely false."

9 **Kerner . . . Nachtgebiete der Natur 1836 p. 214**] Justinus Kerner, *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* (→ 219,33), p. 214: "This one alone, then, is highly welcome to a spirit languishing for mediation; it is like the fatally ill person longing for ecclesiastical consolation or prayer, who likewise has no choice concerning his consoler or father confessor, and who knows that his confessor is perhaps an even greater sinner than he is himself, but knows he can have no other."

16 221 **Jean Paul**] Perhaps an allusion Jean Paul's (→ 217m,13) habit of writing notebooks filled with quotations, thoughts, and ideas. He later incorporated these notes, which can seem kaleidoscopic, into his books; thus one can clearly trace preliminary drafts and the fruits of his readings which went into *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (→ 217m,13). (For an English translation, cf. *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973].)

19 **Hoffmann**] → 215,*21*.

19 **Lichtenberg recommends it**] Cf. *G. C. Lichtenberg's Ideen, Maximen und Einfälle. Nebst dessen Charakteristik* [G. C. Lichtenberg's Ideas, Maxims, and Thoughts. Plus a Biographical Sketch], ed. G. Jördens, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1831 [1827]), and 1st ed., vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1830; ASKB 1773–1774), vol. 1, p. 111: "I believe that even with fading memory and failing intellectual powers one can nonetheless still write well if only one does not wait too long for the moment to come, but rather always writes down things for future use during his reading or his meditations." Cf. also vol. 1, p. 29f. and p. 119f. — **Lichtenberg**: Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–99), German satirical writer and physicist, appointed professor extraordinarius in 1769 and professor ordinarius in 1775 at Göttingen, known especially for his witty and satirical attack on the "Sturm und Drang" tendency toward sentimentalism.

222 *1* **Haman says . . . once in one's life**] Cf. *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,*34*), vol. 3, 1822, p. 392, where Hamann (→ 206,*1*) writes: "It is so true that there are thoughts which one has only once in one's life and is unable to bring forth again."

221*m* *1* **Resolution**] The response of the king and his officials to a petition, inquiry, complaint, or the like; signed by the king with the fixed phrase "Granted at Our Castle Christiansborg," followed by the date.

221*m* *1* **made in our study**] Perhaps an allusion to Poul Martin Møller's "Forsøg til et Himmelbrev, i Grundtvigs nye historiske Smag, fundet af Poul Møller" [Draft of a Letter from Heaven, in Accordance with Grundtvig's New Historical Taste, Found by Poul Møller] In *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn* [Newest Sketches of Copenhagen], ed. S. Soldin, vol. 15 (Copenhagen, 1818), no. 101, columns 1696–1699. In his satire, Poul Møller has Grundtvig complete his letter from Heaven (i.e., a letter which is thought to have fallen from Heaven) with the majestic words: "Givet paa vor Residents udi Løngangsstræde, lige over for Vartov-Kloster" ["Granted at our Residence in Løngangsstræde, just opposite Vartov Convent"], column 1698. Until July 1837, Kierkegaard lived at home with his father in the house at 2 Nytorv, but moved afterwards to Løvstræde (*see Map 2, C2*).

continental Grand Tour] A tour of the most important European cities, considered at the time to be a necessary part of the education of young Englishmen destined for positions of responsibility. *6* 222*m*

Lichtenberg] → 221,*19*. *6* 222

there is nothing . . . historic-literary particulars] Translated quotation from *G. C. Lichtenberg's Ideen, Maximen und Einfälle* (→ 221,*19*), vol. 1, p. 117: "There is nothing more feeble than a conversation with a so-called *litterateur* in a field in which he himself has not done much thinking but knows thousands of little historical-literary anecdotes." Kierkegaard quotes the next line from the German; cf. the following note. *6*

Es ist fast als wie . . . wenn man hungert] "It is almost like a lecture from a cookbook when one is hungry." Quotation from *G. C. Lichtenberg's Ideen, Maximen und Einfälle* (→ 221,*19*), vol. 1, p. 117. *10*

voice in the wilderness] Refers presumably to John the Baptist (→ 210,*6*), who is described as "the voice of one crying out in the wilderness," Mt 3:3. *11*

the copy . . . a mark has been made] In the copy of vol. 1, 2nd ed., now in the Royal Library, there is a vertical pencil mark in the left margin outside the text; Kierkegaard quotes his own Danish translation (→ 222,*6*). *17*

Lichtenberg] → 221,*19*. *21*

to describe the popular way of writing . . . Graduate prose] Cf. *G. C. Lichtenberg's Ideen, Maximen und Einfälle* (→ 221,*19*), vol. 1, p. 122: "A person chooses a theme, illuminates it with his tiny light as well as he can, and then—in an almost tolerable, fashionable style—writes his trivial remarks, the likes of which any student could have made but could not have expressed so comprehensibly. For this kind of writing, which is the favorite of mediocre and less-than-mediocre minds . . . I have been able to find no better word than *graduate prose*. At best it gives an account of what reasonable people have already thought in plain language." *24*

a list just like Leporello . . . D. Juan . . . description] Alludes to act 1, scene 6, in W. A. Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (→ 274*m*,*2*), where the servant Leporello keeps a list of his master's 1003 mistresses in Spain. *13* 222*m*

proscenium] The part of the stage in front of the curtain. *33* 222

223 15 **duodecimo**] Small letters used in the small duodecimo book format, where the sheet of paper is divided into 12 pages; miniature letters.

16 **uncial**] A large first letter at the beginning of a section in a book.

223 28 **ordinances posted by the police**] Announcements issued by the police and, in Kierkegaard's time, still occasionally posted on street corners and special advertising pillars. Unlike the chancellery's posted ordinances and regulations, the police posters typically gave detailed guidelines for how the citizens should act with "good administration," i.e., contribute to public law and order, respect customs and morals, and promote a good trade environment. The police posters therefore became a symbol of pedantic and zealous enforcement of the law.

33 **Nørreport**] See *map 2, C1*.

33 **shillings**] Danish monetary unit during the period from 1813 to 1875, when there were 16 shillings to a mark and 6 marks to a rix-dollar. With the monetary reform in 1875, the rix-dollar was replaced by the crown and the shilling by the øre (1 rix-dollar = 2 crowns, and 1 shilling = 2 ører). In 1840, a pound of rye bread cost 2–4 shillings.

35 **that life-view . . . through sin**] Kierkegaard is perhaps thinking of the Carpocratians, a Gnostic sect founded by Carpocrates (2nd century); cf. Eusebius's church history, book 4, chap. 7, *Kirkens Historie af Eusebius* (→ 247,6), p. 191, and G. Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* [History of the Church and of Heretics], vols. 1–4 (Frankfurt am Main, 1699–1700; ASKB 154–155), vol. 1, pp. 67f. Kierkegaard is perhaps also thinking of the Nicolaitians, a Gnostic sect founded by Nicolaos (2nd century); cf. H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of Church History], 3rd ed., vols. 1–2 (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159), vol. 1, p. 155. Both sects were anti-Jewish and antinomian and taught that one must defeat the vices by devoting oneself to them.

38 **wer niemals . . . kein braver Mann**] Quotation from the first verse of a German song: "Wer niemals einen Rausch gehabt, / Das ist kein braver Mann. / Wer seinen Durst mit Achteln labt, / Fang lieber gar nicht an. / Da dreht sich alles um und um / In unserm Capitolium" ["He who never goes over the top, / Is not a man of parts, / who slakes his thirst with just one drop, / simply doesn't start. / For this is what it takes to be / in our august assembly"] registered in *Visebog indeholdende udvalgte danske Selskabssange; med Tillæg af nogle svenske og tydske* [Songbook Containing Selected Danish Social Songs, with an Appendix of Some Swedish and German Songs], ed. A. Seidelin (Copenhagen, 1814; ASKB 1483), p. 400.

that dark realm of sighs] Cf. J. Görres, *Die teutschen Volksbücher* [The German Folkbooks] (Heidelberg, 1807; ASKB 1440), p. 61, where it is told: "The story of the dark country from which human voices constantly sound and where the offspring of a heathen king who persecuted the Christians live, banned from heaven and captive." Kierkegaard refers to this passage in an entry on a scrap of paper, dated January 25, 1837: "The dark country where one hears only sighs (cf. Görres. p. 61)" (*Pap*. I A 326). 1 224

Velbekom] Danish expression typically uttered by the host after a meal, in reply to the guests' expression of thanks; literally, "may it agree with you." 14 224

this very system of bringing up children that denies the resurrection of the body] Alludes perhaps to "philanthropism," founded by German theologian and rationalist pedagogue J. B. Basedow (1723–90), who was strongly influenced by Rousseau. Basedow had an appointment in Denmark, at Sorø Academy, from 1753 to 1768. He came into contact with other native Germans who, at the time, set the tone in the higher circles in Copenhagen. After his dismissal in 1768, he received financial support from the Danish government. He rejected a number of the central dogmas of Christianity; the view of human nature promulgated by the "philanthropists" was generally optimistic and led to the development of school reform and to methods of child education involving a great deal of behavioral training. 22

scriptural support . . . food and drink] Refers to Rom 14:17, where Paul writes: "For the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." 25

"Love thy neighbor as thyself,"] Alludes to the second part of the double commandment of love; cf., for example, Mt 22:39. 28

One is closest to oneself . . . neighbor] Cf. the popular saying, "Enhver er sig selv nærmest" ["Each person is his or her own neighbor"], registered as 13 225*m*

no. 1997 in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* [Danish Proverbs and Sayings] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 1549), p. 76; known also in the form "Man er sig selv næst" ["One is one's own neighbor"], registered as no. 7003 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 208,7), vol. 2, p. 82.

225 5 **anthropomorphisms**] Human characteristics which are transferred to gods or animals; Kierkegaard, however, turns the relation around and refers to God becoming man when Christ was born.

225 10 **Echo**] According to Greek mythology, Pan desired the mountain nymph Echo; when she rejected him, she was torn to pieces by the jilted suitor so that only her voice remained. Ovid tells another story in his *Metamorphoses*, book 3, v. 356–401: Since Echo had kept the goddess Hera busy with talk while Zeus lay with other nymphs, she was punished for her loquacity: she retained only the ability to repeat of the words of others. Afterward, she wasted away from unrequited love for the beautiful youth Narcissus, and then only her voice remained. In spite of her anger, she followed him in his later misery—like a loving resonance of his voice.

225*m* 21 **Grim irische Elfenmärchen p. lxxviii**] *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm (Leipzig, 1826 (based on [Thomas Crofton Croker] *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, London: John Murray, 1825); ASKB 1423), "Einleitung" [Introduction], p. lxxviii: "It is worthy of note that in Nordic popular belief the echo is called *Dvergmâl* or *Bergmâl*, i.e., dwarf language or mountain language." After this references are given to "Biörn Haldorson" and "Färöiske Qväder." See the two following notes.

22 **Biörn Haldorson 1**,] *Lexicon islandico-latino-danicum Biörnonis Haldorsonii. Biörn Haldorsens islandske Lexikon. Ex manuscriptis legati Arna-Magnæani cura R. K. Raskii editum* [Icelandic-Latin-Danish Dictionary by Biörn Haldorson. From the Manuscripts of the Arni Magnusson Foundation. Edited by R. K. Rask], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1814), vol. 1, p. 73, column 1. The reference must be to the following: "Bergmál, *n. eccho, resonantia*, resound, resonance, echo." — **Biörn Haldorson**: Björn Halldórsson (1724–94), Icelandic philologist.

23 **Færöiske Quæder . . . pp. 464, 468**] *Færøiske Qvæder om Sigurd Fofnersbane og hans Æt* [Faroese Songs about Sigurd Fafnirsbane and His Family], collected and trans. H. C. Lyngbye (Randers, 1822; ASKB 1484), p. 464 and 468; on both pages a verse appears in which the word "Dvörgamaal" [dwarf language] appears. In a note, pp. 464f. the following explanation is given: "*Dvörgamaal*, in Icelandic *Dvergmál*, i.e., *Dværgemaal*, the language of the dwarfs or the mountain people, i.e., the echo in the mountains, echo."

this book pp. 10 and 11] i.e., *Journal DD*, pp. 10 and 11. Refers to pp. 215–218 in this volume. 16 225

primus motor] Latin, "first mover," "basis of movement." 18

Tieck] Johann Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), German writer, translator, and editor. Tieck was known for his Romantic reworkings of medieval legends and for his ironic play with fictional illusions, including indirect parody of the age's petite bourgeoisie, which found expression particularly in a series of satirical closet dramas. 25

the Serapion Brothers] *Die Serapions-Brüder. Gesammelte Erzählungen und Mährchen* [The Serapion Brothers: Collected Stories and Tales] collections of novellas in 4 vols. (1819–21) by E. T. A. Hoffmann; cf. vols. 1–4, 1827, in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [Selected Writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann], vols. 1–10 (Berlin, 1827–28; ASKB 1712–1716). The novellas are narrated to a small group consisting of the four Serapion brothers, Theodor, Ottmar, Sylvester, and Vincenz. 27

Hoffmann] → 215,21. 28

Hamann] → 206,1. 29

Robinson Crusoe] The main character in the novel by English writer Daniel Defoe, entitled *Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), based on the actual adventures of the Scottish sailor, Alexander Selkirk (1676–1721) on the island of San Fernandez Crusoe. Robinson washes ashore on a deserted island after a shipwreck and, after many years of solitude, enjoys the company of a native, whom he rescues from cannibals, converts to Christianity, and christens with the name Friday. The novel was translated into many European languages, including Danish in 1744–45 and 1826; cf. *Robinson Crusoe's mærkværdige Begivenheder*, trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1826). 30

So erst wird die Willkür verbrecherisch . . . im Humor] "Thus, arbitrariness becomes criminal, but 26 225*m*

it is also the principle of the highest cheeriness and bliss, for example, in humor." Quotation from § 43, "Die Willkür," in K. Rosenkranz's *Encyklopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* (→ 205,2), p. 73.

30 **Rosenkrantz Encyclopedie, p. 73**] K. Rosenkranz, *Encyklopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* (→ 205,2), p. 73: "Since blissfulness refers the human being to the particular and the finite and binds him to it, it goes unnoticed that the freedom of the will is ruled by the particular. In this way, *arbitrariness* arises, an element of freedom from which evil emerges, consciously placing contingency and nothingness in opposition to the divine law. Thus, at this point, arbitrariness becomes criminal, but it is also the principle of the highest cheeriness and bliss, for example, in humor." In agreement with Kant, Rosenkranz here distinguishes between the "Wille" [will], as the faculty of pure reason to act according to universal rules, and "Willkür" [arbitrariness], as the will determined by either reason or inclinations. Kant defines the will determined by reason as "freie Willkür."

226 1 **pp. 10 and 11 and 19**] i.e., *Journal DD*, pp. 10, 11, and 19. Refers to pp. 216–218 and 225 in this volume.

7 **Haman . . . to write for the people**] The passage has not been identified; cf., however, *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,34), vol. 1, p. 423, where Hamann (→ 206,1) writes: "The audience, the wounded officer, and a good friend want, perhaps, to be amused in the same manner.—Under these conditions I will never become an author. I would rather live like a lonely bird on the roof and, with David, be silent and say nothing, even be silent about my joy and consume my sorrow in myself. My heart is inflamed in my body, and when I think about it, I am set on fire."

226*m* 1 **For how could Hamann ever think . . . collected works**] Cf. *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,34), vol. 1, pp. x–xi, where the editor F. Roth writes: "Toward the end of his life, when *Herder*'s and *Jacobi*'s testimonies about Hamann began to have an effect on the audience, he was asked many times to make a collection of his writings, which already then were extremely rare. One sees in his letters to *Herder* and *Scheffner* how inclined he was to do this, but how the impossibility of illuminating everything that was obscure in them, which he himself recognized, held him back. He admitted to his friends that he could no longer give an account of the meaning of many passages, however clear they might have been to him when he had written them. Since he himself could not deliver what might be requested of the author, then obviously this could not be requested of any other editor. Nevertheless, reluctance in the face of this demand was, for the most part, what hindered the late *Jacobi* from carrying out this plan, i.e., to organize and publish the writings, which he conceived soon after Hamann's death. Only in his final years did he think about this with more courage, after he had been through the writings anew, following the chronology rather strictly. Since I helped him with this project at that time, he chose me as an assistant for the edition, which he wanted to begin as soon as the collection of his own works was completed. Unfortunately he did not live to see it."

he . . . in complete agreement with Pilate . . . I have written] Cf. *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 208,34), vol. 5, 1824, p. 274, where Hamann (→ 206,1) writes: "The *wisest author and the most obscure prophet* seems to me, ignorant person that I am—next to Ecclesiastes of the Old Testament—to be the New Testament executioner, Pontius Pilate. For him, *vox populi* was *vox Dei* [Latin, "the voice of the people" was "the voice of God"] without considering the dreams of his wife. His golden *Quod scripsi, scripsi* is the *mysterium magnum* of my epigrammatic authorship: What is written, you shall conceal; what I still have to write, you shall rule!" — **Pilate**: Roman prefect in Judea and Samaria 26–36 A.D. — **Quod scripsi, scripsi**: Latin, "What I have written I have written," the answer Pilate gave to the high priest of the Jews when they wanted to have him change what he had written on Jesus's cross; cf. Jn 19:22. — **mysterium magnum**: Latin, "the great mystery." 3

Blicherian manner to blow up the world . . . syllogism] Alludes to the novella "Fjorten Dage i Jylland" [Fourteen Days in Jutland] by the Danish pastor and writer Steen Steensen Blicher (1782–1848). In "Gjensyn," the final section of the novella, a person appears who pretends to be the German philosopher Lorenz Oken (1779–1851). Like Holberg's Niels Klim, he wants to descend to the underworld: "I will climb down there and blow up the whole world like a bomb with a single simple syllogism, and split it apart into all the atoms from which the poor devil Xeno once knit it to- 11

gether." *Samlede Noveller* [Collected Novellas], vols. 1–5 and supplement volume (Copenhagen, 1833–40; ASKB 1521–1523) (vol. 1 in 2nd printing, 1833), vol. 5, 1836, p. 212. — **Syllogism**: in classical logic, an argument where the conclusion is derived from two premises.

226 19 **plastic**] Here in the sense of something presented by living persons in situations and not just expressed in words.

19 **Diogenes**] Diogenes of Sinope (412 or 403–324 or 321 B.C.), Greek philosopher, one of the founders of the Cynic school. The anecdote is told by Diogenes Laertius in book 6, chap. 2.67, in his history of philosophy: "Seeing a bad archer, he [Diogenes] sat down beside the target with the words 'in order not to get hit.' " *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn, i ti Bøger* [Diogenes Laertes's History of Philosophy or the Lives, Opinions, and Clever Statements of Famous Philosophers, in Ten Books], trans. B. Riisbrigh, ed. B. Thorlacius, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111), vol. 1, p. 258. (English translation quoted from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vols. 1–2, trans. R. D. Hicks [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1972 [1925]], vol. 2, p. 69.)

226 25 **Heyne**] Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German writer; Kierkegaard presumably has in mind *Die romantische Schule* (→ 215,31).

226*m* 28 **demoniaci**] Latin, "people who are possessed by a demon or an evil spirit."

30 **τί εμοι και σοι;**] Greek (tí emoì kaì soí?) "what for me and for you?" i.e., "What do I have to do with you?" or as a rebuff "Leave me in peace!" The formulation appears several times in the NT; cf., for example, the account of the man possessed by a demon in the land of the Gerasenes, Mk 5:1–20, where it is told in verses 6–7: "When he saw Jesus from a distance, he ran and bowed down before him; and he shouted at the top of his voice, 'What have you to do with me [τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί], Jesus, Son of the Most High God? I adjure you by God, do not torment me.' "

34 **Lk 8:26–39**] The account of the man possessed by a demon in the land of the Gerasenes in the Gospel of Luke.

Mt 8:28–34] The account of the man possessed by a demon in the land of the Gerasenes in the Gospel of Matthew. 34

Mk 5:1–20] The account of the man possessed by a demon in the land of the Gerasenes in the Gospel of Mark (→ 226*m*,30). 35

Lk 4:31–37] The account of Jesus's curing of the man with the unclean spirit in the Gospel of Luke. 35

Mk 1:21–28] The account of Jesus's curing of the man with the unclean spirit in the Gospel of Mark. 35

Xnty also offended Paul] Cf. Paul's autobiographical account in Gal 1:10–24, especially v. 13–14 and v. 23, along with Acts 8:1–3 and 9:1–2. 37

Luther's Tischreden] As they gradually became more prosperous, Luther and his wife Katharina kept an open home, which was constantly full of relatives, friends, and students who lived there with his financial support. At mealtimes, Luther spoke at the table, sometimes in German and sometimes in Latin, about all sorts of different things, not just about Christian and church matters, but also about daily and political events, often seasoned with jokes. These "*Tischreden*," "table speeches," were written down by the young admirers who stayed in his home, and after Luther's death they were collected and published by his close friend, J. A. Aurifaber, as *Tischreden und Colloqvia D. M. Luthers* [Dr. M. Luther's Table Speeches and Colloquia] (1566). Kierkegaard owned *D. Martin Luthers Geist- und Sinn-reiche auserlesene Tisch-Reden und andere erbauliche Gespräche* [Selections from Dr. Martin Luther's Brilliant and Profound Table Speeches and Other Edifying Conversations], ed. B. Lindnern, vols. 1–2 (Salfeld, 1745; ASKB 225–226). (For an English translation, cf. *Table Talk*, vol. 54, in *Luther's Works*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967].) — **Luther**: Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian, Augustinian friar, professor at Wittenberg, reformer. 2 227

v. Dobeneck ... Endlich betrog ihn der Teufel redlich] Friedrich Ludwig Ferdinand v. Dobeneck, *Des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglaube und Heroensagen* [Popular Beliefs and Heroic Legends of the German Middle Ages], ed. Jean Paul (→ 217*m*,13), vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1815), vol. 1, pp. 149f. Here Luther tells of a poor sorcerer and wizard whom the devil offered to make rich if he rejected his baptism and 2

redemption by Christ and never again did penance. The poor man agreed to this, and the devil gave him a crystal ball so that he could foretell the future, which made him very rich. "Finally, the devil deceived him honestly" (p. 149 bottom of the page) and had him see everything backward in the crystal ball so that he came to report innocent people to the authorities as thieves. Thus, he himself was thrown in jail, where he confessed that he had made a pact with the devil and did penance; he was executed by public burning but died with a happy heart.

227 *8* **page 11**] i.e., *Journal DD*, p. 11. Refers to pp. 225–226 in this volume.

9 **they are weak in Xt . . . 2 Cor 13:4**] 2 Cor 13:4, where Paul writes to the Corinthians about Christ: "For he was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God. For we are weak in him, but in dealing with you we will live with him by the power of God."

11 **Paul says . . . 2 Cor 12:10**] 2 Cor 12:10; here Kierkegaard alludes to v. 9–10. In the foregoing Paul (→ 217,*29*) explains that he asked the Lord three times that the thorn in the flesh be taken from him, but the Lord answered: "My grace is sufficient for you, for power is made perfect in weakness." And Paul continues: "I will boast all the more gladly of my weaknesses, so that the power of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and calamities for the sake of Christ; for whenever I am weak, then I am strong."

13 **on which cf. Calvin**] The French reformer Jean Calvin's (1509–64) commentary to 2 Cor 13:4 in *Ioannis Calvini in Novum Testamentum commentarii* [New Testament Commentaries of John Calvin], ed. A. Tholuck, vols. 1–7 (Berlin, 1833–34; ASKB 92–95), vol. 5, 1834, p. 601.

13 **nos infirmi sumus in illo . . . eos Chr: exemplo**] Latin, "we are weak in him.—To be weak in Christ means here to take part in the weakness of Christ. In this way *he* [Paul] *makes his own weakness glorious*, because in this he has the same form as Christ: he should no longer fear insults, which he shares with the son of God, but he says at the same time that *vis-à-vis* them [the Corinthians] he wants to live in harmony with the model of Christ." The italics are Kierkegaard's own.

22 **κατα κενωσιν**] Greek (katà kénōsin), "in (self) emptying." Cf. Phil 2:7, where it is written about Christ: ἀλλὰ ἑαυτόν ἐκένωσεν (allà heautón ekénōsen). The traditional translation in the King James Bible is: "But [he] made himself of no reputation." The translation in the NRSV, however, is as follows: "But [he] emptied himself." Translations of this kind have occasioned the dogmatic doctrine of kenosis, the self-abasement of the son of God, when he became human in Christ, a doctrine which is based in part on 2 Cor 8:9.

22 **κατα κρυψιν**] Greek (katà krýpsin) "in hiddenness," "as incognito." Cf., for example, Phil 2:7, where it is written of Christ that he "took the form of a slave." Cf. also the dogmatic teaching that Christ was God's incognito, that he hid his divine qualities.

2 **2 Cor 13:7 . . . ως αδοκιμοι ωμεν**] 2 Cor 13:7, where Paul writes: "But we pray to God that you may not do anything wrong—not that we may appear to have met the test, but that you may do what is right, [ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι μεν] though we may seem to have failed." 227*m*

13 **αδοκιμος**] Greek (adókimos), "not standing the test," "spurious."

29 **a fathom-rule**] A measuring tool which measures 1 fathom = 3 alen = ca. 198 cm.; a very large yardstick. 227

33 **Eph 1:21 . . . εν τω μελλοντι**] Eph 1:21. After the author of the epistle wrote that God raised Christ from the dead and set him at his right-hand side in heaven, he adds: "Far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age [ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ (Greek "èn tō aiōni toútō")] but also in the age to come [ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι (Greek, "èn tō méllonti")]." 227

7 **Messiah**] → 211,*2*. 228

13 **did with the sorcerer Virgil . . . doleful wail**] Alludes to one of the many legends from late antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance about the Roman poet Virgil (1st century A.D.), which portrayed him as a sorcerer. Kierkegaard possibly has this account from the section "Virgilius will sich verjüngen, und stirbt" ["Virgil wants to be- 228

come young again, and dies"], in the story "Virgilius der Zauberer" [Virgil the Magician] in *Erzählungen und Märchen* [Stories and Fairy Tales], ed. Fr. H. v. der Hagen, vols. 1–2 (Prenzlau, 1825–26), vol. 1, pp. 145–209; pp. 198–203. Here it is told how Virgil, in order to make himself young again, had himself chopped into pieces by his servant and pickled in a vessel. The servant was instructed to mount a lamp above the vessel that would drip down into it. Every day for nine days, he was to return to fill the lamp again. When the emperor, to whom Virgil was advisor, forced the servant on the seventh day to lead him to the vessel, the servant was killed as the suspected murderer; but afterwards, a naked child was seen running around the vessel three times, cursing the day his restoration to youth was disturbed. Virgil was never seen again.

228 *21* **Seneca**] Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.), Roman politician, writer, and Stoic philosopher.

22 **Quæ latebra est . . . metus mortis**] Latin, "Where does one find a hiding place, where the fear of death does not enter?" Quotation from Seneca's *Epistulae morales* [Moral Epistles], no. 82.4. Kierkegaard owned two Latin editions of Seneca's works (cf. ASKB 1274–1279).

229 *1* **Wilhelm Lund's Review**] The review appeared anonymously and not even Hauch knew who the author was; cf. his remarks on it in *Kjøbenhavns-Posten*, no. 283, December 2, 1831. — **Wilhelm Lund**: Peter Wilhelm Lund (1801–80), natural scientist, paleontologist, brother of Kierkegaard's brothers-in-law J. C. Lund and H. F. Lund. Lund lived in Brazil from 1825 until 1829, where he undertook field studies in meteorology, biology, and zoology. In the summer of 1829 he was in Copenhagen. After an extended trip to the centers for natural science in Europe, he returned to Copenhagen where he spent the summer of 1831. In 1833 he traveled to Brazil again, never to return; he died in Lagoa Santa. He received the degree of doctor at the University of Kiel in 1829 and became a member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1831. During his second stay in Brazil he concentrated in particular on the excavation of limestone caves in search of the bones of extinct animals; he published his epoch-making results, which received international attention, with the Danish Academy of Sciences, most of them under the title, *Blik paa Brasiliens Dyreverden før sidste Jordomvæltning* [View of Brazil's Animal World before the Last Cataclysm] (1837–46).

Hauch's Book] i.e., Hauch's treatise "Kort Oversigt over en Deel rudimentariske Organer, over deres Bestemmelse i Naturen, samt over en systematisk Udviklingsfølge, der tildeels paa disse kunde bygges" [Short Overview of Some Rudimentary Organs, Their Function in Nature, along with a Systematic Developmental Sequence That Could to Some Extent be Based on Them], in *Blandinger fra Sorøe. Et Tidsskrift* [Sorø Miscellany, a Journal], ed. C. Lütken and J. H. Bredsdorff, no. 1 (Slagelse, 1831), pp. 16–76. — **Hauch**: Johannes Carsten Hauch (1790–1872), Danish writer and zoologist, lecturer in natural science at Sorø Academy from 1827 to 1846. *1*

in Maanedsskrift for Litteratur] vol. 6 (Copenhagen, 1831), pp. 309–356. *1*

begins to study the grammar] This and the following entries are presumably related to Kierkegaard's time as Latin instructor for the second highest class in the Borgerdydskole in Copenhagen; Kierkegaard seems to have begun his teaching at the beginning of the school year on October 1, 1837. See also the Critical Account of the Text of CC. *24* 229

catechize] to teach with the help of discussion (question and answer). *11* 230

Hegel too talks of . . . Ernsthaftigkeit] See DD:10 and cf. K. Rosenkranz's article "Eine Parallele zur Religionsphilosophie" in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 2, 1837, no. 1, p. 9: "Hegel does not at all deny that the Romans put a lot of time and effort into religion; however, through the scaffolding of the ceremonies, he always looks to the bottom and there he finds something prosaic, lifeless, and lacking in fantasy, which repels him. By applying the word 'Ernsthaftigkeit' [earnestness] to the character of the appearance of Roman religion, he wants to express the ambiguity that, despite all their expenditure on religious pomposity, religion was not as serious for them as war, conquest, lawsuits." Cf. further Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, ed. P. Marheineke, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1840 [1832]; ASKB 564–565), *1* 230*m*

vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vol. 12, p. 165 (*Jub.* vol. 16, p. 165). — **Hegel**: → 212,19 — **Ernsthaftigkeit**: → 212,19.

230 21 **cogito ergo sum**] Latin, "I think, therefore I am." This statement is regarded as fundamental in the philosophical system of the French philosopher and scientist René Descartes, although he himself does not formulate it exactly in this way; cf. chapter 4 in *Dissertatio de methodo* [Dissertation on Method], in *Renati Descartes opera philosophica* [Philosophical Works of Rene Descartes] (Amsterdam, 1678; ASKB 473), where the statement appears: "Ego cogito, ergo sum." Since then it has been repeated in numerous histories of philosophy, including G. W. F. Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. C. L. Michelet, vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 3, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vols. 13–15; vol. 15, p. 339 (*Jub.* vol. 19, p. 339): "Thought as being and being as thought—that is my certainty, 'I'; in the celebrated *Cogito, ergo sum* we thus have thought and being inseparably bound together." (English translation quoted from Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vols. 1–3, trans. E. S. Haldane [Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1955], vol. 3, p. 228.) The sentence later became a kind of slogan for H. L. Martensen (→ 282,17), who often repeated it in his lectures; cf. his "Forelæsninger over Indledning til speculativ Dogmatik" [Lectures on the Introduction to Speculative Dogmatics] from Winter Semester 1837–38. Here Martensen says: "*Descartes* † 1650 he said *cogito ergo sum* and *de omnibus dubitandum est* and thus provided the principle of modern Protestant subjectivity" (Not4:7 / *Pap*. II C 18, p. 328). Cf. also § 5, § 12, and § 24, in Martensen's dissertation, *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* [The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 648), p. 19, p. 49, and p. 96. (For an English translation, cf. *The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness in Modern Dogmatic Theology* in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard*, trans. and ed. Curtis L. Thompson and David J. Kangas [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997].)

231 7 **defective casibus**] Latin "incomplete with respect to case." The expression "defective casibus" alludes humorously to the grammatical concept in Latin "defectiva casibus," about which C. G. Zumpt says the following in his *Lateinische Grammatik* [Latin Grammar], 7th ed. (Berlin, 1834 [1818]; ASKB 1010), p. 85: "*Defectiva casibus* refers to those nouns for which one or more cases are lacking."

our literary fountainhead Holberg] Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Danish-Norwegian poet, philosopher, and historian, appointed professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1717. The expression "literary fountainhead" ["Kilde-Skribent"] is presumably used in the sense of "the father of our literature," i.e., he who founded modern Danish literature. 14 231

κατα κρυψιν] Greek (katà krýpsin), "in hiddenness," "as incognito" (→ 227,22). 29 231

Moses] → 211,3. 31 231

fails to enter the promised land] Alludes to the account in Deut 32:48–52, where God says to Moses: "Ascend this mountain of Abarim, Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, across from Jericho, and view the land of Canaan, which I am giving to the Israelites for a possession; you shall die there on the mountain that you ascend and shall be gathered to your kin, as your brother Aaron died on Mount Hor and was gathered to his kin; because both of you broke faith with me among the Israelites at the waters of Meribath-kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, by failing to maintain my holiness among the Israelites. Although you may view the land from a distance, you shall not enter it—the land that I am giving to the Israelites." Cf. also Deut 34:1–4: "Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, which is opposite Jericho, and the Lord showed him the whole land. . . . The Lord said to him, 'This is the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, "I will give it to your descendents"; I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not cross over there.' " 32

Joshua that gets there] According to Num 26:65, Joshua was one of the two men who, as the only ones from the desert generation, were not to die in the desert but would enter into the promised land. And according to Deut 31:1–8, Joshua was appointed by Moses as his successor, with the task of leading the people into the land of Canaan. After the death of Moses, God transferred the leadership 33

of the people of Israel to Joshua and ordered him to go into the promised land; cf. Josh 1:2. The book of Joshua tells of how Joshua conquered and occupied the entire land west of the Jordan river.

232 6 **Roman satirists**] Presumably an allusion to Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C.–8 A.D.), Aulus Persius Flaccus (34–62), and Decimus Junius Juvenalis (ca. 65–ca. 135).

232 8 **Holberg's E. Montanus**] Ludvig Holberg's (→ 231,*14*) comedy *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg* [Erasmus Montanus, or Rasmus Berg] (1731); cf. *Den Danske Skue-Plads* [The Danish Theater], vols. 1–7 (Copenhagen, 1758 or 1788 [1731–54]; ASKB 1566–1567), vol. 5. The volumes have no date of publication and no page numbers.

12 **beating him**] Alludes to the fifth and final act, scenes 4 and 5. Here Erasmus Montanus is inducted as a soldier, drilled, and beaten until his father-in-law Jeronimus takes pity on him and purchases his freedom on the condition that he give up his former opinions and admit that the earth is flat.

232 18 **O! me miserum**] Latin, "Woe is me!"

232 20 **In Grimm's irische Elfenmärchen**] *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm (→ 225*m*,*21*).

20 **he says ... verba ipsissima**] Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen*, "Vorrede" [Foreword], p. iv, where the brothers Grimm write about the author of the English edition: "Therefore, one hardly needs the assurance, which he gives in a few preceding lines by way of introduction, that he has adopted everything from the mouth of the people and in the style in which it was usually spoken." This refers to an unnumbered page after the title page of the English edition, where it is written: "The following tales are written in the style in which they are generally related by those who believe in them." — **verba ipsissima**: Latin, "the very words"; "literally."

23 **the "quiet people,"**] Cf. the first topic, "Das stille Volk," in the section "Die Elfen in Irland" in *Irische Elfenmärchen*, "Einleitung" [Introduction], pp. ix–xv; on p. ix the following explanation is given in a note: "Literally: the *good* people. The Irish word for an elf in this context is 'Shefro'. ... She or Shi means without doubt 'elf.' " Cf. further the section "Das stille Volk," pp. 1–82, consisting of 11 fairy tales.

the underworld dwellers] → 218,*32*. 24

after one has deprived ... both answers are given] 24 Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen*, "Einleitung," p. xiii, where an account is given of the elves' relation to human beings: "The elves appear in a certain twilight; both evil and good have their share in them, and they show both a black and a white side. They are *angels fallen from heaven*, who have not sunk into Hell, but who, in anxiety and uncertainty, doubt whether they will receive grace on Judgment Day. This nocturnal, diabolical aspect appears visibly in their dispositions and actions. When, in the memory of their original light, they appear benevolent and friendly toward human beings, the evil element in their nature drives them to malicious and pernicious tricks. Their beauty, the magnificent splendor of their dwellings, and their joy are nothing but false appearances, and their true form inspires terror because of their repellent ugliness."

die Mahlzeit des Geistlichen ... gesunken sey] "It 28 is said by those who ought to understand such things, that the good people, or the fairies, are some of the angels, who were turned out of heaven, and who landed on their feet in this world, while the rest of their companions, who had more sin to sink them, went down further to a worse place." Quotation from the fairy tale, "Die Mahlzeit des Geistlichen" [The Priest's Supper], no. 4 in the section, "Das stille Volk" in *Irische Elfenmärchen*, pp. 20–25; p. 20. (English translation quoted from the original, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* [London: John Murray, 1825], p. 37.)

die Flasche ... dieser ungläubigen Zeit] "It was in 34 the good days when the little people, most impudently called fairies, were more frequently seen than they are in these unbelieving times." Quotation from the fairy tale, "Die Flasche" [Legend of Bottle Hill], no. 9 in the section "Das stille Volk" in *Irische Elfenmärchen*, pp. 42–55; p. 42. Kierkegaard writes "Folk" for "Volk." (English translation quoted from the original, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* [London: John Murray, 1825], p. 85.)

book two, no. 2] Presumably alludes to the fairy 5 233 tale, "Die erzürnten Elfen" [The Angry Elves], no. 2 in the section "Das stille Volk" in *Irische Elfenmärchen*, pp. 9–12. The fairy tale is about a young

man who does not fear "the quiet people." When he comes one night to a hole in the mountain where they are said to live, he decides to knock on the door to find out if they are in there. He seizes a stone as large as two fists and throws it into the hole. He can hear how it falls from the one cliff to the next; but when he leans over to see what happened to it, it comes back and strikes him in the face with such force that he tumbles to the ground.

232*m* 9 **das mag dahin gestellt bleiben (Grimm, p. 20)**] "Be this as it may. " Quotation from *Irische Elfenmärchen*, p. 20. The continuation of the quotation (→ 232,*28*). (English translation quoted from the original, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* [London: John Murray, 1825], p. 37.)

233 21 **commune naufragium**] Latin, "common shipwreck"; alludes to the Latin saying "commune naufragium omnibus solatium" ["a common shipwreck is a consolation to everyone"], registered by Erasmus of Rotterdam in his collection of sayings *Adagia* (4th chiliade, centurie 3, proverbium 9) from the beginning of the 16th century. The saying also appears in the version "commune naufragium dulce" ["a common shipwreck is sweet"]; the origin of this formulation, which is not cited by Erasmus, is not known.

233 25 **brownie**] A small fairy, elf, or gnome who is helpful at night, portrayed as a little brown man (see the following note).

25 **Grimm Irische Elfenmärchen, preface p. xlix**] *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm (→ 225*m*,*21*), "Einleitung," section "Die Elfen in Schottland" [The Elves in Scotland] no. 12 "Der Brownie," p. xlix: "He never speaks of his origins; however, he seems on the whole to belong to the elves. In stature he is not so thin, but rather well developed and well-behaved, whereas others portray him as thin and shaggy. He gets his name from his particularly *brown* color. He is industrious, always has the interests of his master in mind and is always at hand, according to some reports, day and night; according to others, he lies during the day stretched out in his corner and works during the night. He does everything for a light meal and at times for a worn-out piece of clothing; indeed, he tends to disappear after being paid a second time. Such a cheap and useful servant should thus be highly valued, but cannot be bought with money."

the brownie . . . where it acted as a guardian spirit] 29 → 233,*25*.

Beware false prophets . . . inwardly are sheep] Alludes to Mt 7:15, where Jesus says: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves." 6 234

everyone lied but the stones spoke the truth] Presumably an allusion to the account of Jesus's entry into Jerusalem in Lk 19:28–40. When the multitude of disciples praised God and paid homage to Jesus as king, some of the Pharisees said to Jesus that he should rebuke his disciples, but he answered: "I tell you, if these were silent, the stones would shout out" (v. 40). Cf. also Hab 2:11. 12 234

the vulture tearing at Prometheus's liver] According to Greek myth, Prometheus stole fire from heaven and gave it to humankind, which he had created. Zeus punished him by chaining him to a cliff, where a vulture tore out his liver every day, which then grew back during the night. Prometheus is often regarded as the progenitor of human culture. Cf. *Paul Fr. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul Fr. A. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], F. G. Klopfer, 2nd ed., vols. 1–2 (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945, abbreviated here as *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch*), vol. 2, p. 493. 16 234

Having said previously . . . immediate musically] Refers to an entry with the heading, "Something on the Page in *Figaro*; Papageno in *The Magic Flute* and *Don Giovanni*," dated January 26, 1837, in *Journal BB*; cf. BB:24, pp. 107–111 in this volume. — **D. Juan**: Don Juan, the main character in W. A. Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (→ 274*m*,*2*). 1 235

having stressed precisely . . . in Lenau's Faust . . . musical] Refers to a marginal entry, dated September 29, 1837, in *Journal BB*; cf. BB:11.a. — **Lenau's *Faust***: Lenau is the pseudonym for the Austrian Romantic author Nikolaus Franz Niembsch Edler von Strehlenau (1802–50). Here reference is made to his epic-dramatic poem, *Faust. Ein Gedicht* [Faust, a Poem] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836), "Der Tanz" [The Dance], pp. 49ff. — **subordinated**: Here in the 5

sense of "lower." — **Mephisto**: Or Mephistopheles is the servant and the evil spirit, the devil, in the story of Faust.

12 **they dance ... a footprint in the dew-covered grass**] Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen* (→ 225*m,21*), "Einleitung," p. lxxxif.: "The elves' joy and occupation consist everywhere of *dancing* .... Circles which have been trod in the dewy grass can be seen outside Scotland, also in Scandinavia and Northern Germany, and when seeing them everyone cries: 'the elves danced there!' ... One also sees watersprites dance on the surface of the water."

17 **Chladni-figure**] Symmetrical pattern or figure formed, for example, by sand on a plate of glass or metal when the bow of a violin is drawn along the edge. Also called "acoustic figures." The phenomenon was discovered in 1787 by the German physicist E. F. F. Chladni and studied by Ørsted, who demonstrated in 1807 that a pure sound produces a hyperbole in the sand. In 1808 Ørsted received the silver medal from the Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters for the treatise "Forsøg over Klangfigurerne" [Experiments on Acoustic Figures], published in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter for Aar 1807 og 1808* [The Writings of the Royal Danish Academy of Science for the Years 1807 and 1808], vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1810), pp. 31–64.

19 **Grimm's irische Elfenmärchen**] *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm (→ 225*m,21*).

20 **a changeling, of decided musical genius ... force**] Refers to the legend *Der kleine Sackpfeifer* [The Little Bagpiper], which is about a changeling, who, by playing his bagpipes, bewitches both living and lifeless things into dancing, *Irische Elfenmärchen* (→ 225*m,21*), pp. 25–35, especially 30. Cf. BB:11.a.

22 **the legend of Venusberg**] Refers to L. Tieck's story "Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser" [The Faithful Eckhart and Tannhäuser] (1799), of which the story about Venusberg is a part. The story is included in his *Phantasus. Eine Sammlung von Märchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen* [Fantasy: A Collection of Fairy Tales, Stories, Plays, and Novellas], vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1812–16), which appears as vols. 4–5 in *Ludwig Tieck's Schriften* [The Writings of Ludwig Tieck], vols. 1–15 (Berlin, 1828), and vols. 16–28 (Berlin, 1843–54), vol. 4, pp. 173–213. Cf. BB:11.

Grimm 1: c: p. lxxxii. "As much ... cuts the strings.] 22 Excerpt in Danish from *Irische Elfenmärchen* (→ 225*m,21*), "Einleitung," p. lxxxii: "When the elves celebrate a feast, they also bring their music along, nor is it absent from their great processions; the legends of all peoples are in agreement about this. The mermaids know how to sing unknown songs ... and it is impossible to describe the magic, which the singing of the elf girls exerts on all of nature; everything hearkens to it and seems to become paralyzed, as it were."—**l: c: p:**: Latin abbreviation for "loco citato pagina," "on the previously cited page."—**Danish Ditties 1, 234**: reference to the folk song "Elvehøj" [Elf Hill], which tells of the magical power in the song of the elf girls, in *Udvalgte Danske Viser fra Middelalderen* [Selected Danish Songs from the Middle Ages], ed. W. H. F. Abrahamson, K. Nyerup, and K. L. Rahbek, vols. 1–5 (Copenhagen, 1812–14; ASKB 1477–1481), vol. 1, pp. 234–236.

der schwedische Nix ... zum Tanz aufspielt] "The 28 Swedish merman or the *Strömkarl* [a male water spirit], who, sitting deep in the water, incites the elves to dance by playing." Quotation from *Irische Elfenmärchen* (→ 225*m,21*), "Einleitung," p. lxxxiii.

Yes, then the fiddler ... (e.g. "The Fairy King 30 Song" ... cuts the strings] Partial excerpt in Danish from *Irische Elfenmärchen*, "Einleitung," p. lxxxiii, where it is said of the Zealand musical piece "The Fairy King Song," that it could make everyone, young and old, indeed even lifeless things, dance (like the music of the young bagpipe player) (→ 235,*20*), "and the fiddler himself cannot stop unless he knows exactly how to play the song backwards or someone from behind him cuts the strings of his fiddle." Cf. also *Mythologien der Feen und Elfen* (→ 218,*28*), vol. 1, p. 153.

Man is to judge angels] Refers to 1 Cor 6:3, where 35 235
Paul writes to the Corinthians : "Do you not know that we are to judge angels—to say nothing of ordinary matters?"

αποκαραδοκια της κτισεως] → 215,*17*. 35

the elves ... "irische Elfenmärchen ... Thiele 1,] 37 Cf. *Irische Elfenmärchen* (→ 225*m,21*), "Einleitung," p. xcvii: "The elves also make use of the services of human beings. Two musicians were forced to play in a Scottish Shian [a fairy mound] for a hundred years. Most often, however, what happens is that

they hastily take midwives into the mountains or underwater and demand their help (*Deutsche S*. Nr. 41. 49. 304. Thiele I. 36.)." — **Deutsche Sagen N 41; 49; 304**: *Deutsche Sagen* [German Legends], ed. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1816–18), vol. 1, pp. 51–54 (no. 41, "Die Ahnfrau von Ranzau" [The Ancestress of Ranzau]), pp. 61–63 (no. 49, "Der Wassermann" [The Aquarian]), and pp. 392f. (no. 304, "Der Nix an der Keller" [The Water Sprite of the Cellar]). — **Thiele 1, 36**: *Danske Folkesagn*, series 1–4, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1818–23; ASKB 1591–1592), vol. 1, p. 36 (the relevant chapter bears the title "De Underjordiske hente en Gjordemoder" [The Subterranean Dwellers Fetch a Midwife]).

236 5 **pronomen reflexivum**] Latin, "reflexive pronoun."

7 **Grundtvig is right**] Presumably refers to Grundtvig's treatise "Rom og Jerusalem. (En historisk Parallel)" [Rome and Jerusalem. (A Historical Parallel)] in *Theologisk Maanedsskrift* [Monthly Journal of Theology], ed. N. F. S. Grundtvig and A. G. Rudelbach, vols. 1–13 (Copenhagen, 1825–28; ASKB 346–351), vol. 1, pp. 201–230; p. 204, but especially pp. 213f.: "We call *rational* every view and every thought process in which we *infer from ourselves*, without contradicting ourselves in the inference, and one then easily sees that in the Roman view, reason infers from itself to the world, and strives as well as it can to bring the inner and the outer experience into line with its independence and self-willedness; in Jerusalem, by contrast, reason infers from itself to its creator, and relies on an external experience (revelation), which explains the inner experience and teaches man that all of his perplexity and unhappiness arises from his self-willedness, which wants to destroy his complete dependence on the creator, but is, of course, not able to do so. . . . Roman reason grounds all of its inferences in the perceptual relation to the visible world; Israelite reason grounds all of its inferences in the spiritual relation to the invisible, or in a word, Roman wisdom arises from the senses, and Israelite wisdom from conscience." Cf. also Grundtvig's *Haandbog i Verdens-Historien* [Handbook of World History], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1833–42), vol. 2, 1836, pp. 18f. — **Grundtvig**: Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), Danish author, hymn writer, historian, and pastor.

I am the Truth] Alludes to Jn 14:6, where Jesus says: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." 17 236

Clausen and Hohlenberg's . . . pp. 485–534] *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* [Journal for Foreign Theological Literature] ed. H. N. Clausen and M. H. Hohlenberg, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 485–533. (Kierkegaard owned vol. 4 ([Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB U 29]); Kierkegaard's name appears on the list of subscribers that appears in vol. 5, p. vii, as "Kjerkegaard, Stud. theol." This could not have been Kierkegaard's elder brother P. C. Kierkegaard, since he had become Cand. theol. in 1826.) With these two editiors, the journal appeared with four issues per year from 1833 to 1841. — **Clausen**: Henrik Nicolai Clausen (1793–1877), Danish theologian and politician, dr. phil. and theol., appointed professor extraordinarius in 1822, and professor ordinarius of theology (dogmatics) in 1830 at the University of Copenhagen. — **Hohlenberg**: Matthias Hagen Hohlenberg (1797–1845) theologian, dr. phil. and theol., appointed professor extraordinarius in 1827, and professor ordinarius of theology (Old Testament) in 1831 at the University of Copenhagen. 22 236

a treatise by Baur on the Xn Element in Platonism] "Det Christelige i Platonismen eller Sokrates og Christus. En religionsphilosophisk Undersøgelse" [The Christian Elements in Platonism or Socrates and Christ. An Investigation in the Philosophy of Religion] by Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), German theologian, from 1826 professor of Protestant theology at the University of Tübingen and founder of the so-called Tübingen School. 24

the part omitted from the periodical] The treatise consists only of the second part, "Platonismens Slægtskab med Christendommen med Hensyn til den Betydning, som af Plato tillægges Sokrates's Person" [The Kinship of Platonism and Christianity with Respect to the Meaning Which Plato Ascribes to the Person of Socrates], along with the conclusion of the first section, "Slægtskabet mellem Platonismen og Christendommen, betragtet efter den platoniske Philosophies Hovedlærdommes Charakteer og dens Standpunkt i Almindelighed," [The Kinship of Platonism and Christianity Viewed with Regard to the Character of the Primary Doctrine of Platonic Philosophy and Its Point of View 27

in General], from F. C. Baur's book, *Das Christliche des Platonismus oder Socrates und Christus. Eine religionsphilosophische Untersuchung* [The Christianness of Platonism, or Socrates and Christ: An Investigation in the Philosophy of Religion] (Tübingen, 1837; ASKB 422) (a reprint from *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* [Tübingen Journal for Theology] [Tübingen, 1837], no. 3). Cf. the editors' introduction in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, p. 485.

31 **his parallel between Xt and Socrates**] Parallels and differences between Socrates and Christ are discussed again and again by F. C. Baur; cf. *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, pp. 506f., pp. 509ff., pp. 514ff., and pp. 523–527.

32 **p. 529. "Just as . . . the standpoint of the hum.**] Quotation from the bottom of p. 528 to the top of p. 529.

237 13 **ομφαλοψυχιται**] Greek (omphalopsychitaí), "navel gazers." The word comes from the Greek Orthodox ascetic monks, the omphalopsychites or hesychastes on Mount Athos (in the 14th century); by remaining in absolute calm, concentrating all their attention, and meditatively staring at their own navels, they attempted to attain a condition of complete calm (hēsychía) and mystic, religious ecstasy (hesychasm), in which they experienced the universe in its entirety and beheld the divine magnificence.

237 24 **the monks to begin . . . the creation of the world**] Refers to the Christian universal histories written by monks in the Middle Ages, often based on Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea's world chronicle, which covers the period from the creation of the world to around the year 300. It builds on the chronography of Sextus Julius Africanus, which brings together primary events in sacred and profane history from the creation of the world to around the year 220. These often long-winded universal histories used the Bible as their primary source and the Biblical story of redemption, beginning with the Flood, as a guide for interpreting historical development. The epoch-making turning point for these histories is the birth of Christ, and its endpoint is Judgment Day, the end of the world and the beginning of eternal life.

238 1 **the bad infinity**] An expression from Hegel's philosophy. According to Hegel's dialectical understanding of concepts, the finite should be understood in the light of the infinite, i.e., "the part" should be understood in the light of the self-developing "whole." This understanding is a speculative conception of concepts since it presupposes a unity of the finite and the infinite. But if consciousness merely moves from one thing to the next in an infinite series, without considering the relationship of infinity to finitude, consciousness comes no further. Hegel calls this kind of infinity the "bad" or "negative" infinity; "bad" here means the endless continuation within finitude, which is not determined by a definite opposite and thus does not enter into a dialectical process. Cf., for example, *Encyclopädie* (→ 214*m,8*), vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 6, p. 184 (*Jub.* vol. 8, p. 222), and *Wissenschaft der Logik* → 214*m,8*), vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 3, pp. 150–152 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 160–162). In Denmark this concept is treated by J. L. Heiberg in his article, "Et Par Ord om det Uendelige" [A Few Words about the Infinite], *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*, no. 100, 1828; his *Indlednings-Foredrag* (→ 214*m,8*), pp. 6 and 11; and L. Zeuthen's *Menneskets moralske Selvstændighed* [Man's Moral Autonomy] (Copenhagen, 1832), p. 72.

Copernicus] Nicolaus Copernicus (Nikolaus Koppernigk) (1473–1543), Polish astronomer, who—as the first in the modern period—formulated the theory of the heliocentric universe (i.e., the sun at the center of the universe, and the planets, including the earth, in orbit around it) in contrast to the medieval theory of the geocentric universe (i.e., the earth at the center, and the planets as well as the sun revolving around it). Proponents of the heliocentric universe were called "Copernicans." 8 238

Minerva springs out of Jupiter's head] The Roman goddess Minerva (Greek, Athena), who sprang out of Jupiter's (Greek, Zeus's) forehead fully armed. 14

asylum] In the liberal press, the support of asylums was a common and popular expression of the social responsibility of the citizenry. 17

I know that nothing in the world . . . our Lord] Cf. Rom 8:38–39, where Paul writes: "For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in 21 238

all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."

239 4 **Erdmann]** → 211,*10*.

4 **religious irony in "Wissen und Glauben," lecture 10]** J. E. Erdmann *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen als Einleitung in die Dogmatik und Religionsphilosophie* [Lectures on Faith and Knowledge as an Introduction to Dogmatics and the Philosophy of Religion] (Berlin, 1837; ASKB 479), pp. 80–88. Here Erdmann defines religious nihilism and religious irony as follows: "What . . . allows the I to be identical with itself is that something becomes true by being believed. It does not matter what the object is—i.e., what content it has—but rather any object of belief is true when, by believing it, the I remains in agreement with itself. This point of view—when fixed—leads to *religious nihilism* (or indifferentism). . . If, then, the I, when ascribing validity to the object of belief, does so not by ascribing validity to the object on account of, say, an objective property or on account of its content, but rather is aware that the kind of object it considers true is completely arbitrary and that it is thus permissible to arbitrarily change the object as long as it remains in agreement with itself, then this leads to the point of view we call *religious irony*," pp. 81–83. In short, the principle of religious nihilism is this: "Believe what you believe. The *what*, is inessential." Religious irony, by contrast, intensifies this principle insofar as it also includes a consciousness of this arbitrariness, p. 85.

4 **irony . . . the difference between it and unbelief]** Cf. *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen*, lecture 11, to which Erdmann in the table of contents gives the heading "Der Unglaube" [Unbelief]; here religious irony is distinguished from unbelief as follows: "Since, therefore, religious irony consisted of the fact that religious consciousness, possessing a content, simultaneously knew this content to be untrue (since it knew *another* content to be true), the truth for consciousness now does not consist in the fact that the antithetical content is *also* true but, instead, consciousness will posit the truth in nothing other than the fact that every objective content, since it is thus determined, is rejected. This point of view, where consciousness knows itself to be true and is satisfied in and only in rejecting every content, we call *unbelief*," p. 90.

Credo ut intelligam] Latin, "I believe in order that I might understand." The often quoted statement comes from Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), Proslogion, chap. 1: "Neque enim quaero intelligere, ut credam, sed credo, ut intelligam" ["For I never seek to understand in order to be able to believe, but I believe in order to be able to understand"]; cf. W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], vols. 1–11 (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), vol. 8.1, 1810, p. 120, note 71. Cf. also H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 516: "It [Hegelian philosophy] is the consequence and result of the work of centuries, but in order to understand this it is necessary to understand the principle which forms the foundation of what is called 'the dominant' philosophical movement in the entirety of the modern period, in its opposition to the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages. The philosophy of the Middle Ages rested on faith; its principle was Anselm's well-known *credam ut intelligam* [Latin, "I will believe in order that I might understand"] which is no different from the age-old saying, 'The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.' " Martensen repeats the Latin phrase at the bottom of p. 517 and discusses it again in his dissertation *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* (→ 230,*21*), p. 6. 13 239

Nihil est in intellectu . . . in sensu] Latin, "There is nothing in the understanding which was not first in the senses." This oft-quoted sentence expresses the fundamental thought in Aristotle's empiricism and appears in the form, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non sit prius in sensu" ["Nothing is in the understanding, which is not previously in the senses"] in Thomas Aquinas's (d. 1274) *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, 2.3. Although the formulation itself is not found in Aristotle, it is based on his doctrine of sense experience and abstraction, which he develops in *De anima*, book 2 (especially chap. 12) and book 3 (especially chap. 4). The Latin formulation was much discussed at the time because of Hegel's use of it in his defense of idealism; cf. *Encyclopädie* (→ 214*m,8*), vol. 1, "Die Logik," in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 6, § 8, p. 14 (*Jub.* vol. 8, 52): "There is an old saying that is usually (but falsely) attributed to *Aristotle*—as if it were supposed to express the standpoint of his philosophy: 13

nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit in sensu. (There is nothing in the intellect that has not been in sense-experience.) If speculative philosophy refused to admit this principle, that would have to be considered a misunderstanding. But conversely, philosophy will equally affirm: *Nihil est in sensu, quod non fuerit in intellectu*—in the most general sense that the *nous*, and more profoundly *the spirit*, is the cause of the world, and more precisely . . . that feelings concerning right, ethical life, and religion are feelings—and hence an experience—of the kind of content that has its root and its seat in thinking alone." (English translation quoted from Hegel, *The Encyclopaedia Logic. Part One of the Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. T. F. Gerats, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris [Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991], p. 32.) Hegel's polemical use of this Aristotelian claim is also discussed by Fr. Baader in *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics], no. 2, (Münster, 1830) (cf. ASKB 396, no. 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828, nos. 2–5, Münster, 1830–38), p. 53, and H. L. Martensen in *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* (→ 230,*21*), p. 40. (For an English translation, cf. *The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness in Modern Dogmatic Theology* in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard*, trans. and ed. Curtis L. Thompson and David J. Kangas [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997]. Cf. further Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 230,*21*), vol. 2, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 14, pp. 332 and 385 (*Jub*. vol. 18, p. 332 and p. 385).

239 *16* **placed the whole world . . . under water**] Alludes to the Flood (cf. Gen 6–7).

18 **enclosed a little world within itself**] Alludes to Noah's ark (cf. Gen 6–8).

20 **a raven fly off . . . with an olive leaf**] Alludes to the account of the end of the Flood (Gen 8:6–12), where it is told that 40 days after the ark had grounded on Mount Ararat, Moses opened the hatch and released a raven, which flew back and forth until the water had receded from the land. He likewise released a dove, but when it did not find a place to land since water covered the entire earth, it returned to the ark. Noah waited seven days and seven nights before releasing the dove again and, in the evening, it returned with a fresh olive branch in its beak. Noah then knew that the water had receded. After seven more days, he again released the dove, and it did not return.

Rejoice you . . . of a wife] Quotation from Isa 54:1, perhaps in Kierkegaard's own translation. *3* 239*m*

this is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone] These are Adam's words after God created Eve from the rib he took from Adam (Gen 2:23). *24* 239

the raven . . . lost its object] Alludes to Aesop's fable about the fox and the raven. Cf. *Phædri Æsopiske Fabler* [Phaedrus's Fables of Aesop], trans. M. R. Thaarup (Copenhagen, 1826), book 1, no. 13, pp. 8f.: "Those people who like to hear the praise of fawning tongues / regret it too late when they suffer the mocking punishment. // From the wind the raven snatched a piece of cheese, / And to eat it in peace he sat / Up in a tree. The fox saw this, and immediately / He exclaimed: O, how beautiful is the splendor of your wings, / How lovely, raven, your face, and your manners refined! / If only you possessed a voice, no bird would then be like you. / Now the fool also wanted to show his voice, but / as it opened up its bill, the cheese fell down, / which with greedy tooth the fox quickly snatched up. / Only then with a sigh did the deceived raven see his stupidity." *28* 239

the first standpoint of genuinely orthodox dogmatics . . . importance] Cf. I. H. Fichte's treatise "Speculation og Aabenbaring" [Speculation and Revelation] in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* (→ 241,*6*), pp. 755f.: "*Schleiermacher* has initiated the same decisive crisis for religious consciousness that, in the speculative direction, has come to expression in the way in which negative idealism dialectically overcame itself through thoroughgoing reflection. Moreover, on the one hand, a living spring of faith has been opened that is directly opposed to dead literalist orthodoxy; this spring gushes forth with the presence of a divine witness, which constantly renews itself from within. On the other hand, this provides a scientific principle and a central point for appropriating the positive doctrines as new and truly animating: a decided benefit for the formation of present-day theology as well as for the regeneration and refreshening of the religious life among us." — **orthodox dogmatics**: → 244,*15*. *1* 240

1 **Schleiermacher**] → 211,16. In his work, *Über die Religion, Reden an die Gebildeten und ihren Verächtern* (Berlin, 1799, abbreviated here as *Über die Religion*), Schleiermacher grounds religion in a feeling of dependence on a higher being, and defines piety as an experience of the finite, viewed in the light of the eternal and infinite. The definition of religion as a feeling of absolute dependence on the divine, i.e., as a feeling of having one's being in and with the divine and thus as a feeling of unity with the divine, constitutes the basis for Schleiermacher's dogmatics in *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 211,18). Here dogmatics is defined as a reflection upon religion and thus as an attempt to express religious feeling in words.With his characterization of dogmatics, Schleiermacher was in sharp conflict with both traditional Protestant dogmatics and Hegelian speculative dogmatics. His views on dogmatics, however, did come to form a school within dogmatics. (For English translations, cf. *The Christian Faith*, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999]; *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, trans. Richard Crouter [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996].)

8 **the concept of the miraculous**] Especially in *Über die Religion* Schleiermacher discusses "miracle" as the ability to see the eternal and the divine in the finite and the natural. "'Miracle' is merely the religious name for event, every one of which, even the most natural and usual, is a miracle as soon as it adapts itself to the fact that the religious view of it can be the dominant one. To me, everything is a miracle," p. 118. (English translation quoted from Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, trans. Richard Crouter, p. 49)

9 **its inwardness within the system**] Alludes to the fact that Schleiermacher rejects "miracles" in the sense of a designation for objective events which break with nature. By contrast "miracle" is an expression for the way in which the religious self-consciousness as absolute feeling of dependence on God experiences actuality as a whole. According to Kierkegaard, Schleiermacher's "whole standpoint is that of the miraculous." With "the system" Kierkegaard refers to Schleiermacher's dogmatics, *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 211,18).

12 **his entire self-consciousness ... Chr. self-consciousness**] According to Schleiermacher, religious self-consciousness is always historically mediated; there is no natural religion. For the Christian, Jesus is the purest incarnation of a consciousness of God as the absolute feeling of dependence, which implies that everything in the life of Jesus was related to God. Jesus is thus the prototype for every Christian self-consciousness. In this sense it can be asserted that Schleiermacher's "entire self-consciousness is a purely new Chr. self-consciousness."

novella] In the 1820s and especially the 1830s the novella became a very popular genre in Danish literature. 15 240

plaster-cast seller on Østergade] The shop-window of Guiseppe Barsugli on Østergade in Copenhagen (*see map 2, C2-D2*). 16

the religious assurance ... overcome the world] An allusion to 1 Jn 5:4: "For whatever is born of God conquers the world. And this is the victory that conquers the world, our faith." 25 240

novella] → 240,15. 32 240

oxy-gas microscope] Actually, hydro-oxygen-gas-microscope, i.e., a projection microscope or light microscope named after the fuel used for the light source, i.e., "hydro-oxygen-gas," a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen. A demonstration of a microscope of this kind had just taken place in Copenhagen; cf. *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 296, December 13, 1837 (columns 6f.): "It must always be regarded as a happy sign for the patrons of the arts and sciences when here and there a genius raises himself above the crowd. A talent of this kind has appeared in Slesvig, where Mr. *Hess*, who for several years has been occupied with manufacturing optical instruments, has succeeded in creating a *hydro-oxygen-gas-microscope*, which magnifies objects to an even greater degree than the Döbereiner microscope. At an exhibition of this microscope in the hall of the Civic Association, Mr. Hess has given the public the opportunity to see and admire the interesting effects. One could see the smallest aquatic animals, which were barely visible to the naked eye, changed into giant monsters; one could see the leg of a spider magnified to the length of 14 feet, a head of a gnat one and one-half to two feet in diameter, with small hairs from 6 to 8 feet in length." The demonstration discussed here could 2 241

not be dated, but since Copenhagen societies typically held their meetings on Sunday evenings, it could have taken place on Sunday, December 10, 1837.

241 6 **the tract ... Fichte begins his journal**] i.e., I. H. Fichte's treatise, "Spekulation und Offenbarung" [Speculation and Revelation], which is the first essay in his journal, *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Bonn 1837), pp. 1–31. The treatise, which is a critical discussion of the concept of revelation in (post)Hegelian philosophy, was published in Danish as "Speculation og Aabenbaring" in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837) (→ 236,22), pp. 747–777. Concerning the goal of the journal, a Danish summary of Fichte's preface indicates that, "without creating room for an exclusive school or a literary coterie," it aims to "take up the tasks of Christian speculation, cultivate them more broadly and profoundly, and specifically to lead the profound and penetrating questions in dogmatics and practical theology, which now set both churches in movement and seem to evoke old oppositions again, over to philosophical ground, and here, in a speculative treatment, to bring them to a resolution or mutual recognition," p. 747. — **Fichte**: Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879), German philosopher, the son of J. G. Fichte, thus frequently referred to as "the younger Fichte"; appointed professor extraordinarius in philosophy at Bonn in 1836 and professor ordinarius in 1840; professor at Tübingen from 1842 until 1863.

8 **arm himself for battle with such seriousness**] Cf. especially the end of the treatise, *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, p. 776: "We must ... arm ourselves for a time when we will face far more serious and penetrating spiritual crises than any previous age has known. When all the forces of thought and will—themselves perverted, degenerated, and armed with all the weapons of specious sophistry and arrogant energy—enter the struggle, then we, in truth, will need a different kind of armor against them than mere appeals to historical authorities, to custom and convention, or to the old book-learning which has its boundaries clearly laid out. And this is the new character of the present time, the threatening significance of which can certainly only be recognized by one who is himself rooted in the positive in a lively and also clear manner." Toward the conclusion, the article asserts that the foundation for this new knowledge, "whose most general premises we have merely outlined above, is in reality given with the present turn in philosophy," p. 777.

"fear and trembling" (Philippians)] Cf. Phil 2:12. 9 Refers presumably to Fichte's remark that Schleiermacher, with his doctrine of the consciousness of God as a feeling of dependence, has epitomized the utmost extremes within this consciousness: "from the depth of coarseness, which feels a superstitious fear and timidity for the gods ... to the height of a conscious submission, proceeding from free inclination, which feels humility and love," *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, p. 756. — **Philippians**: Members of the congregation in Philippi in Macedonia, which Paul founded and to whom he wrote one of his epistles.

witness in the office of a Notarius publicus] No- 12 tarius publicus, Latin, "public writer," was a designation for the official whose task it was to witness and confirm legal acts, e.g., wills, citizenship papers, letters of appointment, instruments of debt, and judgments; equivalent of the present-day position of notary public. To carry out his duties, he needed a witness, who could confirm that he was present when the notary made out the document; the presence of the witness was supposed to be indicated by a signature.

Frederiksborg] Small town in northeast Zealand 18 241 located northwest of Slotssøen and north of Hillerød (*see map 4, D4*); best known for Frederiksborg Castle. In the middle of the 1830s, Frederiksborg parish had ca. 720 inhabitants. In his childhood Kierkegaard often spent his holidays in Frederiksborg; cf., DD:122.a.

full of days] Part of a common expression in the 30 241 OT about dying "old and full of days." Cf., for example, Gen 25:8 and Job 42:17.

revitalizing bath] Presumably an allusion to Titus 31 3:5, where Paul writes: "He saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we have done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit."

One sets out to find the bluebird ... unhappy 1 242 **beloved**] Refers to Queen Florine in the fairy tale

"The Bluebird", whose main motif was known as early as the 12th century, and was included by Marie Catherine le Jumel de Barneville, Baronness d'Aulnoy, under the title, "L'Oiseau bleu," in her fairy tale collection, *Contes de fées* [Fairy Tales], vols. 1–14 (Paris, 1697). The story tells of Princess Florine, who, on becoming queen, immediately appoints a state council to run the government so she can go out into the world to search for her beloved King Charmant. He has been transformed into a bluebird by Florine's stepmother because he refused to marry her own ugly daughter. Kierkegaard presumably knew the fairy tale from *Feen-Märchen der Frau Gräfin v. Aulnoy in vier Bänden* [Fairy Tales of Mme. Countess d'Aulnoy, in Four Volumes], in *Die Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen* [The Blue Library of All Nations], ed. F. J. Bertuch and F. Jacobs, vols. 1–12 (Gotha and Weimar, 1790–1800; ASKB 1445–1456), vols. 3–4 and vols. 9–10. Translated into German under the title "Der blaue Vogel" [The Bluebird], the fairy tale is found in vol. 3, pp. 67–126; the part told here is on p. 108.

6 **dressed as a peasant girl, she says . . . Sorgen und Leiden**] German: "I am not alone, my mother; I have with me a large retinue of grief, worries, and sorrows." Here Kierkegaard is apparently citing the German text from memory and thus only approximately. In "Der blaue Vogel," Queen Florine goes on her search dressed as a peasant girl and, on her journey, meets an old hunchbacked woman who asks her why she is alone: "Ach Mütterchen! erwiedert Florine, ich bin nicht allein; Kummer, Unruhe und Beschwerden sind meine Gesellschafter, und Tränen begleiten diese Antwort [Oh, little Mother, Florine replied, I am not alone: grief, unrest, and troubles are my companions, and tears accompany this answer]," (*Die Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen*, vol. 3, p. 111).

17 **the sorcerer . . . König Huldreich! Wo bist Du**?] In "Der blaue Vogel," King Charmant's best friend, "der Zauberer" [the sorcerer], becomes so concerned for him that he travels around the world eight times in an attempt to find him, but his efforts are in vain. On his ninth journey, he enters the forest where the king is living, blows his horn five times as usual, and then shouts the king's name with all his might; Charmant then recognizes his friend's voice. Cf. *Die Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen*, vol. 3, p. 103. The quotation is not found in the German translation used here, where the king is always called Charmant and not Huldreich; Kierkegaard therefore might have used another German translation.

a king and queen . . . summoned all the nursemaids] Refers presumably to the fairy tale "Prinzessin Frühlingsschön" [Princess Spring Beauty], in *Feen-Märchen der Frau Gräfin v. Aulnoy in vier Bänden*, in *Die Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen* (→ 242,*1*), vol. 3, pp. 188–220. The fairy tale tells of a king and queen whose many children all die very young. When the queen at long last becomes pregnant again, they summon the best nursemaids in order to find one who can prevent this baby from dying, pp. 188f. 21

summon parliament] Refers to the four advisory provincial assemblies of the Estates in Denmark, granted by the decree of May 15, 1834. 23

Nulla dies sine linea] Latin, "no day without a brush-stroke," proverb attributed to the Greek painter Apelles, who practiced his skills every day; here presumably used in the sense: "no day without a (written) line." 1 243

Poul Møller is dead] The philosopher and poet Professor Poul Martin Møller died on March 13, 1838, not yet 44 years of age. 7 243

little Carl] presumably Kierkegaard's nephew Carl Ferdinand Lund (1830–1912), the son of Nicoline Christine Kierkegaard and Johann Christian Lund; later agriculturalist and farm owner. 17 243

the new apartment into which I planned on moving] Kierkegaard seems to have planned to leave the apartment in Løvstræde (*see map 2, C2*) on "moving day" in April; he had presumably lived there since he had moved out of his father's house on Nytorv 2 on September 1, 1837. The apartment Kierkegaard had in mind is not known and, thus, it is likewise not known if he ever moved into it. 18

Haman's . . . protest . . . meaning-reality of existence] It has not been possible to identify more precisely what is being referred to. → 206,*1*. 2 244

the genuinely serious doubt in modern philosophy] Cf., for example, H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m*,*8*), p. 518: "The campaign slogan now be- 3

came, '*Doubt* is the beginning of wisdom.' " Martensen, moreover, emphasizes that doubt as the principle of methodological science, i.e., Hegelian philosophy, should not be confused with mere negative skepticism: "The demand, 'de omnibus dubitandum est,' [Latin, "one should doubt everything"] is easier said than done, for what is required is not finite doubt, not the popular doubt about one thing or another, with which one always reserves something for oneself which cannot be called into doubt. ... Science thus demands absolute, infinite doubt. Therefore, each of the various systems which philosophized in this direction had to begin an entire philosophy from the start, for it was always apparent that the previous system had left behind a presupposition which was not called into doubt, and that this was the unjustified beginning from which it originated," pp. 519f. The claim that modern philosophy begins with doubt usually invokes Descartes; cf., for example, the heading to part 1, § 1, of *Principia philosophiae* [1644, The Principles of Philosophy]: "Veritatem inquirenti, semel in vita de omnibus, quantum fieri potest, esse dubitandum" ["The seeker after truth must, once in the course of his life, doubt everything, as far as is possible"]. (English translation quoted from *Principles of Philosophy*, trans. John Cottingham, in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, vols. 1–2, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984–85], vol. 1, p. 193.) See also Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 230,*21*), vol. 3, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 15, pp. 334ff. (*Jub*. vol. 19, p. 334ff.).

244 *6* **Nielsen**] Nicolai Peter Nielsen (1795–1860), actor at the Royal Theater from 1820.

6 **Glæde over Danmark**] Poul Martin Møller's (→ 243,*7*) poem "Rosen blusser alt i Danas Have" [The Rose Flushes Red Already in Dana's Garden], written in July, 1820 in Manila during a trip to the Orient (1819–20), published under the title "Glæde over Danmark" [Joy over Denmark], in K. L. Rahbek's *Tilskuerne. Et Ugeskrift* [The Spectators, a Weekly Journal], no. 47, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1823), pp. 374–376. The poem was recited by P. N. Nielsen on Sunday evening, April 1, 1838 at an "Evening Entertainment" at the Royal Theater, arranged by the Royal Chamber musician C. F. Lemming; cf. *Adresseavisen*, no. 77, March 31, 1838.

Do you remember the far-traveled man] Cf. verse 3, which begins "Mine Venner i den danske Sommer! / Mindes I den vidtforreiste Mand?" ["My friends in the Danish summer! / Do you remember the far-traveled man?"] *8*

Justin Martyr] Apologist of the early Church, born ca. 100 in Samaria of pagan parents, first studied philosophy, especially Platonism, later converted to Christianity. He traveled as a Christian philosopher and came to Rome, where he suffered a martyr's death around 165. Of his numerous works, only a single one is preserved, which includes his two defenses of Christianity to the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius; cf. *Justinus Martyrs Apologier eller Forsvarsskrifter for Christendommen* [The Apologies of Justin Martyr or the Defenses of Christianity], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB 141, abbreviated here as *Justinus Martyrs Apologier*). *12* 244

does not conceive of the world nearly so polemically] Presumably alludes to the fact that, in his apologies, Justin Martyr places more emphasis on the need for Christians to be granted legal recognition than on polemically attacking the philosophy and religion of the age. He guarantees, for example, that Christians will be good citizens in the Roman state. Cf., First Apology, § 17: "So we worship God only, but in other things we gladly serve you [the emperor], acknowledging you as emperor and ruler of men and women, and praying that with your imperial power you may also be found to possess sound judgment," *Justinus Martyrs Apologier*, p. 23f. (English translation quoted from St. Justin Martyr, *The First and Second Apologies*, trans. Leslie William Barnard [New York, Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1997], p. 35.) And § 20: "If, then, on some points we teach the same things as the poets and philosophers whom you honor, and on other points are more complete and worthy of God [in our teaching], and if we alone offer proof, why are we unjustly hated above all others? For while we say that all things have been ordered and made by God, we will appear to utter the teaching of Plato; and while we say there will be destruction by fire, that of the Stoics; and while we declare that the souls of the unrighteous will be punished after death, still remaining conscious, and those of the *14*

righteous being delivered from punishment enjoy blessedness, we will appear to say the same things as the poets and philosophers," p. 28f. (English translation, p. 37.)

15 **the more recent orthodoxy**] i.e., Lutheran or Protestant orthodoxy, a dogmatic, ecclesiastical movement, which arose at the beginning of the 17th century. Orthodoxy was characterized by an emphasis on the Bible as the absolute standard for all Christian doctrine, and the belief that this pure doctrine, together with the confessional books, constitutes the Church. The theologians of orthodoxy established more and more refined and subtle theories about the authority and character of Holy Scripture; they constructed great theological systems and, in a constantly growing admiration for Luther, tried to work out a systematic interpretation of his theology. Among other things, their aim was to distinguish Protestant doctrine from other confessions, Calvinism in particular. Orthodoxy was essentially intellectual, polemical, and intolerant vis-à-vis other dogmatic views, but it also bore the stamp of a strongly spiritual life and an ardent concern for the highest truths of existence. In Kierkegaard's time, orthodoxy still enjoyed a certain degree of support, but the support was often for a weaker version of orthodoxy understood as conservative doctrine.

244 21 **the age of chivalry**] The later Middle Ages, i.e., the 12th and 13th centuries. At this time, there were knightly orders in Europe with chivalrous ideals colored by Christianity. These ideals included military training and special "court" education (politeness, courtesy, elegance).

21 **scholasticism**] A Catholic theological tradition of the late Middle Ages which tried to think through the teachings of the Church fathers with the help of Aristotelian philosophy. The goal was to create doctrinal unity in the Catholic Church. The scholastics were associated with an abbey, or, beginning in the 13th century, with one of the universities which arose in Europe during this period.

244 25 **(the Goddess of Reason) in Paris**] Alludes to the anti-Christian attempts made in 1793 during the French Revolution to institute the veneration of "Reason"; cf. *Karl Friedrich Beckers Verdenshistorie, omarbeidet af Johan Gottfried Woltmann* [Karl Friedrich Becker's History of the World, adapted by Johan Gottfried Woltmann], trans. J. Riise, vols. 1–12 (Copenhagen, 1822–29; ASKB 1972–1983, abbreviated here as *Beckers Verdenshistorie*), vol. 11, 1827, p. 532: "The destroyers of the Christian Church invented the *cult of reason*, and observed it for the first time on November 10, 1793 in the church of *Notre Dame*. A disreputable harlot was driven on a chariot to the altar as the goddess of reason, and there honored with hymns and incense."

Simon Magus] The sorcerer Simon of Samaria, 28 who is mentioned in Acts 8:9–13 and 18–24, and about whom various fantastic stories were told.

made out a woman . . . his first published thought] 29 Cf. Justin Martyr's first apology, § 26. Martyr tells of Simon the Samaritan who on account of his magic feats was regarded as a god and received an honorary pillar in Rome. "And almost all the Samaritans," he continues, "and a few in other nations, worship this man and confess him as the first god; and a woman named Helena, who went about with him at that time and had formerly been a public prostitute, bears the name of the first idea generated by him," *Justinus Martyrs Apologier* (→ 244,12), pp. 35f. (English translation quoted from St. Justin Martyr, *The First and Second Apologies*, trans. Leslie William Barnard [New York, Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1997], pp. 40f. Translation slightly modified.) This is referred to by F. C. Baur in *Die christliche Gnosis*, p. 307f.

publici juris] Latin, "reverted to the public," i.e., 30 "publically announced," "published."

the Protestant view of life] Human beings are not 7 245 only born sinners but are also completely corrupted by sin. They have thus lost the ability to do good and therefore cannot bring about their own salvation, which depends solely on God's undeserved grace. Human beings can only be justified by believing in Jesus Christ, who died for every sinner, but since the person of faith continues to live in this world, he remains at once justified and sinful ("simul justus et peccator," as Luther expressed it in Latin). Kierkegaard might also have in mind the Protestant anti-authoritarian criticism of the church, whereby the individual is directly responsible to God, with no intermediary agents (→ 220,33). See also DD:134.

10 **conventicles**] Designation for private devotional meetings of lay people, held outside the church for the purpose of instruction in and practice of pure doctrine; often sectarian and often opposed or directly condemned by the established church. Cf. J. F. Prahl's treatise "Conventikelvæsenet i dets Forhold til Religion og Sædelighed, til Stat og Kirke" [The Institution of Conventicles in Its Relation to Religion and Morality, to State and Church], in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837) (→ 236,22), pp. 417–484.

15 **"for me"**] In his writings, Luther emphasized that the decisive element for personal faith is that Christ died "for me" (or "pro me," as he expressed it in Latin).

245 21 **Jn the Baptist**] John the Baptist (→ 210,6).

245 22 **Transfiguration**] Cf., Jesus's transfiguration, (Mt 17:1–8).

245 24 **the apostle's unmotivated exclamation ... Rejoice**] Refers to Phil 4:4, where the apostle Paul (→ 217,29) exclaims: "Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, Rejoice."

246 2 **with mouth and lip and heart so deep**] A line from the song sung by Copenhagen watchmen at midnight; cf., "Vægternes Natte-Sang udi Kjøbenhavn" [The Night Watchmen's Chants in Copenhagen] in *Instruction for Natte-Vægterne i Kiøbenhavn* [Instruction for Night Watchmen in Copenhagen] (Copenhagen, 1784), p. 21: "Det var om Midnats Tide / Vor Frelser han blev fød, / Til Trøst al Verden vide, / Som ellers var forød; / Vor Klokke er slagen Tolv; / Med Tung' og Mund / Af Hiertens Grund / Befal eder Gud i Vold." ["'Twas upon the midnight-tide / Our Savior he was born, / To comfort all the world so wide, / That then lay all forlorn. / The bell has chimed the midnight hour—/ With mouth and lip / And heart so deep / Praise God with all your pow'r."]

2 **at ... of, in, with, at, upon, by, and with my joy**] Presumably alludes to grammatical mnemonic rhymes with prepositions.

7 **the plains of Mamre**] An oasis at Hebron; figurative term for the place where one meets God and receives his promises; cf. Gen 13:18, where it is written that Abraham settled in "the oaks of Mamre, which are at Hebron." Cf. also Gen 18:1–15, where it is written that God visited Abraham in "the oaks of Mamre" and promised him that Sarah would give birth to Isaac.

the eternal mansions] Preferred figurative term for heaven; cf. Lk 16:9, where Jesus says: "And I tell you, make friends for yourselves by means of dishonest wealth so that when it is gone, they may welcome you into the eternal homes." 7

a man I once read about ... stayed at home] Cf. Justinus Kerner, *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* (→ 219,33), p. 299. 28 246

the young man] Refers to Quintus of Phrygia; cf. "Polykarps Martyrium" [The Martyrdom of Polycarp], chap. 4. After an account of the sufferings and martyrdoms of Christians, including the noble Germanicus, who was killed by wild animals, we are told: "There was one, however, who had recently returned home, a Phrygian by the name of Quintus, who lost his courage at the sight of wild animals. But he had already encouraged himself, and others, to go voluntarily into battle. With much persuasion, the governor convinced him to be untrue to himself and to sacrifice [to the pagan gods]. Therefore, Brothers, we cannot praise someone like this who, of his own accord, runs into danger. The Gospel does not teach such things," "Den Smyrnensiske Menigheds Beretning om Biskop Polykarps Martyrdød," [The Smyrnian Congregation's Account of the Martyrdom of Bishop Polycarp], in *Aposteldisciplen den Smyrnensiske Biskop Polykarps Brev til Philippenserne samt Beretningen om hans Martyrdød* [The Letter to the Philippians from the Disciple of the Apostle, the Smyrnian Bishop Polycarp, together with the Account of His Death as a Martyr], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB 141), p. 21. "Polykarps Martyrium" is included in the group of writings *De Apostolske Fædre* [The Apostolic Fathers]. 5 247

during M. Aurelius's persecution] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor of Rome from 161 to 180, Stoic philosopher. During his reign, persecutions against Christians were initiated several times, including in Asia Minor. He considered the Christians' willingness to be martyred to be an expression of obstinacy and an attempt to gain attention; in 177, he ordered that the followers of new sects and religions that led to rebellion be punished. In 6

Muus's introduction to the two works (pp. ix–xx), he notes that Quintus denied his Christian faith, and that Polycarp suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius, but the information comes from Eusebius's *History of the Church*, book 4, chap. 15; cf. *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første aarhundreder af Eusebius* [The History of the Church through the First Three Centuries, by Eusebius], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 37, abbreviated here as *Kirkens Historie af Eusebius*), p. 204.

7 **Polycarp**] Bishop of Smyrna in Asia Minor, suffered martyrdom on Saturday, February 23, presumably in 155; according to his speech before his martyrdom, he had been a Christian for 86 years. "Polykarps Martyrium" tells of his noble, exemplary martyrdom. His letter to the congregation in Philippi is part of the *De Apostolske Fædre*.

12 **increase before God and men**] Alludes to Lk 2:52. After Jesus had been in the temple as a 12-year-old, he "increased in wisdom and in years, and in divine and human favor."

247 29 **searches men's hearts**] That God tests "hearts and minds" appears many times in the OT; cf., for example, Ps 7:9 and 26:2; Jer 11:20 and 17:10.

247 32 **confessors . . . confessed Xnty**] Quotation from *Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie* (→ 248*m,24*), p. 46: "The Christians, who suffer death for the sake of their faith, were called *martyrs*, from whom one should really distinguish *the confessors* (*confessores*), who, even with the loss of their fortunes and in danger of their lives, stubbornly confessed their belief in Christianity." — **confessores**: Latin, "confessors." See also the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal DD*," p. 486 in this volume.

35 **every geography . . . so many confessing Christians**] Alludes to geographical reports about countries where paganism was still dominant. These provided information about possible converts to the Christian faith; cf., for example, about China in J. Hübner, *Fuldstændig Geographie* [Complete Geography], trans. from German, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1743), vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1749), and vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1745); vol. 2, p. 619: "In the year 1618, the Christian religion too had become familiar in this country [China], where the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits concentrated their efforts. From 1618 to 1650, some 150,000 people converted; from 1650 to 1667 some 104,980 converted. Altogether this equals some 260,480 people who converted in a space of fifty years. This work of conversion has, however, gone somewhat slowly because the *Missionarii* must first learn the Chinese language, which requires a couple of decades' time."

λογος] Greek (lógos), "word". Cf. Jn 1:1–2: "In the beginning was the Word [ὁ λόγος], and the Word [ὁ λόγος] was with God, and the Word [ὁ λόγος] was God. He [ὁ λόγος] was in the beginning with God." And Jn 1:14 about the incarnation of "the Word" in Christ: "And the Word [ὁ λόγος] became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth." 3 248

Gnosticism at "name"] Cf., for example, Irenaeus (2nd century) *Adversus haereses* (a refutation of the Gnostic sects), book 1, chap. 21, where he says: "But others lead them to water and while baptizing them pronounce these words over them: '[I baptize you] into the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into Truth the Mother of all, into him who descended upon Jesus, into the union and redemption and participation of the powers.' " (English translation quoted from St. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against the Heresies*, trans. Dominic J. Unger, vol. 1, book 1 [New York, Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1992], p. 78) (recounted by Eusebius in his *History of the Church*, book 4, chap. 11, see *Kirkens Historie efter Eusebius* [→ 247*6*], p. 198). (English translation: Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. G. A. Williamson [New York: Dorset Press, 1985], p. 164.) Cf. also F. C. Baur, *Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religions-Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwiklung* [Christian Gnosis, or Christian Philosophy of Religion in its Historical Development] (Tübingen, 1835; ASKB 421), p. 87. Here Baur gives an account of the use that Gnosticism made of numerology in the "Epistle of Barnabas," chap. 9:7–9: "Here there is talk of circumcision, and the author calls upon his readers to understand its deeper meaning. 'Abraham, who first introduced circumcision, acted in spiritual anticipation of the Son (Jesus) by laying down the doctrine in three letters. . . . For it is written: 'And Abraham circumcised 318 men of his house. Now, what is the knowledge bestowed upon him (τίς ον 3

ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ γνῶσις [gnōsis])? Note what "the first 18" and then "the 300" mean. With regard to the 18, 10 is designated by ι, 8 by η, and one has the name Jesus. And since the cross in the T is said to be grace (i.e., its mystical meaning), it is written that there have been 300 (in addition to the 18). Thus, he has hinted at Jesus with two letters and at the cross with one. He, who has put this implanted gift of his doctrine into us, knows this. . . .' Thus also here the word γνῶσις signifies the secret, mystic, allegorical meaning which is connected with the external sign of the letter. Therefore, we see here in the linguistic usage of the word γνῶσις the origin of the concept connected to it. Just as the Judeo-Christian Gnosis has its oldest root in allegory, which wanted to raise itself above the mere letter and to spiritualize the externally given content of the writing of the O. T., so also does this spiritual knowledge itself, mediated by allegory, have the name Gnosis."

248*m* 2 **Røyen's old place**] later "Petersborg," which belonged to Mads Nielsen Røyen (d. 1827), brother of Kierkegaard's father's first wife, Kirstine Nielsdatter Røyen.

2 **Hestehaven**] Hilly forest area near Frederiksborg Castle (*see map 4, D4*).

8 **to see myself as a little boy running off**] Cf. DD:92.

21 **Frederiksborg**] → 241,*18*.

248 17 **Chiliasm**] The doctrine about and belief in a thousand-year reign of Christ on earth, based on Rev 20:1–6. Notions of a thousand-year kingdom of this sort are known throughout the entire history of the Church, not least in the conventicles (→ 245,*10*). Chiliasm is known especially in two primary forms: "chiliasmus crassus" ("crass chiliasm"), which wishes to force and realize the thousand-year kingdom through struggle and, if necessary, with violent means, and "chiliasmus subtilissimus" ("subtle chiliasm"), which regards the thousand-year kingdom as a period during which the Church flourishes and Christianity becomes more widespread prior to the return of Christ. (H. L. Martensen was an exponent of this view.)

19 **the younger Fichte**] Cf. his treatise "Speculation og Aabenbaring" in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 747–777 (→ 241,*6*), for example, p. 763 and pp. 769f., where it is said that "Mohammedanism" was anticipated in "the chiliastic ideas of the oriental sects"; see especially pp. 776f. Here Fichte issues a call to arms to take up the fight against mighty forces in the deep-rooted spiritual crises which lie ahead (→ 241,*6*), and then expounds his (modern) chiliastic ideas: "The power of disorder now enters life so much more obtrusively and rebelliously because it has taken root, not in the raw power of the external, but in the depths of the understanding itself, where it adorns itself with the highest spiritual goods, with truth and freedom, and where it is also supported by great genius and defended with demonic enthusiasm. Such a radiant clarity of negation can only be extinguished by a higher understanding which draws from divine light. That which is most profound, most intimate, most mysterious, is no longer merely a matter of faith that may remain ambiguous and unappropriated—even for the most willingly receptive [mind]. It must be understood and victoriously justified in order to prepare the way for the final spiritual decision in which there will no longer be any excuse for the person who turns away—so that he can be judged in accordance with his *will*. And this viewpoint is imposing itself all the more inescapably now that religious doctrine is in danger of seeing itself permanently deprived of its positive foundation by the perfection of that negative philosophical understanding—unless it succedes in conquering such a foundation for itself, once again and forever, by means of an even more profound speculative knowledge."

Baur's Gnosis] F. C. Baur (→ 236,*24*) *Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religions-Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwiklung* (Tübingen, 1835; ASKB 421, abbreviated here as *Die christliche Gnosis*); reviewed by F. R. Hasse in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 205,*2*), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 209–244. In his historical investigation of Christian "gnosis," Baur gives an account not only of the Gnostics in the early church but also of J. Böhme's theosophy, Schelling's philosophy of nature, Schleiermacher's doctrine of belief, and Hegel's philosophy of religion. This historical development is said to have imposed decisive influences and limitations upon "true Christian-dogmatic categories." 20

The specifically Jewish element in the doctrine] "Chiliasmus crassus" (→ 248,*17*) is thought to have its roots in Jewish thought; cf. Fourth Ezra, the late 24

Jewish work which spread to Jewish-Christian circles at the time of the early church and which was revived by the Anabaptists during the time of the Reformation. They were condemned in the *Confessio Augustana* (→ 206,*32*), art. 17: "They [the Lutheran reformers] condemn *the Anabaptists*, who believe that there will be an end to the torture and suffering of condemned people and the devil. They also condemn others, who disseminated the Jewish error that prior to the resurrection of the dead the purely holy and pious will possess the kingdom of the world and all the ungodly will then be destroyed and eliminated," *Den Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse* (→ 220,*3*), p. 58 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 72). In a note on "the Jewish error," Rudelbach writes: "*Chiliasmus*, or the doctrine of a thousand-year kingdom on earth before the return of the Lord to judgment, which in those days was defended by various sects of *Anabaptists* . . . is correctly designated here as a *Jewish error* because it has proceeded primarily from the Jews' earlier and subsequent misunderstandings of the prophetic passages concerning the kingdom of the Messiah" [→ 211,*2*].

248*m* *23* **Corrodi, Geschichte der Chiliasmus**] Heinrich Corrodi, *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus* [Critical History of Chiliasm], vols. 1–3 (Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, and Zürich, 1781–83).

24 **Münscher's Kirkehistorie, p. 353, note 23**] *Dr. Wilhelm Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie til Brug ved Forelæsninger* [Dr. Wilhelm Münscher's Textbook on the History of the Christian Church for Use in Lectures], trans. F. Münter, newly edited and reworked by J. Møller (Copenhagen, 1831; ASKB 168, abbreviated here as *Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie*), p. 353, note 23, with the following reference: "*Corrodi* Gesch. des Chiliasmus, part 3, section 3, p. 157, 183."

248 *28* **Holy Scripture . . . until the 4th book**] Περὶ ἀρχῶν consists of 4 books. The 1st treats God, Logos, the Holy Spirit, and the angels; the 2nd treats the world, man, the incarnation, free will and eschatology; the 3rd treats sin and redemption; the 4th treats the Bible.

29 **a whole dogmatic trend**] Refers to orthodoxy (→ 244,*15*).

30 **displaced, e.g., by Schleiermacher**] → 240,*1* and → 240,*1*.

Origen's] (ca. 185–ca. 255) Church father, leader of the school of Alexandria 202–31, removed because of accusations of heresy. *33*

περι αρχων] Greek (perì archōn), *On principles*, Origen's dogmatics (written between 212 and 215), preserved in a free translation into Latin by Rufin under the title *De principiis*. *33*

My father] Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard (1756–1838). After an apprenticeship with his uncle, hosier Niels Andersen, he became a licensed hosier in 1780 in Copenhagen and, eight years later, received permission to import and sell foreign goods, such as sugar, syrup, and coffee (wholesale). Skillful business practices made him a rather wealthy man, so that he could retire at the age of 40 with a sizable fortune, which continued to grow, presumably through accumulated interest and the return on investments. In May 1794, he married Kirstine Røyen, who died childless in March of 1796. A year later, on April 26, 1797, he married Ane Lund; he had seven children by her, of whom Søren Aabye was the youngest. In 1803, M. P. Kierkegaard moved with his family to Hillerød, but returned in 1805 to Copenhagen and settled in 9 Østergade (*see map 2, C2*). In 1809, he bought the house at 2 Nytorv (*see map 2, B2*), where he lived until his death. *9* 249

E. Boesen] Emil Ferdinand Boesen (1812–81), cand. theol. in 1834, Kierkegaard's schoolmate and close friend, taught at Thomas von Westen's School until 1849, conducted church services every other Sunday and on holidays for physically handicapped girls between the age of 13 and 20 at J. P. Langgaard's orthopedic institute at Store Tuborg, later a pastor and archdeacon. *19*

faithful friend] Common expression ["fuldtroe Ven"] in Kierkegaard's day and earlier; can also have the meaning "sweetheart." Also occurs in edifying literature and hymns, especially with reference to Christ; cf., for example, Grundtvig's translation "Mindes vi en fultroe Ven" ["We remember a faithful friend"], no. 372 in his *Sangværk til den Danske Kirke* [Collections of Songs for the Danish Church], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1837–41; vol. 1; ASKB 201), p. 726. *21*

paganism prized the bachelor state] Cf. the biography of Camillus, chap. 2.2, in the comparative biographies by the Greek author Plutarch, *Vitae par-* *24* 249

allelae. Plutarch tells of Marcus Furius Camillus, who, in his capacity as censor (ca. 400 B.C.) convinced "the unmarried males, in part with rational arguments and in part by the imposition of fines, to marry the widows, of which there were so many on account of the constant wars," cf. *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* [Plutarch's Biographies], trans. S. Tetens, vols. 1–4 (Copenhagen, 1800–1811; ASKB 1197–1200), vol. 2, 1803, p. 72. In the later period of the Republic, this political policy disappeared through general moral decline, but it was taken up again in the period of the emperors, e.g., Augustus (emperor from 27 B.C. to 14 A.D.), who prided himself on having increased the punishment for those who failed to obey the law in this area. In fact there was no actual penalty for being unmarried or childless, but there were economic and legal restrictions, including, for example, a limitation on the right of inheritance.

25 **Xnty recommended celibacy**] Cf., for example, 1 Cor 7:1–38, where Paul recommends the unmarried state.

249 32 **It is not good that man is alone**] Cf. Gen 2:18.

250 2 **modern emancipation**] A fashionable word, especially typical of "Young Germany" (→ 252,5), which argued for new rights, including women's emancipation. In 1838, this endeavor seems not yet to have been of significance in Denmark, though intellectuals nonetheless felt called to oppose it; cf., for example, Kierkegaard's sarcastic article "Ogsaa et Forsvar for Qvindens høie Anlæg" [Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities] in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblade*, no. 34, December 17, 1834 (*SV2* XIII, pp. 11–13; *EPW*, pp. 3–5).

250 5 **sorites, both in the progressive and the regressive sense**] Sorites, in heaps. In the original sense of the word, which seems to be used here, this designates a certain kind of mistaken inference, which can be exemplified as follows: "If one grain of corn does not make a pile, then two grains do not make a pile, either, etc. From this it follows that piles of corn do not exist." And the other way around: "If a given number of grains *n* constitutes a pile, then *n* – 1 grains also makes a pile, etc. From this it follows that a grain constitutes a pile." Thus, a "progressive sorites" is a mistaken inference of the first kind, and a "regressive sorites" is a mistaken inference of the second kind. In the context of logic, since the Middle Ages the word has designated chain syllogisms, i.e., syllogisms with more than two premises (→ 226*m*,11). In F. C. Sibbern's *Logik som Tænkelære* [Logic as a Doctrine of Thought], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1835 [1827]; ASKB 777), pp. 339f., a chain syllogism consisting of categorical subject-predicate statements is called "progressive" if the predicate in a previous premise appears as subject in the following premise, and the subject in the first premise is connected in the conclusion with the predicate in the last; and it is called "regressive" if the subject in every previous premise appears as predicate in the following one, and the subject in the last premise is connected in the conclusion with the predicate in the first one.

man must render account . . . he has uttered] Mt 12:36, where Jesus says: "I tell you, on the day of judgment you will have to give an account for every careless word you utter." 12 250

between the Orient and the Occident] Between the Eastern church, i.e., the Greek Orthodox church, and the Western church, i.e., Roman Catholic church, after the dogmatic schism of 1054. 20 250

the objective qualifications of the idea] According to Hegel (→ 212,19), the Idea has both an objective and a subjective side, which are united in "the Absolute Idea." In the *Wissenschaft der Logik* the objective determinations of the Idea are "A. Das lebendige Individuum" [The Living Individual], "B. Der Lebens-Proceß" [The Life Process], and "C. Die Gattung" [The Species]; cf. *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1833–34 [1812–16]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 2, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vol. 5, pp. 244–262 (*Jub*. vol. 5, pp. 244–262). Cf. also *Encyclopädie* (→ 214*m*,8), vol. 1, "Die Logik," in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 6, § 216–222, pp. 391–396 (*Jub*. vol. 8, pp. 429–434). 26

oriental Xnty] i.e., Greek Orthodox Christianity. 31 250

cast them out into the desert . . . Augsburg Confession] Cf. *Confessio Augustana* (→ 206,32), art. 20: "Consciences used to be plagued by the doctrine of works when consolation from the Gospel was not heard. Some persons were by their consciences driven into the desert, into monasteries, in the hope 10 251

that they might merit grace by monastic life," *Den Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse* (→ 220,3), p. 65. The Latin version has "expulit in desertum" ["chased or driven out into the desert"]; cf. *Confessio Augustana invariata* (Copenhagen, 1817; ASKB 469), p. 30 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 78). (For an English translation, cf. *The Book of Concord*, trans. and ed. Theodor G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988], pp. 43f.)

251*m* 2 **πλεροφοριαι**] Greek (plerophoria), error for πληροφοριαι (plērophoría), "fullness of assurance", "full conviction", "certainty"; cf. Col 2:2, where Paul writes: "I want their hearts to be encouraged and united in love, so that they may have all the riches of assured understanding [πᾶν πλοῦτος τῆς πληροφορίας] and have the knowledge of God's mystery, that is, Christ himself."

251 13 **Leo the Gt**.] Leo I, Roman Catholic pope from 440 to 461; on the basis of Mt 16:18, Leo gave the final dogmatic grounding for the papacy as the foundation of the Church and vigorously persecuted all deviations from authorized doctrine, including those of the Manicheans.

14 **Manichaeans**] The members of a syncretistic sect, Manichaeism, which was founded by the Persian Mani (ca. 216–76). It incorporated elements from ancient Persian and Babylonian religions, Christianity and Buddhism, as well as Gnosticism. Manichaeism, which is strongly dualistic in its view of the world and of human beings and which is ascetic and anti-sensual in its ethics, spread quickly. Around the year 300, there were Manichaeans from India to the countries of the Mediterranean. The many attempts to repress them—for example, the attempt by Pope Leo I—merely contributed to their expansion, so that Manichaeans were to be found well into the Middle Ages. Leo I persecuted the Manichaeans because they took only bread during the Sacrament, as related by H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd ed., vols. 1–2 (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159), vol. 1, p. 545.

15 **sub una specie**] Latin, "under or in one form," namely, the bread, i.e., taking only bread during the eucharist. In the 12th century in the Roman Catholic church, it became more and more common that wine was not distributed to lay people, but was consumed exclusively by the priest; cf. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 1, p. 545f. This custom was established by the Council of Constance in 1415 (see the following note) and confirmed by the Council of Trent (→ 206,33).

sub utraque] Actually, "sub utraque specie," Latin, 15
"under or in both forms," i.e., to receive both bread and wine during the eucharist. When the Hussites began to give the eucharist in both forms, it was condemned by the Council of Constance in 1415; nonetheless, both the radical Taborites and the more moderate Utraquists among the Hussites continued to practice this form of the eucharist. Cf. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 684–686.

names . . . the first four centuries] The source has 20 251
not been identified.

apostolicum] Latin, "the apostolic," here used as 21
the designation for the 1st century.

gnosticum] Latin, "the gnostic," here used as the 21
designation for the 2nd century, named after Gnosticism, which stamped the philosophical and theological discussion in the Church during this century.

novatianum] Latin, "the novatian," here used as 21
the designation for the 3rd century; named after the Roman priest and Latin scripturalist Novatian, who according to tradition suffered martyrdom in 257. When the bishop of Rome was martyred in 250, Novatian became the *de facto* leader of the Roman congregation, but when another candidate was elected bishop in 251, Novatian refused to recognize him and had himself elected bishop by his own followers; they were then excommunicated by a Roman synod the same year. Novatian was a proponent of strict church discipline and penance and claimed that the church's holiness was dependent upon the purity of its members, for which reason apostates could not be readmitted. Novatian's strict conception of the church won support in the entire Christian world, and Novatian churches arose everywhere, especially in Asia Minor and Syria. Because the Novatians were regarded as heretics, the Christian political authorities took measures against them in the late 4th century, but Novatian congregations still existed as late as the 7th century.

arianum] Latin, "the arian," here used as the des- 21
ignation for the 4th century, named after the Alexandrian presbyter Arius (ca. 250–336). Arius, who

wanted to defend a strict philosophical understanding of God as pure, simple being, claimed that Logos could not be of the same being ("ousia") as the Father, but was created from nothing before time and prior to the world, and that the historical Christ was a unity of Logos and a soulless body. At a synod, presumably in 319, Arius was excommunicated as a heretic at the insistence of Bishop Alexander of Alexandria; Arius took up the fight, but an attempt was made to settle the conflict at the first imperial synod in Nicea in 325. Here the assembly of 250 bishops accepted the Nicean Creed, which established that Jesus Christ, the son of God, "was begotten of the Father [i.e., from the essence of the Father, "ousia"] before all ages . . . begotten, not made, of the same essence ["homoousios"] as the Father." Arianism was herewith condemned, but despite the excommunication of Arius and his followers, the bitter conflict continued and created deep divisions between various theological and political factions in the church; the controversy was only ultimately settled at the synod in Constantinople in 381.

251 27 **"to wear the cloak on both shoulders"**] i.e., to remain friends with both parties.

28 **the archbishop's pallium "ωμοφοριον"**] Cf. K. Hase, *Kirkehistorie. Lærebog nærmest for akademiske Forelæsninger* [Church History, Textbook Primarily for Academic Lectures], trans. C. Winther and T. Schorn (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 160–166) (abbreviated here as *Hases Kirkehistorie*), p. 168: "The Greek bishops' ceremonial dress of white wool, *pallium* [ὠμοφόριον], during the 6th century and after, was sent by the pope to individual bishops in the West as a sign of the special honor and association with the Apostolic See." — **pallium**: Latin, "robe," "mantle"; later this became the designation for a white, woolen band, the width of a hand, decorated with 6 black crosses, which is worn around the neck of the pope and archbishops in the Roman Catholic church. — **ωμοφοριον**: Greek (ōmophórion), lit. "something one wears on one's shoulders."

252 1 **Philip the Fair of France**] Refers to Philip IV (1268–1314) nicknamed "the Fair," French king from 1285.

persecuted the Jews . . . exchange] In 1306 Philip the Fair had the Jews expelled from France and had their possessions confiscated. This move provided him with a quick profit, but it later became difficult for him to collect the debts owed to the Jewish brokers; he therefore had to allow a small number of Jews to travel into France temporarily to let them identify their creditors. 1

Young Germany] German literary movement from ca. 1830 to 1850, with free-thinking views, critical of the Church and of social and ethical norms; for a time the Jewish-born authors Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine, who in the 1830s sought safety in Paris where the German Jewish banking family Rothschild had founded a bank, were closely associated with this movement. 5

drain off the resources of the old Germany with pirated editions] Cf. *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 245, September 6, 1838 (p. 990), which gives an account of an article in the French journal *Revue des deux mondes*, surveying the falling sales of the political journals in Paris: "On occasion of this overview the *Revue des deux mondes* made serious criticisms of Minister *Salvandy* for not paying more attention to the reprinting of French publications abroad. At the same time, no French journal has ever thought it worth the trouble to complain about the tetot'ish reprint of German classics, which is an even more shameful theft since most of these shabby editions of German masterpieces, full of errors, are sold at a higher price in Paris than the original editions in Germany." (The word "tetot'ish" is presumably an error for "didot'ish," which refers to the French firm Didot, which in the 19th century achieved popularity by publishing classics in stereotype editions.) 5

Judas] Judas Iscariot, one of Jesus's 12 disciples; betrayed Jesus to the Jewish leaders, for which he was given a reward. 9 252

What you do, do it quickly] Jn 13:27. 9

his own prescience . . . the preceding] Refers to Jn 13:18–19, 21, 26. Jesus tells the disciples that one of them will betray him; when Simon Peter asks who it is, Jesus answers: "It is the one to whom I give this piece of bread when I have dipped it in the dish," v. 26. 11

13 **this hum. disquiet**] Alludes to Jn 13:21: "After saying this Jesus was troubled in spirit, and declared, 'Very truly, I tell you, one of you will betray me.' "

15 **will be a consolation . . . in time of need**] Presumably refers to Jn 13:19, where Jesus—after having predicted that he will be betrayed—says to the disciples: "I tell you this now, before it occurs, so that when it does occur, you may believe that I am he." Cf. also Jn 14:29.

252 19 **S. S. Blicher**] → 226*m,11*.

20 **nature concert**] Blicher's poetic cycle, *Trækfuglene. Naturconcert* [Migratory Birds. The Concert of Nature], (Randers, ASKB 1525), appeared in August, 1838.

21 **Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär . . . Bleib ich allhier**] Quotation from the song "Der Flug der Liebe" [The Flight of Love], in *Volkslieder, gesammelt von J. G. v. Herder* [Folk Songs, Collected by J. G. v. Herder], new ed. J. Falck, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig, 1825; ASKB 1487–1488), vol. 1, p. 104, first verse: "Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär', / Und auch zwei Flüglein hätt' / Flüg' ich zu dir; / Weil es aber nicht kann seyn, / Bleib' ich allhier." ["Were I but a little bird / And had two little wings / To you I'd fly my way / But since this thing will never be / Then all alone I'll stay."]

252 28 **to have gone beyond Hegel**] To "go beyond Hegel" ["komme ud over" or "gå ud over"] was a stock phrase in Danish Hegelian circles. Cf. H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), pp. 515ff., where Martensen claims that Heiberg has "gone beyond" Hegel's philosophy; and F. C. Sibbern's review of Heiberg's journal, *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus, Journal for the Speculative Idea], no. 1 (June 1837; ASKB 569), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 19 (Copenhagen, 1838), pp. 291f., where Sibbern notes that Heiberg "can both move somewhat freely in Hegelian views, and can begin *to go beyond* Hegel." Cf. also Sibbern's *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser, fornemmelig betreffende Hegels Philosophie, betragtet i Forhold til vor Tid* [Remarks and Investigations Primarily concerning Hegel's Philosophy, Considered in Relation to Our Age] (Copenhagen, 1838; ASKB 778) (special book edition of a part of the aforementioned review, appeared in August, 1838), pp. 9f. The idea behind the phrase seems to refer to the series of great German philosophers who had dominated the preceding decades, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, each of whom took his point of departure in his predecessor, but reformulated his predecessor's thought in his own way and ended up rejecting him; in this sense the one philosopher was said to "have gone beyond" his predecessor. After Hegel's death in 1831 the question was who would carry his system further and "go beyond" it.

Napoleon] French general and statesman (1769– 9 253
1821), assumed power in a state coup in 1799 and had himself proclaimed emperor in 1804; he was subsequently referred to as Emperor Napoleon I (1804–14 and 1815).

Mohammed] Arab prophet and military com- 10
mander (ca. 570–632), founder of Islam, born in Mecca, where he received revelations, fled to Medina in 622, the year which Muslims (Arabic, "the believers") regard as the beginning of the present era. Cf., for example, *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 244,*25*), vol. 4, 1823, pp. 109–117.

the gospel of freedom] The principles of the French 13
Revolution about civil rights, which during Napoleon's conquests were spread to many central and southern European countries.

his proclamations in Italy] During his victorious 15
campaign in Italy in 1796–97, General Napoleon Bonaparte issued a number of statements claiming that the goal of the French conquests was greater freedom for the Italians.

Mohammed from E. to W.] Mohammed conquered 18
Mecca in 629, several years after his flight from Mecca to Medina, and, in that same year, he conquered all of Arabia and part of Syria. Only after his death in 632 did his successors, the caliphs, continue the conquests from east to west, which spread Islam from Egypt (640) through North Africa to the Atlantic Ocean and the Strait of Gibraltar; later Spain also fell before the Muslim army (711), while an attempt to conquer France was foiled (732), after which Islam was consolidated at the Pyrenees. Cf., for example, *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 244,*25*), vol. 4, 1823, pp. 121–123.

N. from W. to E.] In 1794–95 France had defeated 19
most of the anti-French coalition, led by England, and had also conquered the Spanish army in the

Pyrenees, though the French did not continue into Spain. In March of 1796, Napoleon advanced into Italy where he proclaimed the Cisalpine Republic in 1797. In 1798–99 he made an expedition to Egypt, which England considered to be in its sphere of interest; he landed in Alexandria on June 31, 1798, but was defeated by Nelson's British fleet in the sea battle off Aboukir on August 1. After having thus lost most of his fleet, Napoleon marched east toward Syria; he occupied Jaffa in March 1799, but he subsequently had to abandon the siege of Acre and return to Cairo with heavy losses in June. On August 23, 1799 he sailed home to France. Cf., for example, A. Thiers, *Geschichte der französischen Revolution* [History of the French Revolution], trans. F. Philippi, vols. 1–5 (Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 2024–2028), vols. 4–5.

253 *24* **the story of the ten lepers . . . made you whole**] Cf. Lk 17:11–19.

254 *5* **the Jews dared not utter God's name**] → 205,*8*.

6 **the use of Latin in church service**s] i.e., in the Roman Catholic church; cf. *Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie* (→ 248*m*,*24*), p. 128: "In the West the liturgies of other countries were supplanted by the Roman liturgy, and, as a consequence, the Latin language became common for the church service." With the Reformation, Latin was replaced by the vernacular languages as the language of the church service in Protestant churches, with the argument that Latin was often understood only by priests and not by lay people.

254 *12* **James, leader . . . praying for several days**] Cf. book 2, chap. 23, in *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første Aarhundreder af Eusebius* [The History of the Church through the First Three Centuries, by Eusebius], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 37), p. 97, where Eusebius quotes from a memoir (from ca. 180) of the Christian writer Hegesippus about James the brother of the Lord: "Control of the church passed to the apostles, together with the Lord's brother James, whom everyone from the Lord's time till our own has called the Righteous. . . . He alone was permitted to enter the Holy Place, for his garments were not of wool but of linen. He used to enter the Sanctuary alone, and was often found on his knees beseeching forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew hard like a camel's from his continually bending them in worship of God and beseeching for the people." (English translation quoted from Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. G. A. Williamson [New York: Dorset Press, 1985], p. 99f.)

chains] Refers to "catenæ patrum," designation for *30* 254
the works which were written in the Middle Ages containing various interpretations of a biblical book by various authors from the early Church to the Middle Ages, bound together as links in a long chain. With the help of these chains the Church, especially the Byzantine part, wished to connect its interpretation of scripture with the ancestral sources and preserve the close connection to the early Church. Cf., for example, Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 251,*14*), vol. 1, p. 388.

The Nordic nations . . . Arians . . . orthodox] Cf. *3* 255
Münschers Lærebog i den christelige Kirkehistorie (→ 248*m*,*24*), p. 92, where it is said that Arianism (→ 251,*21*) was repressed in the Roman Empire by Emperor Theodosius I's measures, "but it was taken up by the invading Nordic nations, and ended with the *Vandals* and the *Ostrogoths* and with the destruction of their states, but it was, by contrast, voluntarily abandoned by the *Burgundians*, *Visigoths*, and *Lombards*." — **orthodox**: i.e., Greek orthodoxy.

An author's work . . . individuality] Cf., for exam- *10* 255
ple, chap. 14, "Ueber den Stil oder die Darstellung" [On Style or Presentation] in Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 2nd ed. (→ 217*m*,*13*), especially § 76, where Jean Paul writes by way of introduction: "Buffon says correctly that style is the person himself. Just as every people paints itself in its own language, so also every author paints himself in his own style; the most secret idiosyncrasy with its elevations and recesses is sculpted alive in style, this second flexible body of spirit," vol. 2, p. 601.

the portrait that Christ . . . King Abgarus . . . mi- *11*
raculous way] Alludes to the legend of Abgar V, king of the Mesopotamian kingdom Orrhoe with Edessa as its capital, contemporaneous with Jesus. According to book 1, chap. 13, in *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første Aarhundreder af Eusebius* (→ 254,*12*), pp. 48ff., Abgar V had a correspondence

with Jesus; a later addition to the legend tells that a portrait of Jesus, made at the request of Abgar, was shown in Edessa and enjoyed a great reputation. Kierkegaard's source has not been identified.

255 17 **Casuistry**] In moral philosophy casuistic considerations concern the application of norms to individual cases. The term is often used in a pejorative sense for a moral doctrine in which universal moral norms are altered to fit the situation. The word seems to be used here as a designation for knowledge which exclusively concerns individual cases without taking into account the context in which it appears.

255 21 **the first crusade**] Instigated at the meeting of the Church in Clermont in Auvergne in 1095 with the goal of capturing and freeing Jerusalem and the holy sepulcher from the Jews and the Turks, which was accomplished, after bloody battles, in July of 1099. The army of 300,000 men that went to Jerusalem consisted of French and German troops led by princes, counts, dukes, and other knights, who dedicated their lives to this holy war. Cf. *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 244,25), vol. 4, 1823, pp. 426–435, where the following is told of Walther Habenichts [Poor Walther]: "[The hermit] *Peter of Amiens* appeared already in the spring [of 1096] to everyone's surprise at the castle of Duke *Gotfred* with 15,000 people, the scum of the nation, without discipline or the least property. His lieutenant was a poor French knight by the name of *Walther*, whom the others, because of his poverty, called *Walther Habenichts* [Gautier Senzaveir]. *Gotfred of Bouillon*, who understandably did not want to have anything to do with these wretches, advised him to take the lead and promised him that he would follow soon thereafter. This holy man then rode ahead, and on the way his multitude grew like a snowball. He had to divide it and gave the lead group to *Walther*, who with great difficulty brought it through Germany, the land of the Hungarians, and the Bulgarians (Serbia) to the area near Constantinople, where the Greek emperor finally took pity on him." Eventually Peter arrived with his 40,000 men and was united with Walther; the Greek emperor quickly managed to bring them over the Bosporus to Bithynia, where they fell into the hands of the Turks, "who massacred the entire army, save three thousand men, with whom *Peter* made his escape, just in time, to Constantinople," pp. 427f.

the most interesting time] "Interesting" in the sense of "captivating through excitement of the senses" or "titillating" was a fashionable word in Copenhagen of the 1830s. 28 255

Innocent III] A particularly powerful pope (1198–1216), who in 1209 declared an interdict on England and excommunicated King John (see the following note) and then in 1213 made the country a fief of Rome. Cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,28), p. 233. 2 256

a king ... without a country] The English king John without a country, i.e., John Lackland (king from 1199 to 1216), under whose rule the country suffered a series of setbacks including its aforementioned subjugation as a fief under the pope in 1213. 3

Dionysius] Dionysius I or the Elder (430–367 B.C.), tyrant (from 404 B.C.) in Syracuse in Sicily, known for his insatiable desire for power, ambition, and cruelty. 9 256

the new world's greatest ditto] Presumably an allusion to the clergy, which in the course of the 11th century received a power over people, "which reached into eternity," and which gave them the right to sentence sinners to pay a fine and give alms; cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,28), p. 246. 9

the ear ... the secret confession] Cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,28), pp. 246f.: "According to the position which was adopted, though not without contradiction, mortal sins could only be forgiven in the confessional box. Innocent III made it church law that this confession [confessio auricularis] in which the individual confessed to all the sins of which he was aware, should take place at least once a year, and that the confession should remain secret. Later confession came to be regarded as necessary for salvation, and the hearts and secrets of the people came into the hands of the priests." The expression "confessio auricularis," which Hase uses, is Latin and means "ear confession," also known under the term "auricular confession," i.e., secret confession, where the one confessing speaks directly into the ear of the confessor. 10

Dionysius heard ... in his notorious prison] Refers to the cave called "the ear of the tyrant Diony- 11

sius," which was built into a cliff in Sicily. The cave was said to have been built such that every sound came together at a single focal point; a small hole was made at this point, which was connected to a room where Dionysius hid. By placing his ear to this hole, he could clearly hear everything that was said in the cave; he therefore turned the cave into a prison. Cf., for example, O. Wolff, *Historisk Ordbog eller kortfattede Levnetsløb over alle Personer, som have giort sig et Navn ved Evner, Dyder, Misgierninger, Opfindelser, Vildfarelser, eller nogenslags mærkværdig Daad, fra Verdens Skabelse indtil vore Tider* [Historical Dictionary or Brief Biographies of All Persons Who Have Made a Name for Themselves through their Abilities, Virtues, Misdeeds, Inventions, Mistakes, or Any Kind of Noteworthy Deed, from the Creation of the World to Our Times], vols. 1–11 (Copenhagen, 1815–19), vol. 11, 1815, p. 162f.

256 15 **Orient and the Occident**] → 250,*20*.

17 **portrait of Christ to King Abgarus**] → 255,*11*.

18 **Xt's 5 wounds on the body of St. Francis**] Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), founder of the Franciscan order, was canonized in 1228. After traveling as a missionary and working out the rules for his monastic order, Francis retired in 1224 in solitude to Mount Alverno; here he received the stigmata with the 5 wounds of Christ, i.e., the nail holes in his hands and feet as well as the wound from the spear in his side. Kierkegaard's source has not been identified.

256 21 **the beautiful prayer**] If there is a source, it has not been identified.

22 **dwell in the high . . . downcast soul**] Based on Isa 57:15: "For thus says the high and lofty one who inhabits Eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, and also with those who are contrite and humble in spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite."

256*m* 3 **δυναμις γαϱ ϑεου εστιν**] Greek, "for it is the power of God."

257 7 **Beguines**] Dutch sisterhoods, named after the priest and preacher Lambert Bègue (d. ca. 1177). Cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,*28*), p. 338: "As early as the 11th century, women in the Netherlands began to gather, without unconditonal vows, in special houses dedicated to the performance of charitable acts; they were called *Beghines* by common people. The sisterhoods grew greatly during the 13th century because many women felt dissatisfied with the ordinary church as well as with the abbeys, or owing to their poverty were unable to become nuns."

The Lollards . . . their soft funeral hymn] Cf. *Hases* 8
Kirkehistorie (→ 251,*28*), p. 338: "A special society of those whose activity concerned care of the ill and burial of the dead; also founded [around 1300] in the Netherlands. They were called *Alexiani* after of their patron saint, *Cellitæ* after their huts, and *Lollards* after their softly sung funeral hymn."

the 4 insane brothers in Claudius] Refers to a short 9
story, "Der Besuch im St. Hiob zu **," by the German writer Matthias Claudius (1740–1815), about a visit to the mental institution St. Job, which was managed by Mr. Bernard. Four insane brothers lived here, about whom the following is told: "But the strangest of all were four brothers, who sat together in a room opposite one another, just as they are portrayed on the engraving—the sons of a musician; their father and mother had died in St. *Job*. Mr. *Bernard* said they sat there like that most of the time, making little or no noise the entire day; only when one of the sick in the institution died, which was signaled by three strokes from the belltower, did they sing a verse from a song for the dead. For this reason in the institution they were called the *roosters of death*." Cf. Matthias Claudius, *Werke*, 5th ed., vols. 1–4, parts 1–8 (Hamburg, 1838 [1774–1812]; ASKB 1631–1632), vol. 2, part 4 (with special title page *ASMUS omnia sua SECUM portans, oder Sämmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen* [Everything I Have, I Carry with Me, or The Complete Works of the Wandsbeck Messenger], Vierter Theil, Wandsbeck, 1774), pp. 124f. The story is illustrated with 2 engravings, of which one shows the 4 brothers sitting opposite one another in silence.

the Adamites (among the Hussites)] Refers to the 16 257
Adamites, an extreme faction of the radical Taborites who belonged to the Hussites, i.e., followers of the Czech reformer Johan Hus (ca. 1369–1415). The Adamites, who received their name from Adam, advocated nakedness as an expression of complete freedom in a condition of in-

nocence like that in which Adam and Eve lived while still in the Garden of Eden before the Fall.

20 **The sans-culottes**] i.e., those without breeches, a designation for the common men during the French Revolution; they did not wear knickerbockers like the noblemen, but simple long trousers.

21 **the attempt of bare-necked persons ... Nordic spirit**] Allusion to the Grundtvigian advocates of the ancient Nordic spirit, made topical by a series of historical lectures which Grundtvig gave 3 times a week at Borch's Kollegium, beginning June 20, 1838; the lectures attracted larger and larger audiences throughout the course of the autumn; cf. the article, "Et Brev til Kjøbenhavnspostens Redacteur" [A Letter to the Editor of *Kjøbenhavnsposten*], signed "P. H." (actually, Frederik Barfod), in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 288, October 19, 1838. Not to wear a shirt front and collar could indicate old-fashioned Nordic manliness.

257*m* 3 **Archimedes**] (ca. 287–212 B.C.), Greek mathematician, natural scientist, and inventor, lived in Syracuse.

3 **running stark naked through the streets of Syracuse**] Alludes to the anecdote about Archimedes, who is said to have discovered the "the Archimedean principle"—that a body immersed in a fluid loses as much weight as the weight of the displaced fluid—while he himself lay submerged in a bathtub. Out of sheer enthusiasm for the discovery, he leaped up out of the bath and ran stark naked through the streets, crying, "Eureka" (Greek, "I found it"). The anecdote is told by the Roman architect and engineer Vitruvius (1st century B.C.) in *De architectura*, book 9, praefatio, 10.

9 **the Gymnosophists**] i.e., the naked wise men; the term refers to the Indian ascetic wise men, who went (almost) naked. Cf. Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (→ 217,15), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vol. 9, p. 183 (*Jub*. vol. 11, p. 205): "There are, besides those already mentioned, infinite modifications of the same principle of conduct, all pointing to annihilation. This, for example, is the leading principle of the Gymnosophists, as the Greeks called them." (English translation quoted from Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree [New York: Wiley Book Co., 1944], p. 150.)

10 **Nackte Fakir's laufen ... Abstraktion zu erreichen**] "Naked Fakirs wander about without any occupation, like the mendicant friars of the Catholic Church; they live from the alms of others and make it their aim to reach the highest degree of abstraction." Hegel then continues: "The perfect deadening of consciousness; a point from which the transition to physical death is no great step." Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (→ 217,15), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vol. 9, p. 183 (*Jub*. vol. 11, p. 205). (English translation quoted from Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree [New York: Wiley Book Co., 1944], p. 150. Translation slightly modified.)

16 **Hegel Philosophie der Geschichte p. 183**] Hegel's (→ 212,19) *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (→ 217,15), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,12), vol. 9, p. 183 (*Jub*. vol. 11, p. 205).

28 257 **thundered upon Sinai**] Alludes to the revelation of God on Mount Sinai in the Sinai desert; cf. Ex 19:16: "On the morning of the third day there was thunder and lightning, as well as a thick cloud on the mountain, and a blast of a trumpet so loud that all the people who were in the camp trembled." It is then told that the entire mountain became enveloped in smoke because God descended upon it in fire, and he gave to Moses the 10 Commandments along with a number of other laws and legal rules.

28 **this historic moment, when heaven was upon earth**] Alludes to the revelation of God on Sinai (see the previous note) as the decisive historical point in time when God gave Moses the law and made a covenant with the Israelites (cf. Ex 24).

2 258 **assumed the shape of a servant**] Cf. v. 7 in the hymn of Christ in Phil 2:5–11 (→ 227,22).

3 **servus servorum**] Latin, "the servant of servants"; the humblest servant. One of the pope's titles is "Servus servorum Dei" [Latin, "the servant of the servants of God"]. Cf. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 251,14), vol. 1, pp. 374f., which indicates that when the patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, named himself "ecumenical bishop" in 587, Pope Pelagius II protested, and subsequently Pope Gregory the Great did so as well; from then on, "the Roman bishop called himself *Servus servorum Dei*." More recent research has shown, however, that Gregory used this title before the conflict with John, but he still seems to be the one who introduced it.

6 258 **feeds people with 5 loaves and 3 fish**] Alludes to

the story of Jesus feeding the 5000, Mt 14:13–21, which mentions 5 loaves of bread but only 2 fish.

258 24 **your heavenly manna**] An allusion to Ex 16, where it is said that when the Israelites became hungry as they wandered in the desert, God had manna fall from heaven, which they then ate.

258*m* 2 **John, who preaches in the desert**] Refers to Mt 11:2–11, which is the gospel for the third Sunday of Advent: "When John heard in prison what the Messiah was doing, he sent word by his disciples and said to him, 'Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?' Jesus answered them, 'Go and tell John what you hear and see: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have good news brought to them. And blessed is anyone who takes no offense at me.' As they went away, Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John: 'What did you go out into the wilderness to look at? A reed shaken by the wind? What then did you go out to see? Someone dressed in soft robes? Look, those who wear soft robes are in royal palaces. What then did you go out to see? A prophet? Yes, I tell you, and more than a prophet. This is the one about whom it is written "See, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way before you." ' " *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* (→ 214,2), pp. 8f. — **John**: i.e., John the Baptist (→ 210,6).

4 **D. L.**] devout listeners.

12 **this holy place**] common designation, especially in sermons, for the church.

22 **a strength like Samson's . . . own ruin**] Refers to the story in Judges 16 about the leader of the Israelites, Samson, and his struggle with the Philistines. After his Philistine mistress Delilah had tricked him into having his hair cut, Samson lost his strength and was captured by the Philistines, who blinded and imprisoned him. In prison, his hair grew long again and he thus regained his strength. When the Philistine princes were gathered for a large sacrificial feast, they had Samson brought from the prison to amuse themselves; he then placed his hands on the 2 central pillars of the house they were in and pushed against them with such force that the entire house collapsed; he was killed along with all the others.

look for that in the marketplaces and streets] Alludes to Mt 11:16–17, where Jesus says: "But to what will I compare this generation? It is like children sitting in the marketplaces and calling to one another, 'We played the flute for you, and you did not dance; we wailed, and you did not mourn.' " He then contrasts the people's reaction to the coming of John and himself. 3 259*m*

like chaff before the winnowing fan . . . in his hand] Alludes to Mt 3:12, where John the Baptist says of Jesus: "His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and will gather his wheat into the granary; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire." 8

wild honey . . . the woolen shirt] Alludes to Mt 3:4: "Now John wore clothing of camel's hair with a leather belt around his waist, and his food was locusts and wild honey." 11

you are not seated in a temple . . . human hands] Alludes to Acts 17:24, where Paul says: "God . . . does not live in shrines made by human hands." 14

the Holy Spirit . . . in mind of, remind them of, everything] Alludes to Jn 14:26, where Jesus says to his disciples: "But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything, and remind you of all that I have said to you." 21 259*m*

Copernicus] → 238,8. 15 259

Luther] → 227,2. 15

a prohibition against emigration] Presumably alludes to Chinese isolationism, which from ca. 1400 was reflected in regulations which included a prohibition against emigration. The Danish government did not forbid emigration, which was still a virtually unknown phenomenon in Denmark; in 1832 Kierkegaard's brother Niels Andreas Kierkegaard was thus one of the first to emigrate to North America. 21 259

Scholasticism] → 244,21. 1 260

every development according to my theory] Cf. an entry on a loose sheet of paper, dated November 20, 1836, where Kierkegaard writes that "In my view, every development is only complete with its parody." 1

2 **Paulus Cortesius . . . in classical Latin**] Paolo Cortese (1465–1510), Italian theologian and writer, papal notary, was a great stylist, who expressed himself in elegant and correct classical Ciceronian Latin; among his works is *Sententiarum P. Lombardi commentarii* [Commentary on Peter Lombard's Sentences] in 4 volumes (Rome, 1503). Cf. Guerike's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 251,*14*), vol. 1, p. 645, where Paulus Cortesius is called a "Cicero among the scholastics, who, however, belonged to them only in one respect and whose classical language seemed to mock its scholastic content."

5 **crossed over the river Acheron**] In Greek mythology, one passes the river of sorrow, Acheron, on the way to the kingdom of the dead, Hades.

260 7 **the Jesuits . . . purely secular endeavor**] Cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,*28*), § 462, "Udviklingen af Jesuitismen" [The Development of Jesuitism], pp. 488f., especially p. 489: "Unlike the impractical older monasticism, the order [the Jesuits], which could issue any kind of authorization, played a role in all mundane affairs as the third form of monasticism completely returned to the world. By the end of the century [the 16th century], owing to its education of the young, its influence on nations, and its tutelage of princes, the order had become the leading power in the Catholic church, subordinated to the papacy only for mutual advantage." The Jesuit order was founded by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and ratified by Pope Paul III in 1540; it was discontinued in 1773, but reintroduced and ratified in 1814.

260 12 **the temptation story**] i.e., the story of the temptation of Jesus in the desert, Mt 4:1–11, which is the gospel for the first Sunday of Lent; cf. *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 214,*2*), p. 49f.

18 **the Omnipresent One**] i.e., the omnipresent God's (voice). One of the places which is traditionally referred to in dogmatics as the Biblical testimony to God's omnipresence is Psalms 139 (see the following note).

19 **I take the wings of the morning . . . Thou art there**] Refers to Ps 139:8–10: "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."

that you are not far from us . . . we live and move and are in thee] Alludes to Acts 17:27–28, where Paul says: "That they would search for God and perhaps grope for him and find him—though indeed he is not far from each one of us. For 'In him we live and move and have our being.' " 4 260*m*

tempted in solitude while the apostles slept] Alludes to the story of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, Mt 26:36–46. The 3 apostles whom Jesus had taken with him slept as he asked God that he might avoid his imminent death. This episode is often interpreted as a temptation which Jesus resists. 8

the Quakers refrained . . . from taking an oath] Cf. *Hases Kirkehistorie* (→ 251,*28*), p. 536: "Their refusal to serve in the military, swear an oath, and pay tax, their disdain for worldly desire, luxury, and every form of hierarchy are characteristic of ancient Christianity and conditioned by the circumstances in which it arose." The Quakers or the Society of Friends is a Christian religious community founded by the Englishman George Fox ca. 1650. 23 260

matchless] A possible allusion to N. F. S. Grundtvig, who used the word "matchless" quite frequently in his writings. 18 261

a priori basic concepts . . . no deductive development . . . constitutive power] Criticism of Kant's attempt to present a transcendental deduction of the categories of the understanding. According to Kant, these categories, for example, cause and effect, substance and accident, are a priori basic concepts, i.e., categories which precede all experience and which necessarily must be present in every representation. In the section "Transcendentale Deduction der reinen Verstandsbegriff" [Transcendental Deduction of the Concept of Pure Understanding], in *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), pp. 129–169, Kant attempts to show that the categories have objective validity, i.e., are constitutive for all possible experience. (English translation available in *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar [Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996], pp. 141–204.) 20 261

we are told . . . the Holy Spirit that effects prayer] Alludes to Rom 8:26, where Paul writes: "Likewise 23

the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but that very Spirit intercedes with sighs too deep for words."

261*m* 3 **respiratio**] Plays on the etymology of the Latin, i.e., "re-" and "spiro", re-breathe; to breathe in and out. Cf. *Imann. Joh. Gerhard Schellers ausführliches und möglichst Vollständiges lateinisch-deutsches Lexicon oder Wörterbuch* [Gerhard Scheller's Most Detailed and Most Complete Possible Latin–German Lexicon or Dictionary], 3rd expanded ed., vols. 1–5 (Leipzig, 1804 [1783–84]; ASKB 1016–1020), vol. 4, under "Respiratio," columns 9391f.: "(1) the breathing back [*Zurückathmen*] or breathing out: hence, breathing [in and out] in general [*das Athemholen*]. . . .(2) perspiration. . . . (3) relaxation, the act of letting off."

262 9 **Do not rejoice in this . . . are written in heaven**] Translated quotation from J. A. Möhler, *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit, besonders im Kampfe mit dem Arianismus* [Athanasius the Great and the Church of His Times, Especially Regarding the Conflict with Arianism], vols. 1–2 (Mainz, 1827; ASKB 635–636), vol. 1, p. 98: "Do not rejoice at this, that the spirits submit to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven (Lk 10:20)."

10 **St. Anthony**] Greek-Egyptian hermit (ca. 250 or 260–ca. 356), lived an ascetic life in the desert, approximately one-day's journey from the Red Sea; was presumably in Alexandria during the Arius conflict in order to warn against Arius's doctrine (→ 251,*21*); he then returned to the desert where many ascetics sought him out.

11 **information on Athanasius**] Refers to Athanasius's work on the life of Anthony (*Vita Antonii*). Athanasius the Great (295–373) was metropolitan bishop of Alexandria and the leading force in the struggle against Arius; as a young man he lived in the desert with Anthony, whose sheepskin coat he inherited. J. A. Möhler includes only "what is most worth knowing" from the biography of Anthony; *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit*, pp. 90–113.

12 **Möhler**] Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), Catholic theologian, appointed professor of church history at Tübingen in 1829, and at Munich in 1835. .

13 **the one thing needful**] Alludes to Lk 10:41–42. (→ 208,*13*).

262 16 **Sibbern**] Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872), Danish philosopher, appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen in 1813. In Winter Semester 1838–39 Sibbern lectured on his "Philosophy of Christianity" every Monday, Friday, and Saturday from 6 to 7 P M.; (cf. *Kjøbenhavns Universitets Aarbog for 1838* [The University of Copenhagen's Annual Publication for 1838], ed. H. B. Selmer, [no year given], p. 96); this was Sibbern's attempt to produce a speculative unification of religion and philosophy. Sibbern never succeeded in developing his philosophy of Christianity into a final version, and in time he abandoned the project.

one must assume . . . are now revealed] Cf. Sibbern's review of J. L. Heiberg's journal *Perseus* in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 19 (→ 252,*28*), p. 356f., where Sibbern writes: "By ideal being I mean that which, for example, the so-called eternal truths possess, and everything which can be discovered in the pure ideal region in a purely *a priori* fashion. Although Pythagoras discovered his well-known law, it did not begin to exist only then; no, it was only *discovered*; and thus there are many things, infinitely many things, remaining in this ideal region, for example, in pure mathematics, which must be known as *existing* in themselves. Each such ideal being must be regarded as having its existence in this ideal region, with a *certain determinacy* and *determinate content*, but whose ideal being is not dependent on its appearing to the finite beings in and for which it makes itself perceptible, for it belongs to a sphere in which no *becoming* takes place." Cf. also Sibbern's *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser* (→ 252,*28*), pp. 74f. 17

the fullness of time] Presumably an allusion to Gal 4:4–5: "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children." 22

the pietistic conflicts . . . moral adiaphora] Alludes to the theological conflict between pietists and Lutheran orthodox discussed by Guerike as "the new adiaphoristic conflict" in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 251,*14*), vol. 2, pp. 1069f. The conflict broke out before the death of the father of German pietism, the Protestant theologian and pastor Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), but it became more heated after his death. It began as a discussion about the extent of the sanctification of those 24 262

who are reborn and of the Christian's freedom, about pure doctrine versus the pure life, but it developed into a violent conflict about the extent to which there are morally indifferent actions, "adiaphora." The pietists claimed that sanctification should encompass the entire life of the one reborn, and that no action was so insignificant that it fell outside the revealed laws of morality; therefore, they condemned, for example, dancing, card playing, drinking of alcohol, luxurious living, smoking, theater, facetiousness, and untimely laughter. The orthodox, by contrast, viewed such actions as indifferent, innocent, or neutral, which fall within the freedom and personal decision of Christians, which no one has the right to interfere with. The conflict is described in detail in J. G. Walch, *Historische und Theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche* [Historical and Theological Introduction to the Religious Disputes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], vols. 1–5 (Jena, 1730–36; ASKB 853–862) (in 10 vols., of which vol. 1 is from the 3rd ed., 1733), see especially vol. 5, pp. 821–842.

27 **the pietistic development . . . a number of adiaphora**] Alludes to the theological conflict between pietists and Lutheran orthodoxy at the beginning of the 18th century concerning the relation between theology and philosophy and the significance of pure doctrine. Cf. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 251,*14*), vol. 2, pp. 1070f. The pietists criticized the orthodox theologians' use of Aristotelian (scholastic) and metaphysical categories in dogmatic theology and regarded knowledge of philosophy of religion as indifferent in relation to the edification of the one reborn. The orthodox criticized the pietists for being indifferent to the Lutheran doctrine presented in the confessional books and accused them of rejecting essential dogmas. The controversy is described in J. G. Walch, *Historische und Theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*, vol. 2, 1734, pp. 16–25, and vol. 5, pp. 159–167.

30 **Your word shall be yea, yea, and nay, nay . . . evil**] Cf. Mt 5:37.

263 1 **Paul**] → 226*m*,*37*.

1 **spiritus asper**] Latin, "hard breathing"; the aspiration mark ˓, which in Greek indicates the pronunciation "h," is placed before the initial vowel or diphthong and is placed above the letter rho when it is the first letter.

John] The apostle John, who is said to be the writer of the Gospel according to St. John. 1

spiritus lenis] Latin, "soft breathing"; the mark ʼ, which in Greek is placed over a vowel or initial dipthong, used to indicate that there is no aspiration. 2

the flower which today stands . . . is thrown into the furnace] Alludes to Mt 6:30, where Jesus says: "But if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is alive today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will he not much more clothe you—you of little faith?" 4 263

the flower . . . exceeds the glory of Solomon] Alludes to Mt 6:29, where Jesus says of the lilies in the field: "Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of these." 6

not forget on that account the one thing needful] → 262,*13*. 3 263*m*

your Son] Jesus Christ. 10

God tempts no one . . . it is your own flesh and blood] Alludes to Jas 1:13–15: "No one, when tempted, should say, 'I am being tempted by God'; for God cannot be tempted by evil and he himself tempts no one. But one is tempted by one's own desire, being lured and enticed by it; then, when that desire has conceived, it gives birth to sin, and that sin, when it is fully grown, gives birth to death." 10 263

He is not tempted, not by anyone] See the previous note. 19

his hidden depths] Cf. the expression to "look into the hidden depths of God's being" in no. 2, "Betragtningens Standpunct" [The Standpoint of Observation], in J. P. Mynster's *Betragtninger over de christelige Troeslærdomme*, [Observations on the Christian Dogmas], 2nd printing, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1837 [1833]; ASKB 254–255), vol. 1, p. 11. 16 263*m*

God is not tempted, not by anyone] → 263,*10*. 18

My God, my God] Alludes to Jesus's cry from the cross (Mt 27:46), where in his prayer he uses the words from Ps 22:1: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? / Why are you so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning?" 23

my sin, it cries to you, to the heavens] Alludes to the story in Gen 4:1–16 about Cain's murder of his 24

brother Abel, where God says to Cain: "What have you done? Listen; your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground!" (v. 10). Cf. also the statement: "How great is my misdeed that it climbs up to heaven and cries," in "Bønnen før og efter Skriftemaal og Alterens Sacramentes Brug" [The Prayer before and after Confession and the Use of the Blessed Sacrament], in *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog til Brug ved Kirke- og Huus-Andagt* [Evangelical-Christian Hymnal, for Devotional Use in the Church and at Home] (Copenhagen, 1823 [1798]; ASKB 196), p. 630.

25 **then heaven opens again . . . just a little while**] The source has not been identified. Cf., however, Ps 14:2: "The Lord looks down from heaven on humankind to see if there are any who are wise, who seek after God."

29 **just a little while**] Alludes to Jn 16:16, where Jesus says to his disciples: "A little while, and you will no longer see me, and again a little while, and you will see me." Cf. also Hebr 10:37: "For yet in a very little while, and the one who is coming will come and will not delay."

32 **of Lazarus: This sickness is not unto death**] Cf. Jn 11:4.

263 26 **novella**] → 240,*15* ; Danish, "Novellen"; in the Danish of the time, this could also mean a novel.

28 **What is sown is perishable . . . imperishable**] Cf. 1 Cor 15:42, where Paul uses this expression about the resurrection of the dead.

263 33 **your will . . . as it does in heaven**] Presumably an allusion to the introduction to and third supplication in the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6:9–10.

264 2 **our salvation in fear and trembling**] Refers to Phil 2:12, where Paul writes to the Philippians: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."

5 **when it thunders from Sinai**] → 257,*28*.

7 **cry out with joy: Abba, Father**] Alludes to Rom 8:15, where Paul writes to the Romans: "For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry, 'Abba! Father!' " — **Abba**: Aramaic "father" (form of address, originally a diminutive).

264 9 **the disciple not being greater than the master**] An allusion to Mt 10:24, where Jesus says: "A disciple is not above the teacher," and Jn 13:16, where Jesus says: "Servants are not greater than their master."

old like Anna] Alludes to the story in Lk 2:36–38 about the 84-year-old prophet Anna, who met Jesus when he was still a child in the temple in Jerusalem and spoke about him to everyone who was "looking for the redemption of Jerusalem." 15 264

gray like Simeon] Alludes to the story in Lk 2:25–35 about old Simeon, who, inspired by the Holy Spirit, came to the temple in Jerusalem, where he took the baby Jesus in his arms and praised God because he now had seen "the Lord's Messiah." —Parts of this text along with the one mentioned in the previous note, i.e., Lk 2:33–40, constitute the gospel for the Sunday after Christmas; cf. *Forordnet Alter- Bog* (→ 214,*2*), pp. 20f. 15

Noah the 2nd] Kierkegaard compares old Simeon, who was "righteous and devout, looking forward to the consolation of Israel," Lk 2:25, with Noah, who was also old and "a righteous man, blameless in his generation; Noah walked with God," Genesis 6:9. 16

wait for him in his house] Alludes to Lk 2:37, where it is said of Anna: "She never left the temple but worshiped there with fasting and prayer night and day." Both the temple and church are often called "the house of God." 16

Psalm 82:6. "I have . . . like a tyrant] Psalms 82:6–7 following Luther's German translation: "Ich habe wohl gesagt: Ihr seyd Götter, und allzumal Kinder des Höchsten; Aber ihr werdet sterben, wie Menschen, und wie ein Tyrann zu Grunde gehen." Cf. *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers mit einer Vorrede vom Dr. Hüffel* [The Bible or the Entire Holy Scriptures, according to the German Translation of Dr. Martin Luther, with a Foreword by Dr. Hüffe] (Carlsruhe and Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 3, abbreviated here as *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift*). 3 265

amazed the contemporaries . . . the wedding in Cana . . . the good wine after] Alludes to the story of the wedding in Cana; Jn 2:1–11. When Jesus had changed water into wine, the steward tasted it, called to the bridegroom and said to him: "Everyone serves the good wine first, and then the inferior wine after the guests have become drunk. But you have kept the good wine until now." The pas- 3 265*m*

sage is the gospel for the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany; cf. *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 214,2), pp. 30f.

11 **Chr. walks upon the water**] Alludes to the story of Jesus walking on water, Mt 14:22–33. Kierkegaard might also have in mind the story of the storm at sea, Mt 8:23–27, where Jesus rebukes a stormy sea, and it becomes calm. Mt 8:23–27 is the gospel for the 4th Sunday after Epiphany; cf. *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 214,2), p. 35f.

13 **the waves in this breast**] Presumably alludes to Ps 42:6–8, which describes waves and billows passing over the author.

14 **Be still, my soul**] Presumably alludes to Ps 62:1: "For God alone my soul waits in silence; from him comes my salvation"

17 **his peace may overshadow you**] Presumably alludes to the story of the proclamation of Jesus's birth, in which the angel Gabriel says to the Virgin Mary: "The power of the Most High will overshadow you," Lk 1:35.

20 **world cannot give . . . you can give peace**] Presumably alludes to Jesus's departing speech to his disciples, in which he says: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you. I do not give to you as the world gives," Jn 14:27.

265 12 **Genesis**] Greek, "production," "creation"; designation for the first book of the Pentateuch, which begins with an account of the creation of the universe.

13 **Exodus**] Latin form of the Greek "exodos," "exit," "migration"; designation for the second book of the Pentateuch, which contains, among other things, the story of the Israelites' departure from Egypt.

13 **Leviticus**] Latin designation for the third book of the Pentateuch, which contains religious laws and regulations for the Levites (i.e., the Jewish priests who were from the tribe of Levi).

14 **Numbers**] Designation for fourth book of the Pentateuch, which contains, among other things, the census of the Israelites.

15 **Deuteronomy**] Greek, "the second statement of the law"; also designation for the fifth book of the Pentateuch, which contains Moses's renewed law-giving with a view to circumstances in Canaan.

265*m* 27 **Lk 9:31**] Luke 9:31, where it is reported that during his transfiguration Jesus spoke with Moses and Elijah; "They appeared in glory and were speaking of his departure, which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem."

the Pharisee and the Publican] Alludes to Jesus's parable about the Pharisee and the tax collector who went up into the temple to pray, Lk 18:10–14: "Two men went up to the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a tax collector. The Pharisee, standing by himself, was praying thus, 'God, I thank you that I am not like other people: thieves, rogues, adulterers, or even like this tax collector. I fast twice a week; I give a tenth of all my income.' But the tax collector, standing far off, would not even look up to heaven, but was beating his breast and saying, 'God, be merciful to me a sinner!' I tell you, this man went down to his home justified rather than the other; for all who exalt themselves will be humbled, but all who humble themselves will be exalted." 18 265

the Jews, in buying and selling . . . the bust of Caesar] Cf., for example, Mt 22:15–21, where it is reported that several Pharisees and Herodians sought out Jesus in order to hear if it was permitted to pay taxes to the emperor. But Jesus saw through them and said: " 'Why are you putting me to the test, you hypocrites? Show me the coin used for the tax.' And they brought him a denarius. Then he said to them, 'Whose head is this, and whose title?' They answered, 'The emperor's.' Then he said to them, 'Give therefore to the emperor the things that are the emperor's and to God the things that are God's.' " 22 265

in the temple . . . their own coinage] Refers to Ex 30:13, where it is decreed that all men who are registered shall pay a sum of money to the Lord, a ransom of half a shekel "according to the shekel of the sanctuary," i.e., calculated according to the scales in the sanctuary; "shekel" designated both a coinage and a measure of weight, since money then consisted of pieces of metal, the value of which corresponded to their weight; one shekel was 11 grams of silver. The tax, which was supposed to be paid by every Israelite male 20 years old or older, was originally paid for the service in the tabernacle (cf. Ex 30:16), later for the temple. 23

rejected the prayer of the demon-possessed man . . . Cf. Lk 8.39] Luke 8:38–39: "The man from whom 1 266

the demons had gone begged that he might be with him; but Jesus sent him away, saying, 'Return to your home, and declare how much God has done for you.' So he went away proclaiming throughout the city how much Jesus had done for him." — **ειναι συν αυτω**: Greek (eínai sýn autō), "to be together with him."

266 12 **watchmen with ... verses**] In Kierkegaard's time watchmen walked through the streets of Copenhagen to light street lamps, maintain peace and order, and intervene in case of fire. In addition, they shouted the prescribed watchmen's verse every hour; from November to February, he began at 8 P M. and continued until 5 A M.; in March, September, and October, he began at 9 P M. and continued until 4 A M.; in April and August, he began at 10 P M. and continued until 3 A M.; from May until July, he began at 11 P.M. and continued until 2 A M.; cf. § 5 and § 9 in *Instruction for Natte-Vægterne i Kiøbenhavn* [Instructions for the Night Watchmen in Copenhagen] (Copenhagen, 1784), p. 6 and p. 10. The watchmen's verses, which were hymn verses and as such edifying, are thought to have been written by Thomas Kingo.

13 **For the sake of Jesus's wounds, forgive us our sins, O gracious God**] Cf. the Copenhagen watchman's verse for 9 P M.: "Nu skrider Dagen under, / Og Natten vælder ud, / Forlad, for Jesu Vunder, / Vor Synd, O milde Gud! / Bevare Kongens Huus, / Samt alle Mand / I disse Land, / Fra Fiendens Vold og Knuus" ["The daylight its farewell doth take / And darkness closes in; / Forgive, for Jesus's suff'ring's sake, / O, gentle God, our sin. / Preserve our sovereign King / And every man / In all the Land / From wicked mischief-making"], *Instruction for Natte-Vægterne i Kiøbenhavn* (Copenhagen, 1784), p. 20.

18 **statistical information ... third time**] Refers perhaps to the fact that the pastor in question was not only responsible for recording the information about a marriage in the ministerial book for weddings but also for reporting it to the local bishop. —**read for the first ... the third time**: According to *Kirke-Ritual for Danmark og Norge* from 1685, the pastor was supposed to announce, on 3 consecutive Sundays, with the same formulation, that such-and-such person intended to enter into matrimony with such-and-such person; cf. *Dannemarks og Norges Kirke-Ritual* [Denmark's and Norway's Church Ritual] (Copenhagen, 1762), pp. 315f. The announcement of marriages was a legal duty established in Christian V's Danish Law, and confirmed by decree on April 30, 1824.

21 **year of grace**] The period in which a retiring pastor has the right to remain in his official residence and receive a part of the official revenues.

23 **here on the square**] Kultorvet; Kierkegaard lived in no. 132, now no. 11 (*see map 2, C1*).

26 266 **My son ... your sins are forgiven**] Alludes to the story of Jesus's healing of the paralytic in Capernaum, where Jesus says to him: "Take heart, son; your sins are forgiven," Mt 9:2.

36 **mediator**] i.e., Christ.

1 266*m* **την παῤῥησιαν και το καυχημα της ελπιδος**] Greek, "confidence and pride of hope." Heb 3:6: "And we are his [Christ's] house if we hold firm the confidence and the pride that belong to hope."

1 267 **as once you walked with the Jews in the olden days**] Presumably refers to the wandering of the Israelites in the desert after their departure from Egypt, where God moved ahead of them in a pillar of cloud during the day and in a pillar of fire during the night; cf. Ex 13:21–22.

4 **the good seed grows in patience**] Alludes to Jesus's explanation of the parable of the sower, where he says of the seed sown in good soil: "But as for that in the good soil, these are the ones who, when they hear the word, hold it fast in an honest and good heart, and bear fruit with patient endurance," Lk 8:15.

8 **without you we achieve nothing at all**] Presumably an allusion to Phil 4:13, where Paul writes: "I can do all things through him who strengthens me."

11 **you are powerful in the weak**] Cf. H. A. Brorson's hymn, "Gud skal alting mage" (1734, included in *Troens Rare Klenodie*, 1739), where verse five is as follows: "Gud skal alting mage / Mægtig i de Svage / Han sig altid teer, / Skulde eller kunde / Nogen gaae til Grunde, / Som paa Herren seer? / Allesteds / Da vel tilfreds, / Alting staaer udi hans Hænder, / Al din Trang han kjender" ["God will make all things strong / In those whose strength is gone / This is His promised word; / Should, could it ever be / One came to misery, / Who looks unto

the Lord? / Everywhere / Peace is there, / All things are safely in his hands, / Who every need doth understand"], *Troens rare Klenodie, i nogle aandelige Sange fremstillet af Hans Adolph Brorson*, (→ 210,26) p. 163.

267 18 **the Jews brought Jehovah a tenth . . . the issue**] Cf. regulations about the tithe in Deut 14:22–29. — **Jehovah**: → 205,8.

21 **labored 6 days . . . rested on the 7th**] Cf. the 3rd of the 10 Commandments, Ex 20:8–11.

27 **as the prophet says . . . sees you**] → 263m,16.

267m 3 **the Lord who ransacks hearts and reins**] An idea which appears many times in the OT; the formulation is found in Jer 11:20 and Rev 2:23. This appears in modern translations as "the one who searches minds and hearts."

5 **who knows what inhabits your heart**] Presumably refers to Acts 15:8, where the apostle Peter uses the phrase: "God, who knows the human heart."

11 **according to Xt's commandments, you have secretly done well**] Presumably refers to Mt 6:6, where Jesus says: "But whenever you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you."

13 **Whoever is not with me is against me**] Cf. Mt 12:30.

17 **he for whom 1,000 years are as a day**] → 216,6.

268m 4 **to create him in your image and form him according to your likeness**] Alludes to Gen 1:26, where God says: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness."

267 30 **Stoic philosopher Empedocles**] That a man is stoic can mean either that he is an advocate of Stoicism, the Greek philosophical school of the Stoa, founded circa 300 B.C., whose doctrine proposes that man should not be affected by either inclinations or passions, or merely that he—without being a philosopher— tries to live unaffected by outer and inner conditions as far as possible. In neither of these senses can the Greek natural philosopher Empedocles from Acragas in Sicily (490–430 B.C.) be called a stoic. Poul Martin Møller says that Empedocles was a fellow student with Zeno of Elea (both were students of Parmenides), and Kierkegaard might have confused Zeno of Elea with the founder of the Stoic school, Zeno of Citium. Cf. "Udkast til Forelæsninger over den ældre Philosophies Historie," [Draft of Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy], which contains a lengthy section on Socrates and his significance in the history of philosophy, in *Efterladte Skrifter af Poul M. Møller* [Posthumous Writings by Poul M. Møller], vols. 1–3 (Copenhagen, 1839–43; ASKB 1574–1576), vol. 2, ed. F. C. Olsen (1842), p. 338. Poul Martin Møller lectured on the history of ancient philosophy in 1833–34 and in 1834–35.

Be abstemious in vices] Cf. Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, chap. 16, 464 B, where Empedocles is quoted as having said: "νηστεῦσαι κακότητος" (Greek [nēsteûsai kakótētos], "fast from wickedness"); see *Plutarchi Chaeronensis varia scripta quae Moralia vulgo vocantur*, stereotype edition, vols. 1–6 (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1172–1177), vol. 3, p. 258. 31

a night . . . visited Jesus] Alludes to the story of Nicodemus, who, presumably out of fear, visited Jesus during the night; Jn 3:2. 5 268

Xt . . . to the disciples through closed doors] Alludes to the 2 times that Jesus, after his resurrection, suddenly stood among his disciples, who had gathered behind closed doors because of fear of the authorities; Jn 20:19, 26. 9

Mk 9:5 etc.] Mk 9:5 forms a part of the account in the Gospel of Mark about Jesus's transfiguration on the mountain; Mk 9:1–8. Jesus was transfigured before the eyes of the disciples Peter, James, and John, whom he had taken with him; Moses and Elijah appeared there and spoke with Jesus, after which Peter said to Jesus: "Rabbi, it is good for us to be here; let us make three dwellings, one for you, one for Moses, and one for Elijah." 16 268

Mk 9:11 etc.] Kierkegaard may be thinking of Mk 9:9, where it is written that Jesus and the 3 disciples descended from the mountain, and of Mk 9:14–29, where one encounters the story about the boy with the unclean spirit, whom the other disciples had not been able to cure, but whom Jesus now cures. 19

Lk 9:29] "And while he [Jesus] was praying, the appearance of his face changed, and his clothes became dazzling white." The verse forms a part of the account in the Gospel of Luke about the transfiguation of Jesus on the mountain; Lk 9:28–36. 8 268m

make our hearts . . . you take up residence] Al- 21 268

ludes to 1 Cor 3:16, where Paul writes to the Corinthians: "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you?" Cf. also 1 Cor 6:19 and 2 Cor 6:16.

23 **the idol Dagon ... at the base of the Ark of the Covenant**] Refers to the story in 1 Sam 5:3–4. After the Philistines, who were at war with the Israelites, had stolen the Ark of the Covenant, they placed it beside their god Dagon in his temple in Ashdod. "When the people of Ashdod rose early the next day, there was Dagon, fallen on his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord. So they took Dagon and put him back in his place. But when they rose early on the next morning, Dagon had fallen on his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord, and the head of Dagon and both his hands were lying cut off upon the threshold; only the trunk of Dagon was left to him."

26 **with the apostle: I die daily**] Refers to 1 Cor 15:30–31, where Paul writes to the Corinthians: "I die every day! This is as certain, brothers and sisters, as my boasting of you—a boast that I made in Christ Jesus our Lord."

268 *28* **Hegel**] → 212,*19*.

28 **Johannes Climacus**] Johannes with the appellation Climax or, in Latin, Climacus (ca. 525–616), Greek theologian, monk, lived for 40 years as a hermit at the foot of Mount Sinai, the author of the work *Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου* [Greek, Klímax toû paradeísou] [Ladder to Paradise], an allusion to Jacob's ladder; cf. Gen 28:12, translated into Latin under the title *Scala paradisi*), from which Climacus received his appellation. In this work he explains how, in 30 steps, one can ascend to Christian perfection, overcoming one's vices and appropriating the Christian virtues by using the necessary ascetic means. Cf., for example, W. M. L. de Wette, *Christliche Sittenlehre* [Christian Moral Doctrine], vols. 1–3 (Berlin, 1819–23; ASKB U 110), and *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære og sammes Historie* [Textbook for Christian Ethics and Its History], trans. C. E. Scharling (Copenhagen, 1835; ASKB 871), where reference is made to and quotations are taken from Johannes Climacus's work, pp. 135–140.

29 **the giants by putting mountain upon mountain**] According to a Greek legend, the giants Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of the god of the sea, Poseidon, tried to storm heaven and attack the gods by piling Mount Ossa on top of Mount Olympus and Mount Pelion on top of Mount Ossa; cf. *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 234,*16*), vol. 1, p. 751.

as of old you commanded the prophet Elijah ... the greeting] Alludes to 2 Kings 4:29, where it is not God who commands Elijah, but Elijah who commands his servant Gehazi not to greet anyone. Elijah was a prophet in the Northern Kingdom in the 9th century; the narratives about him are found in 2 Kings 2–13. *1* 269

only when the Pharisees ... for the disciples] There are several examples of Jesus reducing the Pharisees to silence; cf., for example, Mt 22:22 and Jn 8:9, as well as instances of Jesus walking away and standing alone; cf., for example, Jn 12:36. With "Xt's word sounded from the fullness of his heart," Kierkegaard is presumably thinking of Jesus's departing speech to the disciples in Jn 14–17. *12* 269

Lk 21:19] Luke 21:19, where Jesus says: "By your endurance you will gain your souls." Luther translates the statement thus: "Fasset eure Seelen mit Geduld" ["Take hold of your souls with patience"]; cf. *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift* (→ 265,*3*). *15* 269

The Crazier the Better] The phrase is found as a refrain in the final song of the epilogue to J. H. Wessel's parodic tragedy, *Kierlighed uden Strømper* [Love without Stockings] (1772); cf. *Samlede Digte af Johan Herman Wessel* [Collected Poems of Johan Herman Wessel], ed. A. E. Boye (Copenhagen, 1832), pp. 71–73. See the article with the same title, "Jo galere, jo bedre," in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblad*, no. 80, 1836. *6* 272

From the Papers of One Still Living ... by S. Kierkegaard] Cf. the title of Kierkegaard's first book, *Af en endnu Levendes Papirer. Udgivet mod hans Villie af S. Kjerkegaard* (Copenhagen, 1838), in *SKS* 1, 7. The book was published September 7; cf. *SKS*, K1, 67. *7*

the 7 mad men] Perhaps intended in opposition to the 7 wise men of the Greek tradition: these were famous men of state from various Greek cities in the 6th century B.C. *1* 272*m*

The Conflict between the Old and the New Soap-Cellar] A phrase with a background in a dispute which took place in Copenhagen around 1810 be- *1* 273

tween a soap dealer, A. Møller, with his shop in the cellar on Ulfelts Plads 110 (today, Gråbrødre Torv 3 (*see map 2, C2*)) and a new competitor nearby; Møller put up a sign above his shop with the words: "Here is the genuine old soap-cellar, where the genuine old soap-cellar people live"; see *Historiske Meddelelser om København* [Historical Information about Copenhagen], vol. 2.2 [1925–26], pp. 406f.

11 **Echo**] → 225,*10*.

12 **Merrythought**] Danish, "Springgaas," literally, "spring-goose." A toy made from the breast bone of a goose which can be set into flight with a spring; perhaps used metaphorically for a flighty, shaky kind of person. Cf. S. S. Blicher's novella "Fjorten Dage i Jylland" [Fourteen Days in Jutland], where there is talk of a "Professor Merrythought" [Professor Springgaas], in *Samlede Noveller* [Collected Novels], 2nd printing, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1833 [1833]), vols. 2–5 (Copenhagen, 1833–36, and supplementary volume, Copenhagen, 1840; ASKB 1521–1523), vol. 5, p. 100.

16 **active military magistrate**] Usually the designation "active" in connection with service titles meant that the person was still active in his duty in contrast to the merely titular officials. A military magistrate was an observer in a war council, i.e., a council of high-ranking officers, and according to rules governing rank and precedence of October 14, 1746 was placed as no. 4 in class 8 out of a total of 9 classes.

19 **Hegel of blessed memory**] Danish, "salig Hegel." Hegel died in 1831 (→ 212,*19*); his collected works (→ 213,*12*), which began to appear in 1832, included the subtitle *Vollständige Ausgabe durch einen Verein von Freunden des Verewigten* [Complete Edition by an Association of the Friends of the Deceased]. Although the word "verewigte" often means "deceased," Kierkegaard's Danish term "salig" [blessed] plays on the religious connotation of "verewigte" [immortalized]. The ironic designation "Hegel of blessed memory" may also be understood in connection with the fact that immediately after Hegel's death, a dispute arose among his followers about the immortality of the soul, which divided the Hegelian school into "right" and "left" Hegelianism. Cf. also the expression "immortal nose" which likewise plays on the subtitle of the collected works.

Phänomenologie des Geistes] *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* [The Phenomenology of Spirit] is the title of Hegel's first epoch-making work from 1807. 20

A champion of orthography] A lively discussion about what should be accepted as correct orthography had begun with Rasmus Rask's *Forsøg til en videnskabelig dansk Retskrivningslære* [Attempt at a Scholarly Doctrine for Danish Orthography] in 1826, followed by N. M. Petersen's *Kortfattet dansk Retskrivningslære* [Brief Danish Orthography] from 1837. That year also saw the founding of the "Selskabet for en forbedret Retskrivnings Udbredelse" [The Society for the Promotion of Improved Orthography]; various attempts were made to promote the cause, including a piece that appeared in the *Nordisk Ugeskrift* [The Nordic Weekly] in the same year. 28

Luther] → 227,*2*. 2 273*m*

cutting rods for people who ask] sticks to beat people who ask pointless questions. 3

the four mad brothers given in Claudius's] → 257,*9*. 9

verse] i.e., the verse sung by "the four mad brothers" (→ 257,*9*): "Ach, Herr! laß dein' lieb' Engelein / Am letzten End' die Seele mein / In Abrahams Schooß tragen, / Den Leib in sein'm Schlaf-Kümmerlein, / Gar sanft ohn' ein'ge Quaal und Pein, / Ruhn bis am jüngsten Tage" ["O, Lord! When I this life depart / Give to your angels dear my heart / To pass to Abraham's care, / My body in its bed to sleep / In painless slumber long and deep / Till Judgment Day is here"], Matthias Claudius, *Werke*, vol. 2, part 4, p. 127. 10

Zacchaeus in the mulberry tree] Alludes to the story of the publican Zacchaeus, who was of short stature and therefore climbed a mulberry (or sycamore) tree when he wanted to see Jesus during his visit in Jericho; Lk 19:1–10. 13

at public expense at the Prytaneum] The Prytaneum (Greek prytaneion) was the seat of the city council in Athens and other cities in ancient Greece; the city's citizens could obtain the honor of eating at mealtimes in the Prytaneum. Here Kierkegaard alludes to Plato's work, *Apology*, 36b–37a, where Socrates considers what reward he could receive for his long and outstanding services, and says that he cannot come up with anything more fitting than that he be supported by free meals for life at the 15

Prytaneum (*Platons Skrifter* [→ 208,33], vol. 1, p. 288).

17 **Sallust, Jugurtha cap. iv . . . reipublicæ venturum**] The Roman historian Sallust (ca. 87–35 B.C.) *Jugurtha*, Chap. 4.4; cf. *C. Sallusti Crispi opera quae supersunt*, ed. Fr. Kritz, vols. 1–2 (Leipzig, 1828–34; ASKB 1269–1270). The Latin quotation is found in vol. 2, pp. 22f., and reads as follows: "[People] will surely conclude that I had good reason for altering my opinion about politics, that it was not mere laziness, and that more profit is likely to accrue to the state from my leisured retirement than from the busy activity of others." *Sallusts Jugurthinske Krig*, trans. R. Møller (Copenhagen, 1812; cf. ASKB 1273), pp. 9f. Kierkegaard omits "mei" ("my") after "animi" and reproduces the Latin text with minor orthographic variations. (English translation quoted from Sallust, *The Jugurthine War/The Conspiracy of Catiline*, trans. S. A. Handford [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963], p. 37.)

26 **beliebich**] German, "according to one's own wish."

27 **zum Gebrauche für Jedermann**] German, literally, "for the use of everyone," i.e., for nonspecialists or nonexperts, often used in titles of popular works; pejorative when used about mediocre literature as opposed to more or less high-brow literature.

27 **list of insults . . . the freedom of the press ordinance of 1799**] Cf. the ordinance of September 27, 1799, which decreed that anyone who broke the law requiring reverence for the government and the legislature "by carping with bitterness about the government, or by cloaking his remarks about its institutions *in improper and unseemly expressions*," should be punished with 4 to 14 days in jail on bread and water (§ 7). The ordinance was later modified several times, but in the 1830s the liberal press often complained that the limits of freedom of the press were unclear; there was therefore some uncertainty about whether certain "insults" were allowed or not.

31 **a hack from Kjøbenhavnsposten's**] Presumably alludes to *Kjøbenhavnsposten*'s editor A. P. Liunge. After the chancellery's prohibition of October 17, 1836 against the distribution of the Norwegian journal *Den Constitutionelle* in Denmark, Liunge wrote a number of increasingly accusatory articles against the chancellery, beginning on October 20. According to Liunge, the chancellery had administered the freedom of the press ordinance illegally. His criticism culminated in the confiscation of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* for October 31 (no. 308). When the chancellery refused to allow the courts to decide the legality of the confiscation, Liunge concluded on December 9 (no. 346) that the chancellery, contrary to the wish of both the king and the Estates Assembly, had introduced "a full, complete censorship in Denmark." Finally, he warned in the last article on December 30 (no. 366) that "a people ought to trust in no one but itself," and that "the fuller the measuring cup, the closer it is to spilling over." With his urgent threats alluding to popular reaction against the chancellery's actions, and with his violent criticisms, in his own way Liunge provided "a list of insults that can be employed without being answerable to the freedom of the press ordinance of 1799," since he was not charged for a violation of its stipulations. — **Kjøbenhavnsposten**: Founded in 1827, the leading liberal journal in the 1830s.

"I've got no cash, I'm knocked about," etc.] The first words of Leporello, Don Juan's servant, in act 1, scene 1, in Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (1787) with libretto by da Ponte; cf. *Don Juan. Opera i tvende Akter bearbeidet til Mozarts Musik*, trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1807), p. 3: "Sielden Penge, Prygl desfleer! / Staae om Natten udenfor / Medens Herren inde leer, / Det var hidtil mine Kaar! / Hvorfor selv ei Herre være / Fanden være Tiener meer! / Viin forstaaer jeg at begiære, / Spore op hver deilig Pige, / Lønlig mig til hende snige! / Jo, Jo! Herre kan jeg være / Fanden være Tiener meer" ["I've got no cash, I'm knocked about, / I'm left outside at night / While master he doth laugh and shout—/ For years that's been my plight. / Why shouldn't I be a master fine / And the devil take this servant's lot! / I know what it is to want good wine / And with the girls to play my part, / To sneak my way into their hearts! / Oh yes! I'll be a master fine, / The devil take this servant's lot"]. (New editions of this translation with some small isolated changes appeared in 1811 with the same title but without any division into scenes, and in 1822, with the title *Don Juan. Opera*, once again with the division into scenes.) 2 274*m*

"Oh what torture, Oh what need, May madness not your fortune be"] Cf. the song of the modiste Madame Charlotte in act 1, scene 1, in *Bruden* [The 3

Bride], singspiel with music by F. Auber, text by A. E. Scribe, trans. J. L. Heiberg, *Det kongelige Theaters Repertoire*, no. 35 (Copenhagen, 1831 [fr. 1829]), pp. 1f.: "Hvilken Nød, hvilken Qval! / Hvor den Stand er fatal, / Som ved Moden sin Lykke maa søge! . . . / Hvilken Nød, hvilken Qval! / Maa man ei blive gal, / Naar man skal efter Alle sig føie?" ["Oh what torture, Oh what need! / What a fatal case indeed / If fashion is your greatest joy! . . . / Oh what torture, Oh what need! / May madness not your fortune be / If pleasing others is your employ"]. *Bruden* was performed 26 times at the Royal Theater in the period from 1831 to 1837; it was performed 4 times in 1837.

8 **Aubert**] Daniel François Esprit Aubert (1782–1871), French composer.

274 14 **Peter Schlemihl . . . cannot cast any shadow**] An allusion to the story about the tall, thin, aged man in Chamisso's fairy tale *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*, 3rd ed. (Nürnberg, 1835 [1814]; ASKB 1630). The tall man convinces Peter Schlemihl to sell his shadow for an inexhaustable magic money bag, then he rolls up the shadow, puts it in his pocket and keeps it there; thus Peter Schlemihl can no longer cast a shadow, pp. 19f. Cf. *Peter Schlemihl's forunderlige Historie* [Peter Schlemihl's Strange Story], trans. F. Schaldemose (Copenhagen, 1841), pp. 10f. — **Chamisso**: Adelbert von Chamisso (i.e., Louis Charles Adelaïde de Chamisso de Boncourt, 1781–1838), French-German poet and natural scientist.

19 **Aurora's husband**] Tithonus, in Greek mythology. His beloved Aurora (Greek, Eos, the goddess of the dawn) had obtained eternal life for him, but unfortunately not eternal youth; Tithonus therefore became the image of decrepit old age. Cf. *Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 234,16), vol. 1, pp. 364f.

21 **showcase of natural curiosities**] Collection of taxidermists' specimens of animals, fossils, etc.

38 **would that all your heads were on one neck**] Alludes to a statement by the Roman emperor Caligula: "I wish all you Romans had only one neck!" with the implication being that thus their heads could be cut off with a single stroke; cf. Suetonius's biography, "Cajus Cæsar Caligula," chap. 30, in *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* (→ 213,6), vol. 1, p. 312. (English translation quoted from Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957], p. 169.)

Wo komst du her geritten?] "From where have you come riding?" Quotation from the ballad "Lenore" (1773), the last line in stanza fourteen, by the German poet G. A. Bürger; cf. *Bürgers Gedichte* [Bürger's Poems], vols. 1–2 (Gotha and New York, 1828) (*Hand-Bibliothek der Deutschen Classiker*), vol. 1, p. 52. 13 275

Wir satteln nur um Mitternacht] "We only saddle up at midnight." Direct quotation from "Lenore," first line in stanza fifteen (see the previous note). 15

The passer-by . . . yellow-checkered place] If there is a source, it has not been identified. 4 275*m*

corner of Kronprindsens Gade and Store Købmagergade."] (*see map 2, C2*). 7

property agents] A real estate agency for apartments, which was located on the corner of Nellikegade (today, Asylgade) and Vingårdsstræde (*see map 2, C2*). 40

nonnulla desunt] Latin, "something is missing"; a common philological formula, which indicates the loss of an unknown quantity of text. Since this phrase, which appears in *EP* I–II, is not from the hand of editor H. P. Barfod, but from Kierkegaard himself, it means presumably either that some text has been lost from a previous draft or that something is missing which was to be written or further developed. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal AA*," in this volume, p. 304. 11 276

a social animal, a human being] Presumably alludes to Aristotle's *Politica* [*Politics*], book 1, chap. 2 (1253a), where he says that man is by nature a πολιτικόν ζῷον (Greek [politikón zōon], "a political animal"); cf. *Aristoteles graece*, ed. I. Bekker, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1831; ASKB 1074–1075), vol. 2, p. 1253. (English translation quoted from Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon [New York: Random House, 1941], p. 1129.) 23

a bittern] A nocturnal bird of the heron family, which lives in reeds and rushes, especially the great bittern (Latin, "Botaurus stellaris"). The bird, which is rather timid, was quite common in Denmark at one time, but has become rarer as the wetlands, where it breeds, have disappeared. According to Ps 102:6 the bittern is a bird of loneliness: "I am like an owl of the wilderness." (In the Danish translation of 1740, the bird was a bittern). 24

29 **well-known theme from The Bricklayer ... friends are always near**] final song in act 3, scene 13 (the final scene), sung by "everyone" and closing with: "Aldrig forsager! / Aldrig forsager! / Altid Venner er os nær" ["No, don't despair! / No, don't despair! / friends are always near"], from *Muurmesteren. Syngespil i tre Acter af Scribe og Delavigne, Musiken af Auber* [The Bricklayer. Singspiel in Three Acts by Scribe and Delavigne, with Music by Auber], trans. T. Overskou, in *Det kgl. Theaters Repertoire* [The Repertoire of the Royal Theater], no. 17, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1829 [French 1825]), p. 18. *Muurmesteren* was performed 33 times at the Royal Theater in the period from 1827 to 1837; it was performed once in 1837.

39 **just as the goddess ... wafted away in the wind**] Presumably refers to the Sibyl of Cumae. In Virgil's epic poem *The Aeneid*, book 6, v. 74–75, Aeneas asks her to utter her prophecies directly and orally to him instead of writing them down: "But now commit no verses to the leaves / Or they may be confused, shuffled, and whirled / By playing winds: chant them aloud, I pray." *Virgils Æneide*, trans. J. H. Schønheyder, vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1812), vol. 1, p. 252. (English translation quoted from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985], p. 162.)

277 2 **novella**] → 240,*15*.

6 **D**.] doctor.

11 **double-entry bookkeeping**] The commonly used system of accounting according to which each change is entered twice—as a debt (money, which is spent, or the outstanding account) and as an asset (income or money, which is owed). When every entry is made twice, one can check the correctness of the accounting, since the sum of the assets should be exactly the same as the sum of the debts at the end of any given period. The system was founded by the Italian monk Bacciolo da Borgo di Santa Sepolchro in 1504.

21 **sequence of literary crop-rotation ... marl**] Crop rotation is an expression from agriculture, which designates a management form in which one alternates (rotates) between various crops or methods in the same field, or alternates between fields planted with the same crops. Leaving a field fallow and fertilizing with marl (→ 208,*7*) were important elements in crop rotation. An attempt was made to introduce this system into Danish agriculture from ca. 1800 to 1840.

to suffer something for Xt's sake] Alludes to Phil 1:29, where Paul writes to the Philippians: "For he has graciously granted you the privilege not only of believing in Christ, but of suffering for him as well." 3 278

Once my honor ... bloody rust on it] Free rendering of Palnatoke's reply to Thorvald in act 5, scene 2, "Palnatokes Huus" [Palnatoke's House], in Oehlenschläger's tragedy *Palnatoke* (1809). Cf. *Oehlenschlägers Tragødier* [The Tragedies of Oehlenschläger], vols. 1–11 (Copenhagen, 1831–41), vol. 1, p. 349, where the reply is as follows: "Min Ære var tilforn et speilglat Skiold / Af slebent Staal;—hvor Solens Straale faldt, / Der blinkte den med dobbelt Glands tilbage, — / Nu staaer en Plet af blodig Rust paa Skioldet; / Jeg gnider den ved Dag, ved Nat—og kan / Ei faa den ud!" ["My honor was once a mirror-clear shield / of polished steel;—where the rays of the sun fell, / and there shined back with a double brilliance, — / Now there is a spot of bloody rust on it; / I rub it by day and night—and can / not get it out!"] 6

revivalists] Reawakened people, i.e., people who have experienced a religious awakening, and who are affiliated with one of the pietistic "godly" awakenings prominent in Denmark in the first decades of the 19th century. 10

Prytaneum] → 273,*15*. 18

steel nibs] In Kierkegaard's times steel pens were hammered out of thin steel plates and had a split tip. The pen was held in a shaft made of various sorts of materials. In the mid 1830s the steel pen had supplanted the (goose) feather pen as the most commonly used writing tool. The first steel pens produced in Denmark came on the market in 1812. 7 279

goose-feather] See the previous note. 8

extensity] Extension. 31

intensity] Content. 32

my doubt is by no means popular ... an infinite doubt] → 214*m,8*. 33

a veritable scientific doubt ... modern philosophy ... Descartes] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), pp. 517f.: "As is well known, it was Descartes who appeared as the reformer of philosophy and who struggled against scholastic 36

philosophy. Tradition, the authority of the Church, indeed every *given presupposition* was negated, for now science wanted to know the truth derived from itself. Only what could be established as irrefutable truth in the inner compelling necessity of *thought* was permitted to count as such for man." And further, the scholar "had to have the courage, on the one hand, to set aside his own heart's desires and longings and, on the other hand, to free himself from all historical prejudices in order to seek the truth for its own sake, uncompromised by finite considerations. The campaign slogan now became, '*Doubt* is the beginning of wisdom.' Through this doubt a standpoint was sought where doubt was no longer possible, a certainty which was not different from truth itself." And pp. 519f.: "Science thus demands absolute, infinite doubt. Therefore, each of the various systems which philosophized in this direction had to begin an entire philosophy from the start, for it was always apparent that the previous system had left behind a presupposition which was not called into doubt, and that this was the unjustified beginning from which it originated." — **in parenthesi**: Latin, "in parentheses," inserted, said in passing. — **Descartes**: René Descartes (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician, and natural scientist.

40 **de omnibus disputandum est**] Latin, "one must argue about everything," presumably Kierkegaard's modification of the sentence "de omnibus dubitandum est" (→ 244,3).

280 2 **de gustibus non est disputandum**] Latin saying, "There is no arguing about matters of taste." Cf. the Danish saying, "Om smag og behag skal man aldrig trættes," registered as no. 2430 in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* (→ 225m,13), p. 93.

21 **Life is a going out of itself returning back to itself**] Alludes to philosophy professor F. C. Sibbern's famous and notorious definition of life; generations of students were said to have been able to quote this line word for word if asked "What is life?" at the oral examination in psychology. At the time, psychology was part of the "second" examination, which covered the disciplines which were not part of the matriculation examination or "artium." The definition originally appeared in part 1 of Sibbern's *Menneskets aandelige Natur og Væsen. Et Udkast til en Psychologie* [The Spiritual Nature and Essence of Man. A Draft of a Psychology], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1819–28), vol. 1, p. 14: "What is primary and constitutive in an organism is Life. It emerges from an inner source, not merely potentially, but actually, as an uninterrupted and self-preserving activity in a totality of manifold parts—or, in any case, in a certain outward form, an outward form which, by means of life's own activity, is both formed as what it is and is also interruptedly preserved as an integral entity that exists in and for itself. Thus, the organism's unity is by no means a unity produced by collection or juxtaposition, but is an original unity in which what unites the manifold parts into a single integral entity is the primary element which, forming itself, has produced the entire manifold in which it now lives and acts."

demand of modern philosophy ... δοσ μοι που στω] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214m,8), p. 521: "Finding this [the unconditioned thought] means nothing more or less than finding the point outside the world, which the ancient Greek sages previously sought. (*Da mihi punctum & caelum terramque movebo.*) [Latin, 'Give me a place to stand I will move the heaven and the earth.'] Hegel sought such a point that was independent of experience and consciousness, by carrying out dialectical doubt." — **δοσ μοι που στω**: Greek (dós moí poú stō), "Give me a place to stand" and—with what follows: "and I will move the earth." These words are ascribed to the Greek matematician, physicist, and inventor Archimedes of Syracuse. Cf. Plutarch's biography "Marcellus," chap. 14.7, in *Vitae parallelae*: "However this may be, Archimedes in writing to Hiero, who was both a relative and a friend of his, asserted that with any given force it was possible to move any given weight, and then, carried away with enthusiasm at the power of his demonstration, so we are told, went on to enlarge his claim, and declared that if he were given another world to stand on, he could move the earth." *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* (→ 249,24), vol. 3, 1804, p. 272. (English translation quoted from Plutarch, *Makers of Rome. Nine Lives by Plutarch*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965], p. 99.) 24

Nonnulla desunt] → 276,11. 34

281 15 **the Faustian thing ... modern philosophy**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 527: "Here I merely take the liberty of calling to mind *Goethe*'s Faust. He too gives up faith for doubt. He too speculates about *logos* but can in no way accept that it should mean 'the word.' He reformulates it again and again—here is a true picture of modern speculation in its relation to revelation."

282 17 **cogito ergo sum**] → 230,*21*. Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), pp. 517f.: "As is well known, it was Descartes who appeared as the reformer of philosophy and who struggled against scholastic philosophy. Tradition, the authority of the Church, indeed every *given presupposition* was negated, for now science wanted to know the truth derived from itself. Only what could be established as irrefutable truth by means of the inner compelling necessity of *thought* was permitted to count as such for man. The Cartesian phrase, 'Cogito ergo sum,' exemplified the principle of this philosophy which was developed in the Protestant world. ... There was now knowledge of religion without religious knowledge, for thought in its necessity was now the only source of illumination in which the researcher put his trust."

27 **palladium**] That which affords protection or security; a safeguard. Originally a designation for an image of the goddess Pallas Athena, especially the famous statue at Troy; it is said that Troy fell only after Odysseus and Diomedes had removed the guardian statue.

29 **Adam ... the creation of our intellectual life**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 523, where Martensen says that Heiberg presupposes "what forms the foundation of all philosophical rationalism, namely, that 'only the education of thought is the education of the human being, for thought is at once the human, which distinguishes us from nature, which is subordinate, and the divine, which unites us with that to which we are subordinate.' 'The education of our thought is the education of us ourselves.' "

31 **Nonnulla desunt**] → 276,*11*.

33 **the dramatic propriety**] French, "bienséance," propriety in on-stage behavior and dramatic language. Resistance to long monologues can hardly be based on this concept, but it might be based on the French-classical dramaturgical concept of a play's credibility (French, "vraisemblance").

1 283 **catechumen**] Student or pupil to whom a priest gives religous instruction.

14 **de omnibus dubitandum**] → 244,*3* and → 279,*40*.

16 **Silentium**] Latin, "silence."

17 **Spinoza ... objectively**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 520: "Spinoza gave up on the 'I.' He doubted the reality of the subject, but the objective, the substance, the *causa sui*, [Latin, "cause of itself"] he accepted without further investigation as the firm, indubitable point from which he developed his entire system." — **Spinoza**: Baruch de Spinoza (1632–77), Jewish, Dutch, rationalist, philosopher.

18 **all existence became undulations of the absolute**] While Descartes was a dualist, since he assumed the existence of two substances and thus two kinds of objects, namely material or extended objects as well as conscious objects or thinking objects, Spinoza was a monist and assumed the existence of only one substance, which, however, appeared as both extension (matter) and as thought (consciousness). Individual material objects and individual thoughts were therefore modes ("modi"), in which the two forms of substance ("attributes") made themselves manifest. In this sense everything can be said to be undulations or ripples on the surface of the one substance, i.e., the Absolute. While for Descartes the subjective element (consciousness and its content) confronted the objective (material objects), in Spinoza the subjective and the objective constituted a unity.

22 **Kant only completed this skepticism**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 520: "Kant, by contrast, did not dare to place confidence in what is objective. He called the reality of all actuality into doubt dialectically, but all of his investigations about the conditions for the possibility of experience have their final grounding in the 'I think.' With the greatest meticulousness, this thinking 'I'

thinks all of its thoughts and considers whether and to what degree they are true, but the 'I' itself is not considered." — **Kant**: Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), German philosopher, privatdocent from 1755 to 1769, appointed professor at the University of Königsberg in 1770.

24 **Fichte**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 524: "Fichte's pure 'I' tries to reduce the entire external world to the ether of thought, to think the entire external universe as posited with the activity of the 'I' itself, yet there always remains something left over which cannot be explained as the actuality of thought, something which the 'I,' regardless of its striving, can never overcome." — **Fichte**: Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), called "the elder Fichte," German philosopher, appointed professor at Jena in 1794 and at Berlin in 1810.

24 **Medusa in the eyes**] From Greek mythology; anyone who beheld the countenance of this frightening female deity turned to stone.

25 **criticism**] German idealism, especially Kant's philosophy, often called "criticism" because of Kant's three main works, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of Pure Reason] (1781), *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* [Critique of Practical Reason] (1788), and *Kritik der Urteilskraft* [Critique of Judgment] (1790).

28 **Sleiermacher**] i.e., Schleiermacher → 211,*16*.

28 **Hegel . . . speculatively concentrated the previous systems**] Alludes to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836) (→ 214*m,8*), p. 524: "Anyone who, in our age, has followed thinking self-consciousness in its striving for light and clarity cannot help but admire and recognize the sublime necessity of reason and the deep consistency which runs throughout the Hegelian system. All subordinate systems which contain the rationalistic principle without having carried it through are sure to be this system's prey and must be absorbed as moments within it." — **Hegel**: → 212,*19*.

33 **with Hegel the whole of world history is over**] Presumably refers to the preceding claim (→ 283,*28*), that Hegel's philosophy absorbs all previous systems and thus brings the history of philosophy to an end. This was a widespread interpretation of Hegel (→ 212,*19*), although he does not conclude his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 230,*21*) with the claim that his own philosophical system has this character of finality.

have gone beyond Hegel] → 252,*28*. 38

Judas] → 252,*9*. 41

cui vos ut frequentes . . . etiam rogamus] Latin, "to which we most emphatically ask you to come in full strength." 15 284

missa est ecclesia] Latin, "the assembly was dismissed." 16

scholarly institution . . . world-historical high school] Perhaps a reference to N. F. S. Grundtvig's idea of "a *high school* for *popular* knowledge and *civic* education," *Politiske Betragtninger* [Political Observations] (Copenhagen, 1831), pp. 50f. Cf. also *Nordens Mythologi eller Sindbilled-Sprog historisk-poetisk udviklet og oplyst* [The Mythology of the North or Symbolic Language Historically-Poetically Analyzed and Explained], 2nd revised ed. (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB 1949), pp. 28ff., with the prophetic vision of a high school: "A *civic* and *aristocratic academy*—or whatever one would like to call such a higher institution for common people's education and for practical skills in all the major fields—this is obviously what is greatly lacking in all countries, which must be helped along; and this must be done soon, both for the sake of civil society and of learning." 22

the sun . . . never at all changed its position] Presumably an allusion to Josh 10:12–13, where Joshua, before the Israelites' attack on the Amorites, addresses God with the words: " 'Sun, stand still at Gibeon, / and Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.' / And the sun stood still, and the moon stopped, / until the nation took vengeance on their enemies. . . . The sun stopped in midheaven, and did not hurry to set for about a whole day." 40

a poet has said . . . the Prytaneum's May and the Prytaneum's morning] Refers presumably to a verse, "Danmarks Mai og Danmarks Morgen," in a poem written as a tribute to the decree introducing the Advisory Assemblies of Estates of May 28, 1831. This day was marked the following year with the so-called May 28 festivals, where, as noted in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 130, June 2, 1835, p. 518, participants were entertained with songs and toasts in order to "celebrate the day, which was so beautifully named by the poet, '*Denmark's May and Denmark's Morning*.' " Neither the poet nor the poem 17 285

has been identified, but it is probable that the former is the physician O. L. Bang, who under the signature "Dr. B-o" wrote a number of songs for the May 28 festivals, which he often called "Denmark's May."

21 **the golden year, the real new year**] Alludes to N. F. S. Grundtvig's advent hymn "Blomstre som en Rosen-Gaard" [Like a Rose-Bow'r Blossom], in *Sang-Værk til den Danske Kirke* [Collections of Songs for the Danish Church], vols. 1–2 (Copenhagen, 1837–41), vol. 1 (ASKB 201), no. 132; cf. the first stanza: "Blomstre som en Rosen-Gaard / Skal de øde Vange, / Blomstre i et Gylden-Aar, / Under Fugle-Sange! / Mødes skal i Straale-Dands / Libanons og Karmels Glands, / Sarons Yndigheder!" ["Blighted meadows yet will bear / Flowers, as roses lovely, / They'll blossom forth, a golden year, / And birdsong high above thee! / United in a dance of light / Are Lebanon and Carmel bright, / Sharon's charm and beauty!"] (p. 330). And cf. the final stanza: "Høit bebude Gylden-Aar / Glade Nyaars-Sange! / Blomstre som en Rosen-Gaard. . ." ["The golden year let's welcome / with joyous New Year's songs! / And like a rose-bow'r blossom . . . "] (p. 334).—**golden year**: Happy, magnificent year.

21 **the old leaven . . . swept away**] Alludes to 1 Cor 5:7, where Paul writes: "Clean out the old yeast so that you may be a new batch, as you really are unleavened. For our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed."

22 **Jesuitism**] → 260,*7*.

286 1 **a snake that bites its own tail**] Alludes to the Midgård dragon or Midgård snake, which according to Nordic mythology is a "terrible monster bred by Loki . . . and the female giant Angerbode." After being raised in "the land of the giants," it "fell to the bottom of the great sea, where it grew so large that could wrap itself around the earth and could even bite its own tail"; cf. *Nordiske Folks Overtroe* (→ 218,*21*), pp. 303–304.

8 **Hegel's famous perpetuum mobile of thought**] Alludes to the Hegelian dialectic, the development of the concept which is determined by its own internal dynamic, and which like a perpetual-motion machine ("perpetuum mobile") keeps moving without any impetus being added from the outside.

school into life] An allusion to the Latin sentence "non scholae, sed vitae discimus" [we learn not for school but for life]; cf. Seneca the Younger (4 B.C.–65 A.D.) *Epistolæ morales*, chap. 106.12. The phrase has often been used as a slogan for schools, among others the Lyceum in Copenhagen, where it was written above the entrance. 10

fancies that can only occur in the brain of a man] Alludes to 1 Cor 2:9–10, where Paul says "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard . . . God has revealed to us through the Spirit." 15

born under the sign of Capricorn] The 10th sign in the zodiac. In general it is said that those who are born under this sign, i.e., between December 22 and January 20, are predisposed to take on great social tasks and are characterized by staid seriousness and methodical effectiveness. 16

transitional category] A transitional category is a conceptual determination which leads from one categorial determination to the next. In Hegel the categorial development takes place dialectically, such that each category generates its opposite; this forces a new categorial determination, which unites the opposing categories. For example, in Hegel's logic "nothing" can be considered a transitional category between "being" and "becoming." 22

one goes beyond one's predecessor] → 252,*28*. 23

Philosophy, you see, is life's evening] Alludes to Hegel's famous statement in the preface to *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, ed. E. Gans (Berlin, 1833 [1821]; ASKB 551), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 8, p. 20f. (*Jub.* vol. 7, p. 36f.), where he says in reference to philosophy: "As the *thought* of the world, it [philosophy] appears only at a time when actuality has gone through its formative process and attained its completed state. This lesson of the concept is necessarily also apparent from history, namely that it is only when actuality has reached maturity that the ideal appears opposite the real and reconstructs this real world, which it has grasped in its substance, in the shape of an intellectual realm. When philosophy paints its grey in grey, a shape of life has grown old, and it cannot be rejuvenated, but only recognized, by the grey in grey of philosophy; the Owl of Minerva begins its flight only with the onset of dusk." (English translation quoted from *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen Wood [Cam- 26

bridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991], p. 23.)

27 **Hegel . . . the previous rational systems**] → 283,*28*.

28 **has made its world-historical entry**] → 283,*33*.

37 **the bad infinite**] → 238,*1*.

287 1 **a galvanic apparatus**] Chemical apparatus which stimulates muscles to contract; this electrical phenomenon was discovered in 1789 by the Italian physician Luigi Galváni, from whom the apparatus receives its name.

3 **The State is an organism**] Cf. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (→ 286,*26*), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 213,*12*), vol. 8, p. 331 (*Jub*. vol. 7, p. 347): "The state is an organism, i.e., the development of the Idea in its differences. These different aspects are accordingly the various powers with their corresponding tasks and functions, through which the universal continually produces itself in a necessary way and thereby preserves itself because it is itself the presupposition of its own production. This organism is the political constitution." (English translation quoted from *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen Wood [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991], p. 290.)

17 **antiquarian scholarship**] Classics, the study of ancient Roman and Greek language and culture.

secret depths] → 263*m,16*. 2 288

this is a good place to be] → 268,*16*. 2

now surely world history is over] → 283,*33*. 9

Nature can now seize the Concept] According to Hegel, the Concept or Notion ("der Begriff") is the ultimate truth of all reality. He divides his philosophical system into 3 parts: logic, the philosophy of nature, and the philosophy of spirit, and he investigates the Concept in each of these 3 spheres. In logic the Concept is investigated in its abstract form apart from any empirical appearance. In the philosophy of nature the numerous forms in which the Concept appears in nature are investigated (i.e., biology, chemistry, and anatomy). In the philosophy of spirit the Concept is investigated in the activity of the human mind (i.e., history, art, and religion). Therefore, since the Concept is found in spirit, it is also found in nature for the philosopher, who is capable of recognizing it. 9

secondary school] Danish, "Efterslægten"; in daily speech a designation for the civic secondary school founded in 1797 by the "Selskab for Efterslægten" [Society for Youth], which was located in Østergade, opposite St. Jørgensgade (*see map 2, C2*). 14 289

MAPS

Map 1, Copenhagen, 1839, by Severin Sterm
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Maps 2 and 3, Copenhagen Locator Map
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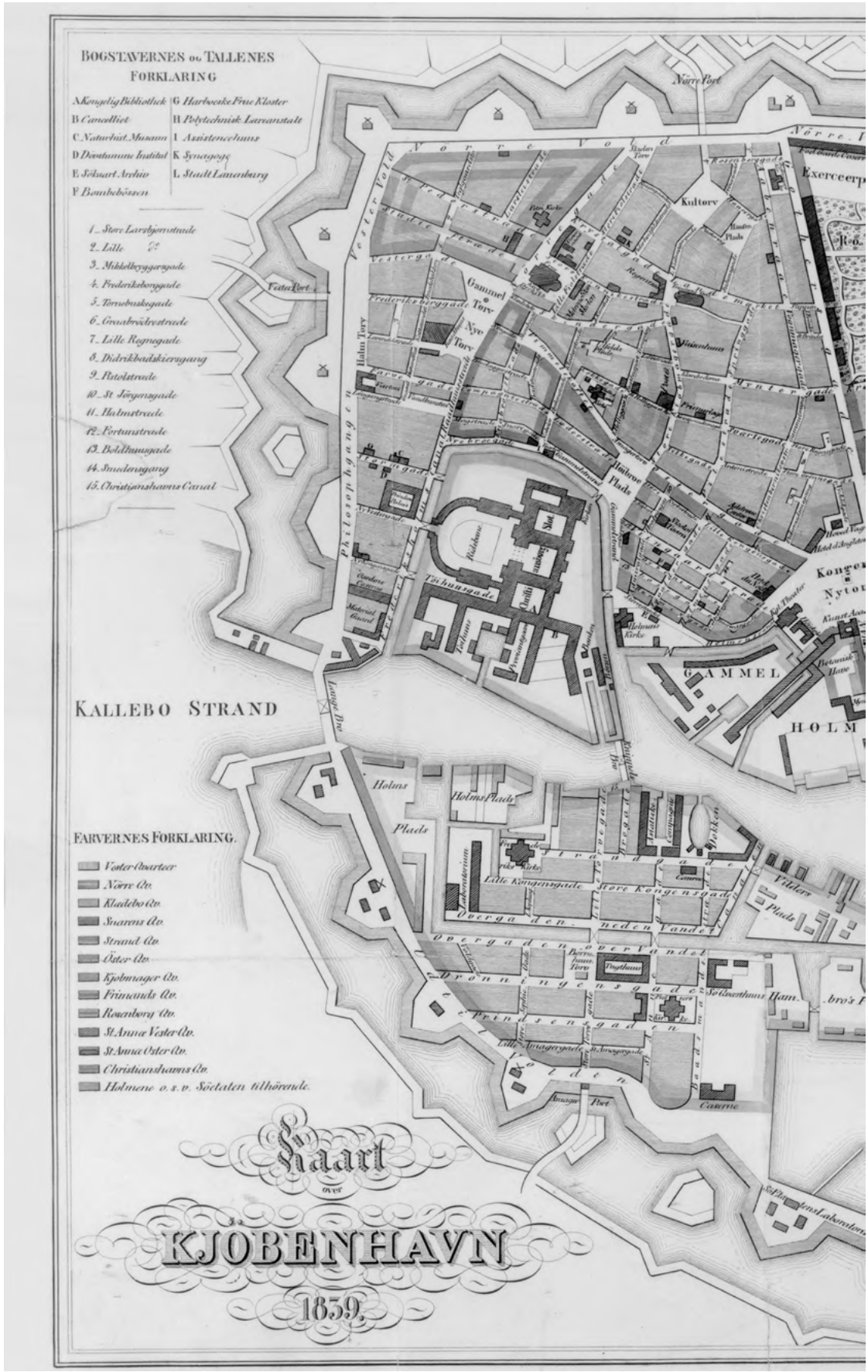
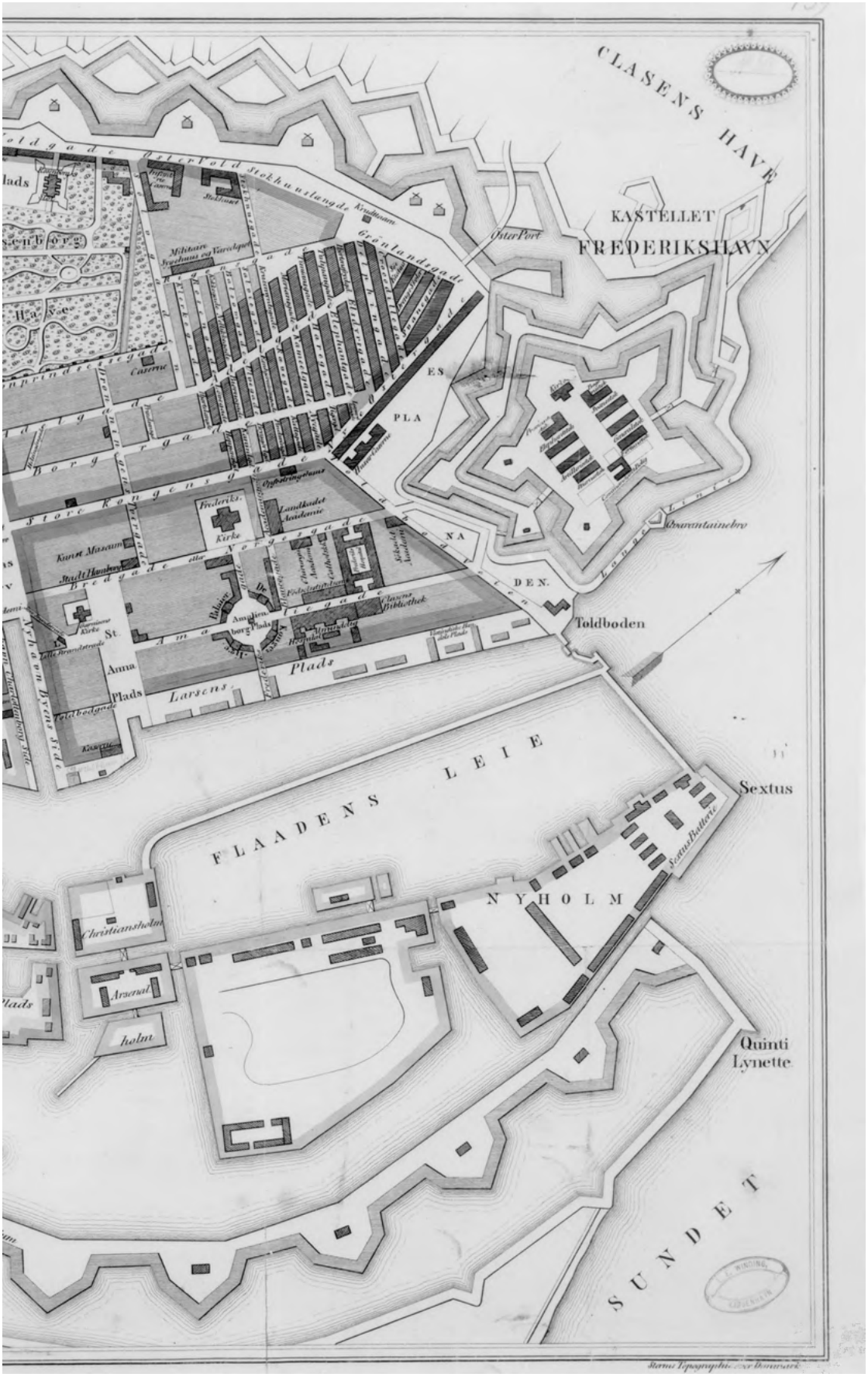
Map 4, Northern Zealand, ca. 1840
566


BOGSTAVERNES og TALLENES FORKLARING
A Kongelig Bibliothek
B Cancelliet
C Naturhist. Museum
D Døvstumme Institut
E Schwart Archiv
F Bombebössen
G Harbrecke Frue Kloster
H Polytechnisk Læreanstalt
I Assistencehuus
K Synagoge
L Stadt Lazareth
1 Store Larsbjørnstrade
2 Lille do
3 Mikkelbryggergade
4 Frederikshavnsgade
5 Tornebuskegade
6 Graabrødrestrade
7 Lille Regnegade
8 Didrikbadskjergang
9 Pistolstrade
10 St Jørgensgade
11 Halmstrade
12 Fortunstrade
13 Boldhusgade
14 Smedegang
15 Christianshavns Canal
KALLEBO STRAND
FARVERNES FORKLARING.
Vester Quarteer
Nørre Qv.
Kiadebo Qv.
Snarens Qv.
Strand Qv.
Øster Qv.
Kjøbmager Qv.
Frimands Qv.
Rosenborg Qv.
St Anna Vester Qv.
St Anna Oster Qv.
Christianshavns Qv.
Holmene o. s. v. Søetaten tilhørende.
Nørre Port
Vester Port
Kultorv
Gammel Torv
Nye Torv
Halm Torv
Rådhuus
Slot
Holmens Kirke
Holms Plads
Vor Frue Kirke
Lille Kongensgade
Store Kongensgade
Dronningensgade
Prindsensgade
Toldboden
Tinghuus
Arsenalet
Caserne
Exercerp
GAMMEL
HOLM
Nørre. V
Kongen
Nyto
Ham
Søetøihuus
Slots Plads
Vester Voldgade
Philosophgangen
Langebro
Amager Port
Kaart
over
KJØBENHAVN
1859.

Map 1


CLASENS HAVE
KASTELLET
FREDERIKSHAVN
Østerport
Toldboden
Sextus
Quinti
Lynette
FLAADENS LEIE
NYHOLM
SUNDET
Amalienborg Plads
Larsens Plads
Anna Plads
Christiansholm
Arsenal
Kunst Museum
Frederiks Kirke
Landkadet Academie
Militaire Hospitals og Varelpost
Militaire Hospitals Casserne
Grønlandsgade
Stockhusvolden
Stockhuset
Casserne
Kirken
Bibliotek
Kirke
Toldbodgade
Kasserne
Holm

A | B | C | D

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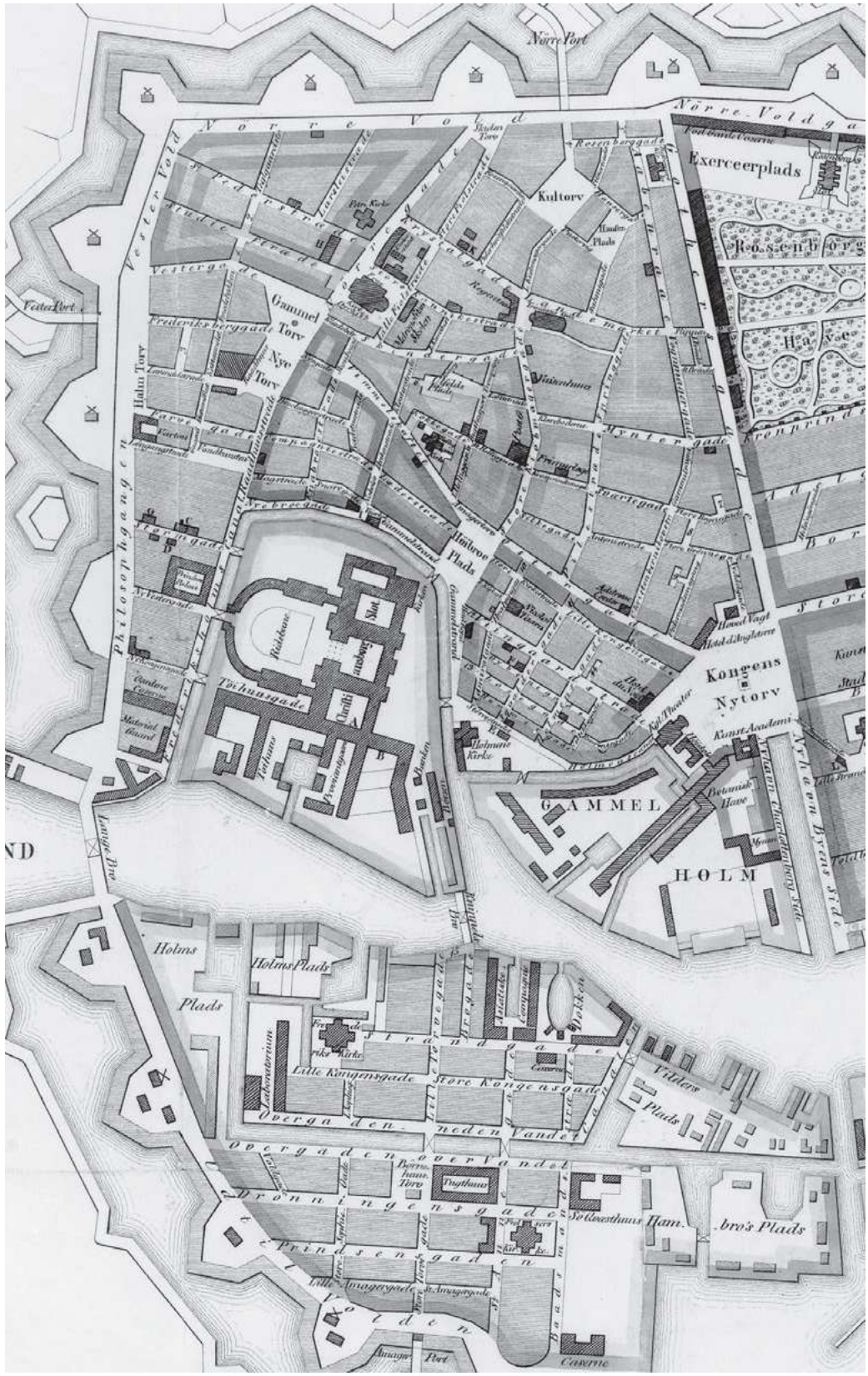
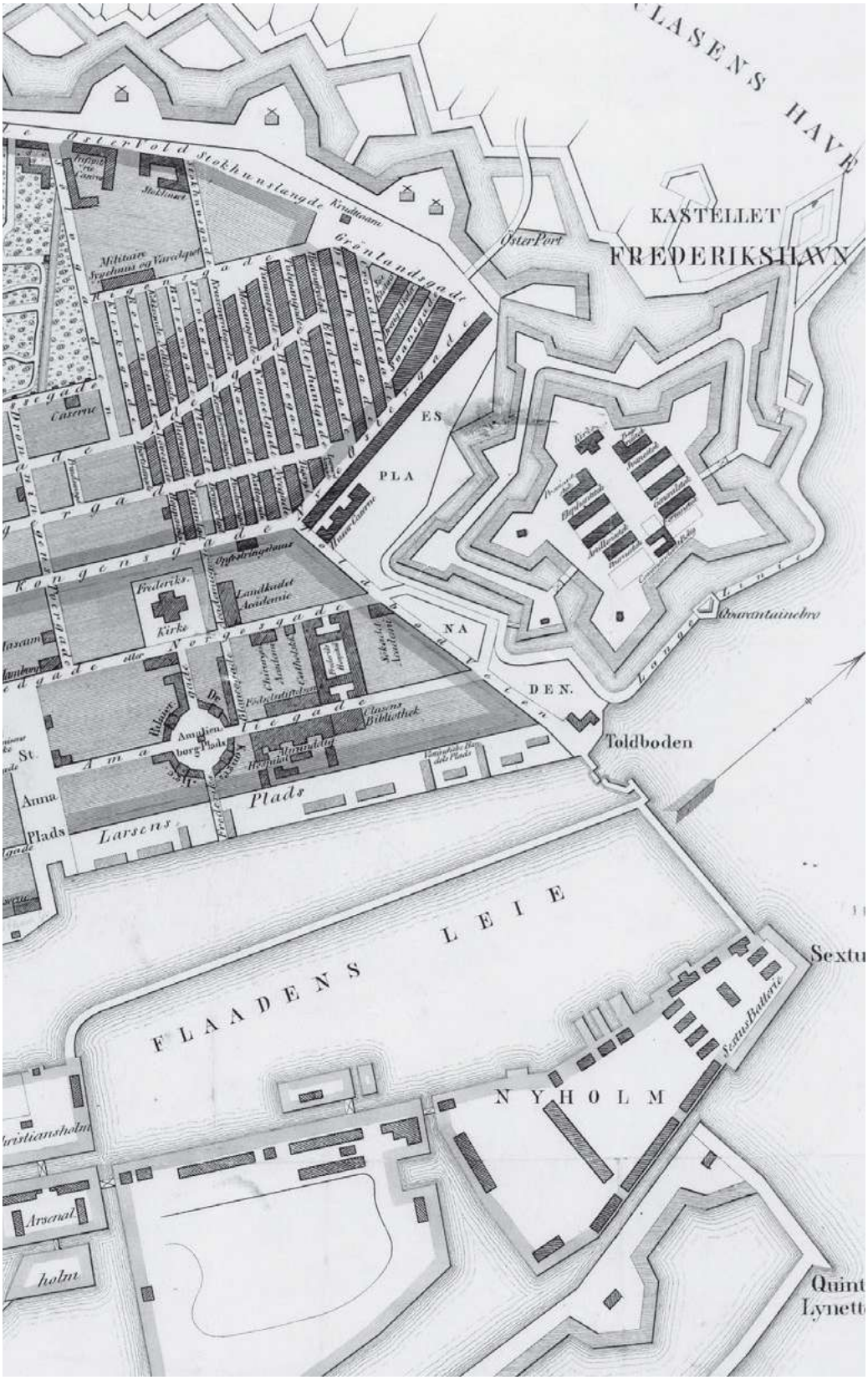
3

4



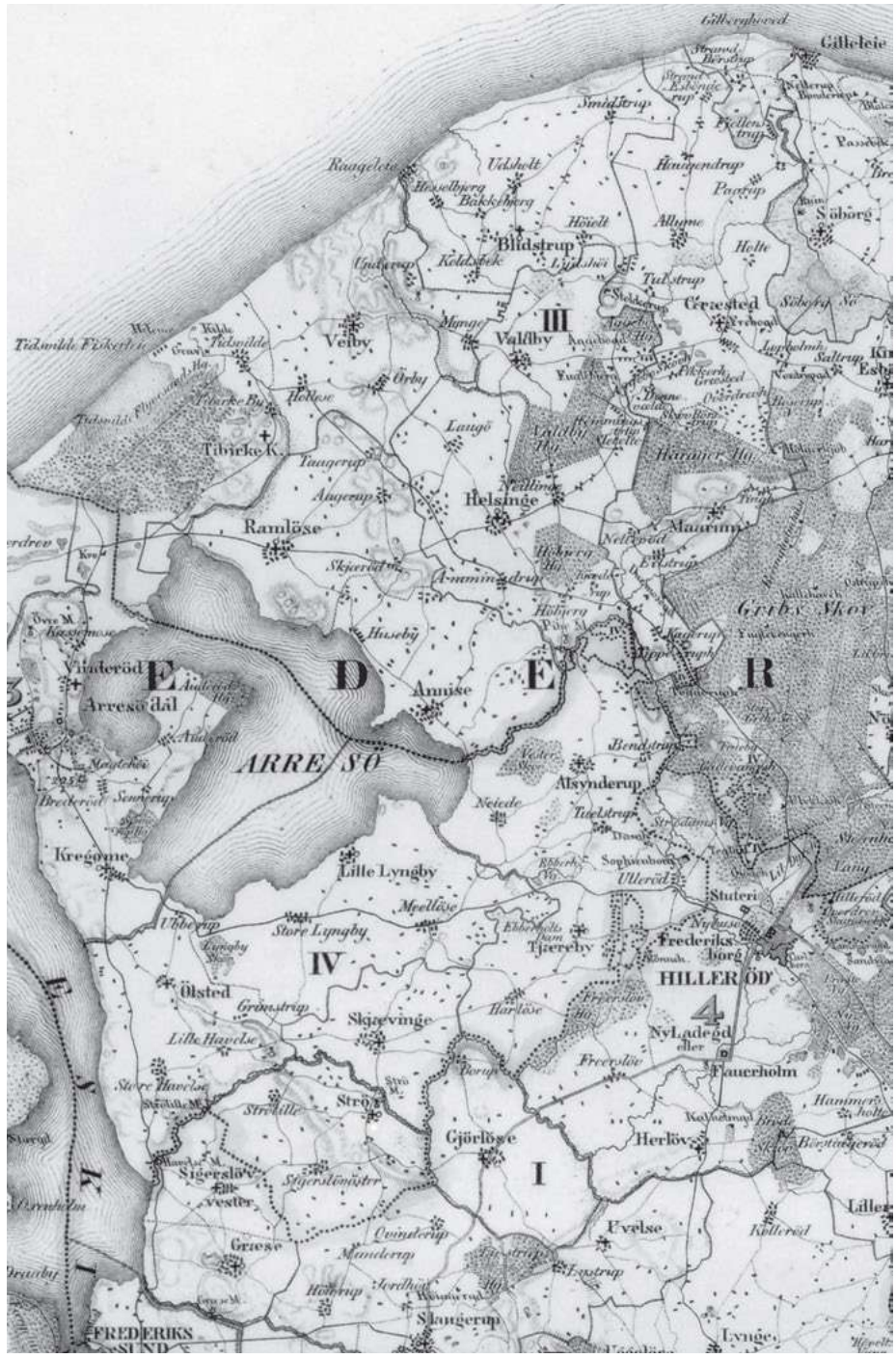
Map 2

E | F | G | H



1 — 2 — 3 — 4

Map 3


A
B
C
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1
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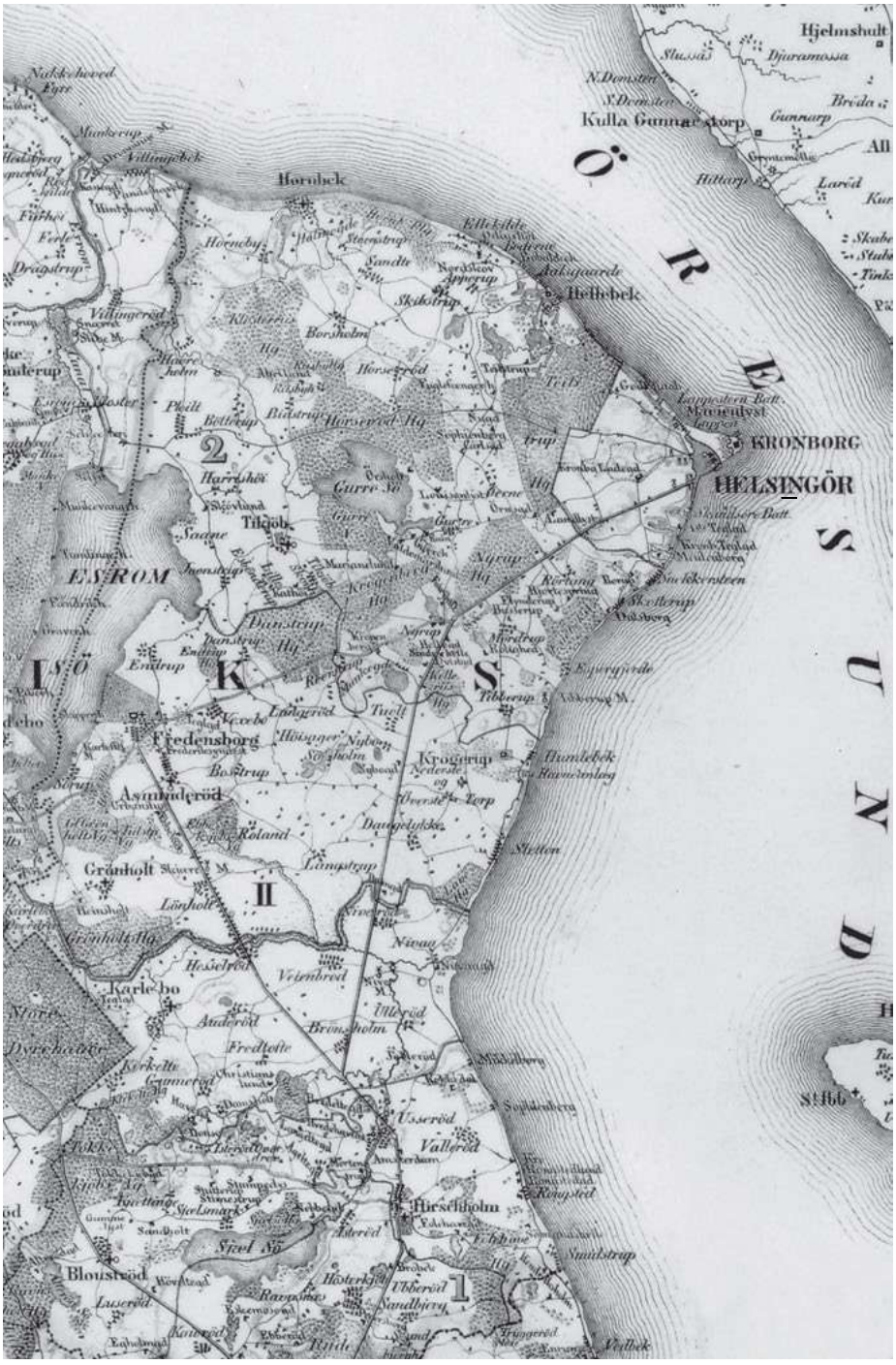
3
4
Gilleleie
Blidstrup
Græsted
Veiby
Valby
Tibirke K.
Helsinge
Ramlöse
Maarum
Grebs Skov
Arreso dal
ARRE SØ
Annise
Alsynderup
Kregome
Lille Lyngby
Store Lyngby
Stuteri
Frederiksborg
HILLERØD
Tjæreby
Ølsted
Skjævinge
Nyl. Adegd
Fauerholm
Herlöv
Gjörlöse
Sigerslöv
Vester
Græse
Evelse
Slangerup
Lynge
FREDERIKS
I
II
III
IV
D
E
R

Map 4

E | F | G | H


Hjelmshult
Djuramossa
Kulla Gunnarstorp
Gunnarp
Bråda
Hörnbeck
Helsebeck
Skiolstrup
Horneby
Dragstrup
Villingeröd
Horseröd
Tibble
KRONBORG
HELSINGÖR
ESROM
Tikjöb
Gurre
Harrehöi
Pleilt
Bollerup
Dannstrup
Endrup
Fredensborg
Asmindröd
Bostrup
Krogerup
Grönholt
Löngholt
Karlebo
Hesselröd
Vetterbröd
Fredlotte
Gammeröd
Usseröd
Valleröd
Hirschholm
Skiel Sö
Blousröd
Lusseröd
Ubberöd
Sandbjerg
Rude
Veilbek
Snidstrup
Tikjöb
Ö R E S U N D
I
II
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1
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1 — 2 — 3 — 4

CALENDAR

For January 1, 1835 through June 30, 1839,
Indicating Danish State and Church Holidays

570

1835

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Th 1	New Year's Day	Su 1	4th S. a. Epiphany	Su 1	Quinquagesima	W 1		F 1		M 1	
F 2		M 2	Candlemas	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2	
Sa 3		Tu 3		Tu 3	Shrove Tuesday	F 3		Su 3	2nd S. a. Easter	W 3	
Su 4	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 4		W 4	Ash Wednesday	Sa 4		M 4		Th 4	
M 5		Th 5		Th 5		Su 5	5th S. in Lent	Tu 5		F 5	
Tu 6	Epiphany	F 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6	
W 7		Sa 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	Whit Sunday
Th 8		Su 8	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 8	1st S. in Lent	W 8		F 8		M 8	Whit Monday
F 9		M 9		M 9	40 Martyrs	Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9	
Sa 10		Tu 10		Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	3rd S. a. Easter	W 10	Ember Day
Su 11	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 11		W 11		Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	
M 12		Th 12		Th 12		Su 12	Palm Sunday	Tu 12		F 12	
Tu 13		F 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13	
W 14		Sa 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	Trinity Sunday
Th 15		Su 15	Septuagesima	Su 15	2nd S. in Lent	W 15		F 15	Rogation Day	M 15	
F 16		M 16		M 16		Th 16	Maundy Thursday	Sa 16		Tu 16	
Sa 17		Tu 17		Tu 17		F 17	Good Friday	Su 17	4th S. a. Easter	W 17	
Su 18	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18	Corpus Christi
M 19		Th 19		Th 19		Su 19	Easter Day	Tu 19		F 19	
Tu 20		F 20		F 20		M 20	Easter Monday	W 20		Sa 20	
W 21		Sa 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 22		Su 22	Sexagesima	Su 22	3rd S. in Lent	W 22		F 22		M 22	
F 23			St. Peter's Chair	M 23		Th 23	Moving day	Sa 23		Tu 23	
Sa 24		M 23		Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	5th S. a. Easter	W 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Su 25	3rd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 24		W 25		Sa 25		M 25		Th 25	
M 26		W 25		Th 26		Su 26	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 26		F 26	
Tu 27		Th 26		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27	7 Sleepers
W 28		F 27		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28	Ascension Day	Su 28	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 29		Sa 28		Su 29	4th S. in Lent	W 29		F 29		M 29	
F 30				M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		Tu 30	
Sa 31				Tu 31				Su 31	6th S. a. Easter		

1835

July		August		September		October		November		December	
W 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1		Su 1	20th S. a. Trinity / All Saints' Day	Tu 1	
Th 2	The Visitation	Su 2	7th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2				W 2	
F 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		M 2		Th 3	
Sa 4		Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 4	
Su 5	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		W 4		Sa 5	
M 6		Th 6		Su 6	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		Th 5		Su 6	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		F 6		M 7	
W 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Sa 7		Tu 8	
Th 9		Su 9	8th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		Su 8	21st S. a. Trinity	W 9	
F 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		M 9		Th 10	
Sa 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 11	
Su 12	4th S. a. Trinity	W 12		Sa 12		M 12		W 11	St. Martin	Sa 12	
M 13		Th 13		Su 13	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		Th 12		Su 13	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 14		F 14		M 14		W 14		F 13		M 14	
W 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		Sa 14		Tu 15	
Th 16		Su 16	9th S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	F 16		Su 15	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day
F 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		M 16		Th 17	
Sa 18		Tu 18		F 18		Su 18	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17		F 18	
Su 19	5th S. a. Trinity	W 19		Sa 19		M 19		W 18		Sa 19	
M 20		Th 20		Su 20	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	Moving day	Th 19		Su 20	4th S. in Advent
Tu 21		F 21		M 21		W 21		F 20		M 21	
W 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		Sa 21		Tu 22	
Th 23		Su 23	10th S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		Su 22	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 23	
F 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		M 23		Th 24	
Sa 25		Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 25	Christmas Day
Su 26	6th S. a. Trinity	W 26		Sa 26		M 26		W 25		Sa 26	St. Stephen
M 27		Th 27		Su 27	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		Th 26		Su 27	1st S. a. Christm.
Tu 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		F 27		M 28	
W 29		Sa 29		Tu 29	St. Michael and All Angels	Th 29		Sa 28		Tu 29	
Th 30		Su 30	11th S. a. Trinity			F 30		Su 29	1st S. in Advent	W 30	
F 31		M 31		W 30		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31	

1836

January		February		March		April		May		June	
F 1	New Year's Day	M 1		Tu 1		F 1	Good Friday	Su 1	4th S. a. Easter	W 1	
Sa 2		Tu 2	Candlemas	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2	Corpus Christi
Su 3	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 3		Th 3		Su 3	Easter Day	Tu 3		F 3	
M 4		Th 4		F 4		M 4	Easter Monday	W 4		Sa 4	
Tu 5		F 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	1st S. a. Trinity
W 6	Epiphany	Sa 6		Su 6	3rd S. in Lent	W 6		F 6		M 6	
Th 7		Su 7	Sexagesima	M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7	
F 8		M 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	5th S. a. Easter	W 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		W 9	40 Martyrs	Sa 9		M 9		Th 9	
Su 10	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 10		Th 10		Su 10	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 10		F 10	
M 11		Th 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	
Tu 12		F 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	Ascension Day	Su 12	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 13		Sa 13		Su 13	4th S. in Lent	W 13		F 13		M 13	
Th 14		Su 14	Quinquagesima	M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14	
F 15		M 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	6th S. a. Easter	W 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16	Shrove Tuesday	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16	
Su 17	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 17	Ash Wednesday	Th 17		Su 17	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 17		F 17	
M 18		Th 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18	
Tu 19		F 19		Sa 19		Tu 19	Moving day	Th 19		Su 19	3rd S. a. Trinity
W 20		Sa 20		Su 20	5th S. in Lent	W 20		F 20		M 20	
Th 21		Su 21	1st S. in Lent	M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21	
F 22		M 22	St. Peter's Chair	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	Whit Sunday	W 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	Whit Monday	Th 23	
Su 24	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 24	Ember Day	Th 24		Su 24	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 24		F 24	Birth of John Bapt.
M 25		Th 25		F 25	The Annunciation	M 25		W 25	Ember Day	Sa 25	
Tu 26		F 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	4th S. a. Trinity
W 27		Sa 27		Su 27	Palm Sunday	W 27		F 27		M 27	7 Sleepers
Th 28		Su 28	2nd S. in Lent	M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28	
F 29		M 29		Tu 29		F 29	Rogation Day	Su 29	Trinity Sunday	W 29	
Sa 30				W 30		Sa 30		M 30		Th 30	
Su 31	Septuagesima			Th 31	Maundy Thursday			Tu 31			

July		August		September		October		November		December		1836
F 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	All Saints' Day	Th 1		
Sa 2	The Visitation	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	18th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2		
Su 3	5th S. a. Trinity	W 3		Sa 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		
M 4		Th 4		Su 4	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5		M 5		
W 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		
Th 7		Su 7	10th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		
F 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		
Sa 9		Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	19th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		
Su 10	6th S. a. Trinity	W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		
M 11		Th 11		Su 11	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 11		F 11	St. Martin	Su 11	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 12		F 12		M 12		W 12		Sa 12		M 12		
W 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		
Th 14		Su 14	11th S. a. Trinity	W 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day	
F 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		
Sa 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	20th S. a. Trinity	W 16		F 16		
Su 17	7th S. a. Trinity	W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		
M 18		Th 18		Su 18	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 18	Moving day	F 18		Su 18	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19		
W 20		Sa 20		Tu 20		Th 20		Su 20	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		
Th 21		Su 21	12th S. a. Trinity	W 21	Ember Day	F 21		M 21		W 21		
F 22		M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		
Sa 23		Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	21st S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		
Su 24	8th S. a. Trinity	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		
M 25		Th 25		Su 25	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	Christmas Day	
Tu 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26	St. Stephen	
W 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	1st S. in Advent	Tu 27		
Th 28		Su 28	13th S. a. Trinity	W 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		
F 29		M 29		Th 29	St. Michael and	Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29		
Sa 30		Tu 30			All Angels	Su 30	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 30		F 30		
Su 31	9th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31				Sa 31		

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January		February		March		April		May		June	
Su 1	New Year's Day	W 1		W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	
M 2		Th 2	Candlemas	Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 2		F 2	
Tu 3		F 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3	
W 4		Sa 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4	Ascension Day	Su 4	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 5		Su 5	Quinquagesima	Su 5	4th S. in Lent	W 5		F 5		M 5	
F 6	Epiphany	M 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6	
Sa 7		Tu 7	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	6th S. a. Easter	W 7	
Su 8	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 8	Ash Wednesday	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8	
M 9		Th 9		Th 9	40 Martyrs	Su 9	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 9		F 9	
Tu 10		F 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10	
W 11		Sa 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 12		Su 12	1st S. in Lent	Su 12	5th S. in Lent	W 12		F 12		M 12	
F 13		M 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		Tu 13	
Sa 14		Tu 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	Whit Sunday	W 14	
Su 15	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 15	Ember Day	W 15		Sa 15		M 15	Whit Monday	Th 15	
M 16		Th 16		Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 16		F 16	
Tu 17		F 17		F 17		M 17		W 17	Ember Day	Sa 17	
W 18		Sa 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	Moving day	Th 18		Su 18	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 19		Su 19	2nd S. in Lent	Su 19	Palm Sunday	W 19		F 19		M 19	
F 20		M 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		Tu 20	
Sa 21		Tu 21		Tu 21		F 21	Rogation Day	Su 21	Trinity Sunday	W 21	
Su 22	Septuagesima	W 22	St. Peter's Chair	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		Th 22	
M 23		Th 23		Th 23	Maundy Thursday	Su 23	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 23		F 23	
Tu 24		F 24		F 24	Good Friday	M 24		W 24		Sa 24	Birth of John Bapt.
W 25		Sa 25		Sa 25	The Annunciation	Tu 25		Th 25	Corpus Christi	Su 25	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 26		Su 26	3rd S. in Lent	Su 26	Easter Day	W 26		F 26		M 26	
F 27		M 27		M 27	Easter Monday	Th 27		Sa 27		Tu 27	7 Sleepers
Sa 28		Tu 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	1st S. a. Trinity	W 28	
Su 29	Sexagesima			W 29		Sa 29		M 29		Th 29	
M 30				Th 30		Su 30	5th S. a. Easter	Tu 30		F 30	
Tu 31				F 31				W 31			

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July		August		September		October		November		December	
Sa 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	19th S. a. Trinity	W 1	All Saints' Day	F 1	
Su 2	6th S. a. Trinity/	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		Sa 2	
M 3	The Visitation	Th 3		Su 3	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	1st S. in Advent
Tu 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		M 4	
W 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 5	
Th 6		Su 6	11th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6		M 6		W 6	
F 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7	
Sa 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	20th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8	
Su 9	7th S. a. Trinity	W 9		Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9	
M 10		Th 10		Su 10	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	St. Martin	M 11	
W 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 12	
Th 13		Su 13	12th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13		M 13		W 13	
F 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14	
Sa 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	21st S. a. Trinity	W 15		F 15	
Su 16	8th S. a. Trinity	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16	
M 17		Th 17		Su 17	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	Moving day	F 17		Su 17	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18	
W 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19		Su 19	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 19	
Th 20		Su 20	13th S. a. Trinity	W 20	Ember Day	F 20		M 20		W 20	Ember Day
F 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21	
Sa 22		Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22	
Su 23	9th S. a. Trinity	W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23	
M 24		Th 24		Su 24	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	4th S. in Advent
Tu 25		F 25		M 25		W 25		Sa 25		M 25	Christmas Day
W 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	27th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26	St. Stephen
Th 27		Su 27	14th S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27		M 27		W 27	
F 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28	
Sa 29		Tu 29		F 29	St. Michael and	Su 29	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 29		F 29	
Su 30	10th S. a. Trinity	W 30			All Angels	M 30		Th 30		Sa 30	
M 31		Th 31		Sa 30		Tu 31				Su 31	1st S. a. Christm.

January		February		March		April		May		June		1838
M 1	New Year's Day	Th 1		Th 1		Su 1	5th S. in Lent	Tu 1		F 1		
Tu 2		F 2	Candlemas	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2		
W 3		Sa 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	Whit Sunday	
Th 4		Su 4	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 4	1st S. in Lent	W 4		F 4		M 4	Whit Monday	
F 5		M 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		
Sa 6	Epiphany	Tu 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	3rd S. a. Easter	W 6	Ember Day	
Su 7	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 7		W 7	Ember Day	Sa 7		M 7		Th 7		
M 8		Th 8		Th 8		Su 8	Palm Sunday	Tu 8		F 8		
Tu 9		F 9		F 9	40 Martyrs	M 9		W 9		Sa 9		
W 10		Sa 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	Trinity Sunday	
Th 11		Su 11	Septuagesima	Su 11	2nd S. in Lent	W 11		F 11	Rogation Day	M 11		
F 12		M 12		M 12		Th 12	Maundy Thursday	Sa 12		Tu 12		
Sa 13		Tu 13		Tu 13		F 13	Good Friday	Su 13	4th S. a. Easter	W 13		
Su 14	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 14		W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14	Corpus Christi	
M 15		Th 15		Th 15		Su 15	Easter Day	Tu 15		F 15		
Tu 16		F 16		F 16		M 16	Easter Monday	W 16		Sa 16		
W 17		Sa 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	1st S. a. Trinity	
Th 18		Su 18	Sexagesima	Su 18	3rd S. in Lent	W 18		F 18		M 18		
F 19		M 19		M 19		Th 19	Moving day	Sa 19		Tu 19		
Sa 20		Tu 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	5th S. a. Easter	W 20		
Su 21	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 21		W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21		
M 22		Th 22	St. Peter's Chair	Th 22		Su 22	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 22		F 22		
Tu 23		F 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23		
W 24		Sa 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24	Ascension Day	Su 24	2nd S. a. Trinity/	
Th 25		Su 25	Quinquagesima	Su 25	4th S. in Lent/	W 25		F 25			Birth of John Bapt.	
F 26		M 26		M 26	The Annunciation	Th 26		Sa 26		M 25		
Sa 27		Tu 27	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	6th S. a. Easter	Tu 26		
Su 28	4th S. a. Epiphany	W 28	Ash Wednesday	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		W 27	7 Sleepers	
M 29				Th 29		Su 29	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 29		Th 28		
Tu 30				F 30		M 30		W 30		F 29		
W 31				Sa 31				Th 31		Sa 30		

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July		August		September		October		November		December	
Su 1	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	All Saints' Day	Sa 1	
M 2	The Visitation	Th 2		Su 2	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	1st S. in Advent
Tu 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3		M 3	
W 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4		Su 4	21st S. a. Trinity	Tu 4	
Th 5		Su 5	8th S. a. Trinity	W 5		F 5		M 5		W 5	
F 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6	
Sa 7		Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	17th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7	
Su 8	4th S. a. Trinity	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8	
M 9		Th 9		Su 9	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10		M 10	
W 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	22nd S. a. Trinity/	Tu 11	
Th 12		Su 12	9th S. a. Trinity	W 12		F 12			St. Martin	W 12	
F 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		M 12		Th 13	
Sa 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		F 14	
Su 15	5th S. a. Trinity	W 15		Sa 15		M 15		W 14		Sa 15	
M 16		Th 16		Su 16	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 16	Moving day	Th 15		Su 16	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 17		F 17		M 17		W 17		F 16		M 17	
W 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18		Sa 17		Tu 18	
Th 19		Su 19	10th S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day	F 19		Su 18	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day
F 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		M 19		Th 20	
Sa 21		Tu 21		F 21		Su 21	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		F 21	
Su 22	6th S. a. Trinity	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		W 21		Sa 22	
M 23		Th 23		Su 23	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 23		Th 22		Su 23	4th S. in Advent
Tu 24		F 24		M 24		W 24		F 23		M 24	
W 25		Sa 25		Tu 25		Th 25		Sa 24		Tu 25	Christmas Day
Th 26		Su 26	11th S. a. Trinity	W 26		F 26		Su 25	24th S. a. Trinity	W 26	St. Stephen
F 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27		M 26		Th 27	
Sa 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	20th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		F 28	
Su 29	7th S. a. Trinity	W 29		Sa 29	St. Michael and	M 29		W 28		Sa 29	
M 30		Th 30			All Angels	Tu 30		Th 29		Su 30	1st S. a. Christm.
Tu 31		F 31		Su 30	16th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31	

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January		February		March		April		May		June	
Tu 1	New Year's Day	F 1		F 1		M 1	Easter Monday	W 1		Sa 1	
W 2		Sa 2	Candlemas	Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 3		Su 3	Sexagesima	Su 3	3rd S. in Lent	W 3		F 3		M 3	
F 4		M 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4		Tu 4	
Sa 5		Tu 5		Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	5th S. a. Easter	W 5	
Su 6	Epiphany	W 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6		Th 6	
M 7		Th 7		Th 7		Su 7	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 7		F 7	
Tu 8		F 8		F 8		M 8		W 8		Sa 8	
W 9		Sa 9		Sa 9	40 Martyrs	Tu 9		Th 9	Ascension Day	Su 9	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 10		Su 10	Quinquagesima	Su 10	4th S. in Lent	W 10		F 10		M 10	
F 11		M 11		M 11		Th 11		Sa 11		Tu 11	
Sa 12		Tu 12	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	6th S. a. Easter	W 12	
Su 13	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 13	Ash Wednesday	W 13		Sa 13		M 13		Th 13	
M 14		Th 14		Th 14		Su 14	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 14		F 14	
Tu 15		F 15		F 15		M 15		W 15		Sa 15	
W 16		Sa 16		Sa 16		Tu 16	Moving day	Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 17		Su 17	1st S. in Lent	Su 17	5th S. in Lent	W 17		F 17		M 17	
F 18		M 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	
Sa 19		Tu 19		Tu 19		F 19		Su 19	Whit Sunday	W 19	
Su 20	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 20	Ember Day	W 20		Sa 20		M 20	Whit Monday	Th 20	
M 21		Th 21		Th 21		Su 21	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 21		F 21	
Tu 22		F 22	St. Peter's Chair	F 22		M 22		W 22	Ember Day	Sa 22	
W 23		Sa 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		Su 23	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 24		Su 24	2nd S. in Lent	Su 24	Palm Sunday	W 24		F 24		M 24	Birth of John Bapt.
F 25		M 25		M 25	The Annunciation	Th 25		Sa 25		Tu 25	
Sa 26		Tu 26		Tu 26		F 26	Rogation Day	Su 26	Trinity Sunday	W 26	
Su 27	Septuagesima	W 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27		Th 27	7 Sleepers
M 28		Th 28		Th 28	Maundy Thursday	Su 28	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 28		F 28	
Tu 29				F 29	Good Friday	M 29		W 29		Sa 29	
W 30				Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30	Corpus Christi	Su 30	
Th 31				Su 31	Easter Day			F 31			

CONCORDANCE

From *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer*
to *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*

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Concordance

Pap.	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*
I A 63	AA:1	I A 100	AA:14.1		CC:1.j		CC:11.b
	AA:1.1	I A 101	AA:14.2		CC:1.k		CC:11.c
	AA:1.2	I A 328	CC:12		CC:1.l		CC:11.d
	AA:1.3		CC:12.1		CC:1.m	I C 88	BB:1
I A 64	AA:2		CC:12.2	I C 12	CC:1		BB:1.a
	AA:3		CC:12.5		CC:1.n	I C 89	BB:2
I A 65	AA:4		CC:12.6		CC:1.o		BB:2.1
	AA:5	I A 329	CC:12.3		CC:1.p		BB:2.a
I A 66	AA:7	I A 330	CC:12.4		CC:1.q		BB:2.b
I A 67	AA:8	I A 331	CC:13		CC:1.r		BB:2.c
	AA:8.1	I A 332	CC:13		CC:1.s		BB:2.d
I A 68	AA:6	I A 333	CC:14		CC:1.t	I C 90	BB:2.e
	AA:6.1		CC:15		CC:1.u	I C 91	BB:2.f
I A 69	AA:9		CC:16		CC:1.v	I C 92	BB:3
I A 70	AA:10		CC:17		CC:1.w	I C 93	BB:4
I A 71	AA:11		CC:18		CC:1.x	I C 94	BB:5
I A 72	AA:12	I A 334	CC:19		CC:1.y	I C 95	BB:6
I A 73	AA:12.1	I A 335	CC:20		CC:1.z	I C 96	BB:7
I A 74	AA:12	I A 336	CC:21		CC:1.æ		BB:7.a
I A 75	AA:12	I A 337	CC:22		CC:1.ø		BB:7.b
	AA:12.2	I A 338	CC:23	I C 36	CC:2	I C 97	BB:7.c
	AA:12.3	I A 339	CC:24		CC:2.a	I C 98	BB:7
	AA:12.5	I A 340	CC:25		CC:2.b	I C 99	BB:7
	AA:12.6	I A 341	CC:26		CC:2.c	I C 100	BB:8
	AA:12.7	I B 5	AA:19		CC:2.d	I C 101	BB:9
	AA:12.8	I B 6	AA:20		CC:2.e	I C 103	BB:10
	AA:12.10		AA:21		CC:3	I C 104	BB:11
I A 76	AA:12.4		AA:21.1		CC:4	I C 105	BB:11.a
I A 77	AA:12.4.1		AA:21.2		CC:5	I C 106	BB:12
I A 78	AA:12.4.1		AA:21.3	I C 42	CC:6	I C 112	BB:13
I A 79	AA:12.7.1	I B 7	AA:19		CC:6.a	I C 113	BB:14
I A 80	AA:12.9	I C 11	CC:1		CC:6.b		BB:14.a
I A 81	AA:12		CC:1.a		CC:7		BB:14.b
I A 94	AA:13		CC:1.b		CC:7.a		BB:14.c
	AA:13.1		CC:1.c		CC:7.b		BB:14.d
	AA:13.2		CC:1.d		CC:8	I C 115	BB:15
I A 95	AA:14		CC:1.e		CC:9	I C 116	BB:16
I A 96	AA:15		CC:1.f	I C 43	CC:10	I C 117	BB:17
I A 97	AA:16		CC:1.g		CC:10.a	I C 118	BB:18
I A 98	AA:17		CC:1.h	I C 44	CC:11	I C 119	BB:19
I A 99	AA:18		CC:1.i		CC:11.a	I C 120	BB:19.a

I C 121	BB:20
I C 122	BB:21
I C 123	BB:22
I C 124	BB:23
I C 125	BB:24
	BB:24.1
	BB:24.2
	BB:24.a
	BB:24.b
I C 126	BB:25
I C 127	BB:51
II A 1	BB:26
II A 2	BB:27
II A 3	BB:28
II A 4	BB:29
II A 5	BB:30
II A 6	BB:31
II A 7	BB:32
II A 8	BB:33
II A 9	BB:34
II A 10	BB:35
II A 11	BB:36
II A 12	BB:37
	BB:37.1
	BB:37.2
	BB:37.3
	BB:37.4
	BB:37.5
	BB:37.6
	BB:37.7
	BB:37.8
	BB:37.9
	BB:37.10
	BB:37.11
II A 13	BB:38
II A 14	BB:39
II A 15	BB:40
II A 16	BB:40.a
II A 17	BB:41
II A 18	BB:42
	BB:42.a
II A 19	BB:42.b
	BB:42.c
	BB:42.d
	BB:42.e
II A 20	BB:42.f
II A 21	BB:43
II A 22	BB:44
II A 23	BB:44.a
II A 24	BB:45
II A 25	BB:45.a
II A 26	BB:46
II A 27	BB:47
II A 28	BB:48
II A 29	BB:49
II A 30	BB:50
II A 31	AA:22
	AA:22.1
	AA:22.2
II A 32	AA:23
	AA:23.a
II A 33	AA:23.b
II A 34	AA:24
II A 35	AA:25
II A 36	AA:26
	AA:26.a
	AA:26.b
II A 37	AA:27
II A 38	AA:27.a
II A 39	AA:28
II A 40	AA:29
II A 41	AA:30
II A 42	AA:31
II A 43	AA:32
	AA:32.b
II A 44	AA:32.a
II A 45	AA:33
II A 46	AA:34
	AA:34.a
II A 47	AA:35
II A 48	AA:36
II A 49	AA:37
II A 50	AA:38
II A 51	AA:39
II A 52	AA:40
II A 53	AA:41
II A 54	AA:42
II A 55	AA:43
II A 56	AA:44
II A 57	AA:45
	AA:45.a
II A 58	AA:46
II A 59	AA:47
II A 60	AA:48
II A 61	AA:49
II A 62	AA:50
II A 63	AA:51
II A 64	AA:51.1
II A 65	AA:51
II A 66	AA:52
II A 67	AA:53
II A 68	AA:54
II A 69	AA:55
II A 70	AA:56
II A 71	DD:1
II A 72	DD:1.c
II A 73	DD:1.b
	DD:1.b.a
	DD:1.a
II A 74	DD:2
II A 75	DD:3
II A 76	DD:4
II A 77	DD:5
II A 78	DD:6
II A 79	DD:6.a
II A 80	DD:6.c
II A 81	DD:6.d
II A 82	DD:6.f
II A 83	DD:6.g
II A 84	DD:6.b
	DD:6.b.a
II A 85	DD:6.e
II A 86	DD:7
II A 87	DD:7.a
II A 88	DD:7.b
II A 89	DD:7.c
II A 90	DD:8
	DD:8.a
II A 91	DD:9
II A 92	DD:10
II A 93	DD:11
II A 94	DD:11.a
II A 95	DD:11.a.a
II A 96	DD:12
II A 97	DD:13
II A 98	DD:14
II A 99	DD:15
II A 100	DD:16
II A 101	DD:17
II A 102	DD:18
II A 103	DD:18.a
II A 104	DD:18.b
II A 105	DD:18.c
II A 106	DD:18.d
II A 107	DD:18.f
II A 108	DD:18.e
II A 109	DD:19
II A 110	DD:20
II A 111	DD:21
II A 112	DD:22
II A 113	DD:23
II A 114	DD:24
II A 115	DD:25
II A 116	DD:26
II A 117	DD:27
II A 118	DD:28
	DD:28.a
II A 119	DD:28.b
	DD:28.c
II A 120	DD:28.d
II A 121	DD:28.e
II A 122	DD:29
II A 123	DD:29.a
II A 124	DD:29
II A 125	DD:30
II A 126	DD:30
II A 127	DD:31
II A 128	DD:32
II A 129	DD:32
II A 130	DD:32
	DD:32.a
II A 131	DD:32.a.a
II A 132	DD:33
II A 133	DD:34
II A 134	DD:35
II A 135	DD:35.a
II A 136	DD:36
II A 137	DD:36.a
II A 138	DD:37
II A 139	DD:37.a
II A 140	DD:37.b
II A 141	DD:38
II A 142	DD:39
II A 143	DD:39.b
II A 144	DD:39.a
II A 145	DD:40
II A 146	DD:41
II A 147	DD:41.a
II A 148	DD:42
II A 149	DD:43
II A 150	DD:44
II A 151	DD:44.a
II A 152	DD:45
II A 153	DD:46
II A 154	DD:47
II A 155	DD:48
II A 156	DD:49
II A 157	DD:50
II A 158	DD:50.a
II A 159	DD:51
II A 160	DD:52
II A 161	DD:53
II A 162	DD:54
II A 163	DD:55
II A 164	DD:56
II A 165	DD:57
II A 166	DD:58
II A 167	DD:59

II A 168	DD:60
II A 169	DD:61
II A 170	DD:61.a
II A 171	DD:62
II A 172	DD:63
II A 173	DD:64
II A 174	DD:64.a
II A 175	DD:65
II A 176	DD:66
II A 177	DD:66.a
II A 178	DD:67
II A 179	DD:68
II A 180	DD:69
II A 181	DD:70
II A 182	DD:71
II A 183	DD:72
II A 184	DD:73
II A 185	DD:74
II A 186	DD:75
II A 187	DD:76
II A 188	DD:77
II A 189	DD:78
II A 190	DD:79
II A 191	DD:80
II A 192	DD:81
II A 193	DD:81
II A 194	DD:82
II A 195	DD:83
II A 196	DD:83.a
II A 197	DD:84
II A 198	DD:85
II A 199	DD:86
II A 200	DD:87
II A 201	DD:88
II A 202	DD:89
II A 203	DD:90
II A 204	DD:91
II A 205	DD:92
II A 206	DD:93
II A 207	DD:94
II A 208	DD:95
II A 209	DD:96
II A 210	DD:96.a
II A 211	DD:97
II A 212	DD:98
II A 213	DD:99
II A 214	DD:100
II A 215	DD:100.a
II A 216	DD:101
II A 217	DD:102
II A 218	DD:103
II A 219	DD:104
II A 220	DD:105
II A 221	DD:106
II A 222	DD:107
II A 223	DD:108
II A 224	DD:109
II A 225	DD:110
II A 226	DD:111
II A 227	DD:112
II A 228	DD:113
II A 229	DD:114
II A 230	DD:115
II A 231	DD:116
II A 232	DD:117
II A 233	DD:118
II A 234	DD:119
II A 235	DD:120
II A 236	DD:121
II A 237	DD:122
II A 238	DD:122.a
II A 239	DD:123
II A 240	DD:124
II A 241	DD:124.a
II A 242	DD:125
II A 243	DD:126
II A 244	DD:127
II A 245	DD:128
II A 246	DD:129
II A 247	DD:130
II A 248	DD:131
II A 249	DD:132
II A 250	DD:133
II A 251	DD:133.a
II A 252	DD:134
II A 253	DD:134.a
II A 254	DD:135
II A 255	DD:136
II A 256	DD:137
II A 257	DD:138
II A 258	DD:139
	DD:139.a
II A 259	DD:140
II A 260	DD:141
II A 261	DD:142
II A 262	DD:143
II A 263	DD:144
	DD:144.a
II A 264	DD:145
II A 265	DD:146
II A 266	DD:147
II A 267	DD:148
II A 268	DD:149
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II A 270	DD:151
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II A 274	DD:155
II A 275	DD:156
II A 276	DD:157
II A 277	DD:158
	DD:158.a
	DD:158.b
	DD:158.c
II A 278	DD:159
II A 279	DD:160
	DD:160.1
II A 280	DD:161
II A 281	DD:161.a
II A 282	DD:161.b
II A 283	DD:162
II A 284	DD:163
II A 285	DD:164
II A 286	DD:164.a
II A 287	DD:165
II A 288	DD:165.a
II A 289	DD:166
II A 290	DD:167
II A 291	DD:168
II A 292	DD:169
II A 293	DD:170
II A 294	DD:170.b
II A 295	DD:170.a
II A 296	DD:171
II A 297	DD:172
II A 298	DD:173
II A 299	DD:174
II A 300	DD:175
II A 301	DD:176
II A 302	DD:176.a
II A 303	DD:177
II A 304	DD:178
II A 305	DD:179
II A 306	DD:180
II A 307	DD:181
II A 308	DD:182
II A 309	DD:182.a
II A 310	DD:183
II A 311	DD:183.a
II A 312	DD:184
II A 313	DD:185
II A 314	DD:185.a
II A 315	DD:186
II A 316	DD:187
II A 317	DD:188.a
II A 318	DD:188.b
II A 319	DD:188
II A 320	DD:189
II A 321	DD:190
	DD:190.a
II A 322	DD:191
II A 323	DD:192
II A 324	DD:193
II A 325	DD:194
II A 326	DD:195
	DD:195.a
II A 327	DD:196
II A 328	DD:197
II A 329	DD:198
II A 330	DD:198.a
II A 331	DD:199
II A 332	DD:200
II A 333	DD:201
	DD:201.a
II A 334	DD:202
II A 335	DD:203
II A 336	DD:204
II A 337	DD:205
II A 338	DD:206
II A 339	DD:207
II B 1	DD:208
	DD:208.e
	DD:208.f
II B 2	DD:208.a
II B 3	DD:208
II B 4	DD:208.b
II B 5	DD:208.c
II B 6	DD:208.d
II B 7	DD:208.g
	DD:208.h
II B 8	DD:208
II B 9	DD:208.i
II B 10	DD:208
II B 11	DD:208.j
II B 12	DD:208
II B 13	DD:208
II B 14	DD:208.l
II B 15	DD:208.k
II B 16	DD:208
II B 17	DD:208.m
II B 18	DD:208
II B 19	DD:208
II B 20	DD:208.n
II B 21	DD:208